भारतीय आधुनिक शिक्षा राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान और प्रशिक्षण परिषद् की एक त्रैमासिक पत्रिका है। इस पत्रिका का मुख्य उद्देश्य है शिक्षकों, शिक्षक-प्रशिक्षकों, शैक्षिक प्रशासकों तथा शोधकर्ताओं को एक मंच प्रदान करना, शिक्षा के विभिन्न आयामों जैसे-शिक्षादर्शन, शिक्षा मनोविज्ञान, शिक्षा की समकालीन समस्याएं, पाठ्यक्रम एवं प्राविधि संबंधी नवीन विकास, अंतरराष्ट्रीय स्तर पर शिक्षा का स्वरूप, विभिन्न राज्यों में शिक्षा की स्थिति आदि पर मौलिक तथा आलोचनात्मक चिंतन को प्रोत्साहित करना और शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में सुधार और विकास को बढ़ावा देना।

प्रकाशन सहयोग

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मीरा कांत *संपादक*

कल्याण बैनर्जी *उत्पादन अधिकारी*
प्रमोद रावत *सहायक उत्पादन अधिकारी*
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विषय सूची

लेखकों से निवेदन

लेखकों से निवेदन है कि रचनाएं डबल स्पेस में टाईप की हुई हों तथा रचनाओं की दो हस्ताक्षरित प्रतियां भेजें। साथ ही यह अवश्य सूचित करें कि प्रेषित रचना अप्रकाशित/ अप्रसारित है।

पुस्तक-समीक्षा के लिए पुस्तक की दो प्रतियां भेजना आवश्यक है। पत्रिका में प्रकाशित पांडुलिपि का कापीराइट परिषद् के अधीन रहेगा और परिषद् की पूर्व अनुमति के बिना कोई भी अंश पुनः प्रकाशित नहीं किया जा सकेगा।

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राष्ट्रीय एकता : शिक्षा द्वारा सुदृढ़ीकरण की संभावनाएं

हरिकेश सिंह

शिक्षा संकाय
काशी हिंदू विश्वविद्यालय
वाराणसी-10

आज हमारे देश में राष्ट्रीय एकता की समस्या प्रचण्ड रूप धारण कर चुकी है। राष्ट्रीय एकता के बाधक तत्वों का ज्ञान प्राय: प्रत्येक भारतवासी को है, फिर भी न जाने क्यों सभी जाने-अनजाने उसी धारा में शामिल हो रहे हैं जो गर्त की ओर जा रही है। प्रस्तुत लेख के अनुसार भारत में अनेकता में एकता का साम्राज्य अत्यंत प्राचीन काल से ही रहा है। देश की इस राष्ट्रीय आत्मा को छिन्न-भिन्न करने का श्रेय भारत में कूटनीतिज्ञ अंग्रेज़ों को जाता है। लेखक ने देश को इस आघात से उबारने का एकमात्र सशक्त साधन शिक्षा को माना है तथा 'सबको शिक्षा' के लक्ष्य को यथाशीघ्र पूरा करने की अनुशंसा की है।

भारत में स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन ने एक ऐसा सुदृढ़ दृष्टिकोण प्रदान किया जिसमें भारतवासी (हिंदू, मुसलमान, पारसी, ईसाई) और विश्व के अन्य भूभागों से आए भारतप्रेमी विदेशी लोग एक साथ मिलकर इस देश की समरस संस्कृति के साथ एकात्म होने लगे। औपनिवेशिकता के पक्षधर एवं धर्मांधता के प्रतिनिधियों को छोड़कर शेष जनमानस भारत-माता की राष्ट्रीय आत्मा से अलग अपना अस्तित्व मानने को तैयार नहीं था। ऐसी जनप्रवृत्ति 20वीं सदी के प्रथम दशक तक अपनी श्रेष्ठता तक पहुंच चुकी थी। औपनिवेशिक साम्राज्यवादियों को भारतीय जनमानस की इस सामाजिक एवं राष्ट्रीय भावना से भय लगने लगा। उन्होंने उतना प्रयास अपने औपनिवेशिक राज्य को बचाने के लिए नहीं किया, जितना प्रयास सतही धार्मिक एवं जातीय पहचान की अनुभूति कराकर इस देश की राष्ट्रीय आत्मा को तोड़ने के लिए किया। इसी कूटनीतिक प्रयास के कुप्रभाव का कुपरिणाम है आज का राष्ट्रीय संकट— राष्ट्रीय एकता की समस्या।

भारतवर्ष में दार्शनिक, सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक विविधताएं प्रारंभ से ही रही हैं। जब केवल हिंदू धर्म ही था तब भी दार्शनिक मान्यताएं भिन्न थीं। भिन्न-भिन्न दार्शनिक मान्यताओं के आधार पर विभिन्न प्रकार के प्रतीक, पूजा-पद्धति, संप्रदाय आदि रहे हैं। केवल अलग-अलग धर्मों के कारण ही संप्रदाय नहीं बने। एक ही धर्म में दार्शनिक तत्वों के साथ असहमति एवं सहमति से संप्रदाय बनते हैं। इसके साथ ही साथ भारतवर्ष की प्राकृतिक, भौगोलिकता की व्यापकता ने भी मानवप्राणीशास्त्रीय विभाजन योग्य समूहों को जन्म दिया, जिसे प्रजातीय वैविध्य के रूप में देखा जा सकता है। अत: भारतवर्ष की दर्शनशास्त्रीय

सांस्कृतिक मान्यता—'अनेकता में एकता' केवल एक औपचारिक उक्ति नहीं वरन श्रेयस दार्शनिक उत्कृष्टता भी है।

राष्ट्रीय एकता का संकट भारत के स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन के निर्णायक क्षण के निकट पहुंचने के साथ ही साथ और भी अधिक बढ़ता गया। हताश ब्रितानी साम्राज्य ने अपनी औपनिवेशिक कूटनीतिज्ञता का पूर्ण प्रयोग भारत की राष्ट्रीय एकता को दयनीय एवं दुर्बल बनाने में किया। परिणाम आज भारतवासियों के सम्मुख है। राष्ट्रीय एकता को जहां स्वतंत्र भारत में सुदृढ़ होना चाहिए था, वहीं राष्ट्रीय एकता के बाधक तत्व उत्तरोत्तर सबल होते गए तथा राष्ट्र और राष्ट्रीय एकता शक्तिहीन। राष्ट्रीय एकता का संकट एक राष्ट्रीय संकट है और इसके समाधान हेतु मन, वचन एवं कर्म से समस्त नागरिकों को सोचना ही पड़ेगा। तत्कालीन स्वार्थपरक लाभों के लिए हममें से अधिकांश लोग इस संकट से भी लाभांवित होने का प्रयास करते हैं। वे भूल जाते हैं कि जब यह राष्ट्र नहीं रहेगा उस समय ऐसे तत्वों की भी क्या स्थिति होगी !

राष्ट्रीय एकता के बाधक तत्वों का ज्ञान प्राय: प्रत्येक भारतवासी को है। आज तो इलैक्ट्रानिक जनसंचार के माध्यमों से संकटों का परिचय शीघ्रता से ही मिल जाता है। राष्ट्रीय एकता के बारे में भी भ्रमात्मक स्थिति है। आरोप-प्रत्यारोप के बीच राष्ट्रीय एकता को साम्प्रदायिक रूप से विवेचित करने में भी हम संकीर्णता का परिचय देने लगे हैं। आज हम मान बैठे हैं कि राष्ट्रीय अस्मिता एवं एकता का कोई मौलिक महत्व नहीं है। महत्वपूर्ण प्रतीत होने लगा है केवल अपना अकेला अस्तित्व-एवं इसके निमित्त व्यक्तिगत पूंजी। धर्मांधता, धर्मोमाद, पृथक अस्तित्व, निजी अस्मिता, क्षेत्रीय एवं प्रजातीय हित, राजनीतिक लाभ, कुटुंब का ही सत्ता पर सातत्य, निजी अनैतिक उपलब्धि। इसका कुपरिणाम आज की राष्ट्रीय अवदशा के रूप में स्पष्टत: परिलक्षित हो रहा है। दु:ख तो तब होता है जब राष्ट्रीय एकता परिषद् जैसे महत्वपूर्ण राष्ट्रीय अभिकरणों में प्रतिदिन राष्ट्रीय एकता को तोड़ने वाले तत्व बैठकर राष्ट्रीय एकता के संकट पर घड़ियाली आंसू बहाते हैं। यहां यह स्पष्ट करना प्रासंगिक होगा कि कोई धर्म अपनी मूल मान्यताओं में तथा भाषा अपने आप में विभाजक नहीं है। इनके प्रतीकों को द्वंद्व का प्रतीक बनाने का प्रयास भी ओछी मानसिकता वाले मानवप्राणी का ही काम है। यह एक अकाट्य सत्य है कि "मज़हब नहीं सिखाता, आपस में बैर रखना"।

राष्ट्रीय एकता के एवं सांवैगिक एकता में विभेद करना बहुत समीचीन नहीं लगता, परंतु कुछ चिंतक इनमें एक स्वीकार्य विभेद भी स्थापित करते हैं। राष्ट्रीय एकता में देश की सांस्कृतिक परंपरा को देश की भौगोलिकता के अंदर एक समान प्रतिबद्धता पर बनाए रखते हुए श्रद्धाभाव से श्रेष्ठता की ओर अग्रसर करना आता है। सांवैगिक एकता इसी श्रद्धाभाव की वह मनोदशा है जो राष्ट्र के प्रत्येक नागरिक में अपनत्व को सृजित एवं सिंचित करती रहती है। राष्ट्र स्तर पर मानवजाति के दु:ख-सुख में सहभागिता का भाव ही सांवैगिक एकता है। इसमें धर्म, जाति, प्रजाति, लिंग, वर्ग, रंग, क्षेत्रीयता आदि स्मृति में रहते ही नहीं। प्रत्येक प्राणी 'स्व' जैसा ही प्रतीत होता है। निष्कर्षत: राष्ट्रीय एकता, मनोराजनैतिक भाव प्रतीत होता है जबकि सांवैगिक एकता पूर्ण मनोवैज्ञानिक। इसका अर्थ यह नहीं कि दोनों विभाजित पृथक संप्रत्यय हैं। हम प्राय: दोनों को एक-दूसरे के समानार्थी

के रूप में प्रयोग करते हैं जो अधिक उचित लगता है, क्योंकि 'मानव संवेग' तो उभयनिष्ठ हैं ही। अब प्रश्न उठता है कि आज भारतवर्ष में राष्ट्रीय एकता की यथार्थ स्थिति क्या है और इसके सुदृढ़ीकरण के निमित्त शिक्षा के माध्यम से क्या प्रयास किया जा सकता है ?

भारतवर्ष में पिछले दो दशकों में असम, पंजाब, झारखण्ड (बिहार), मराठवाड़ा, गोरखालैण्ड और अब उत्तराखण्ड जैसे आंदोलन क्षेत्रीय स्वायत्तता के नाम पर उठ खड़े हुए हैं। भाषा नीति को समाधान से अधिक राजनीतिक भय का अस्त्र बनाया गया है। राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन के सपूतों को जो भारतमाता की रक्षा के लिए शहीद हुए थे अब क्षेत्रीय महापुरुषों अथवा जातीय सीमा तक के महापुरुषों तक ही सीमित किया जा रहा है। यह सब कहीं न कहीं पृथकतावादी दृष्टिकोण का ही बोधक है। मानव भावनाएं जब राष्ट्रीय आत्मा से अलग हटकर अपना अस्तित्व बनाने लगती हैं, तो राष्ट्रीय एकता से पृथक होना भी सुनिश्चित होने लगता है। ऐसी ही परिस्थिति में क्षेत्रीय अवांछनीय व्यक्ति एवं अन्य पक्ष वांछनीय प्रतीत होने लगते हैं और तभी राष्ट्रीयता और राष्ट्रीय एकता विखंडित होने लगती है। कूटनीतिक विदेशी शक्तियां ऐसी प्रवृत्ति को प्रश्रय देती हैं तथा अपने शुद्ध व्यापारिक हित के साधन हेतु निर्भर बाज़ार के रूप में दूसरे राष्ट्र को तोड़ने की कुचेष्टा करती हैं। ऐसे में केवल एक ही अस्त्र राष्ट्र के समक्ष रह जाता है जिसे सार्थक उपकरण के रूप में प्रयोग में लाकर राष्ट्रीय एकता को बचाया और बढ़ाया जा सकता है और वह है शिक्षा।

शिक्षा द्वारा राष्ट्रीय एकता के सुदृढ़ीकरण की कितनी संभावना है—इस पर एक दृष्टिपात करना उचित प्रतीत होता है। वैसे निराशावादी लोग तो राष्ट्रीय एकता से भी अधिक दयनीय स्थिति भारतवर्ष में शिक्षा की ही मान रहे हैं, जिसमें कुछ सीमा तक सच्चाई भी है। परंतु प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या शिक्षा के अतिरिक्त भी कोई चीज़ है जो राष्ट्रीय एकता को सुदृढ़ कर सकती है ? आशावादी विश्लेषक 'शिक्षा' को ही सर्वनिष्ठ समर्थ प्रक्रिया मानते हैं। शिक्षा ही मानव मन को परिष्कृत करके श्रेष्ठ राष्ट्रीय लक्ष्यों की ओर कृतसंकल्प होने का बोध पैदा कर सकती है। शिक्षा वैयक्तिक विकास, सर्वांगीणता की सुनिश्चितता, अभीष्ट सामाजीकरण, मानवीकरण एवं विवेकीकरण की प्रक्रिया है। यही शैक्षिक प्रक्रिया व्यक्ति को मानवोचित भावों से संपन्न बनाकर राष्ट्रीय एकता के प्रति उद्बोधित, संकल्पित, सचेष्ट एवं समर्पित बना सकती है और इसप्रकार जो राष्ट्रीय एकता सुदृढ़ होगी, वह दीर्घकालीन स्थायित्व वाली होगी।

अब प्रश्न उठता है कि कौन सी शिक्षा राष्ट्रीय एकता को सुदृढ़ करेगी ? इसका उत्तर भी यही है कि जो शिक्षा मानव के अकेले एक मन (मानस) को इतना बोधमय कर दे कि वह व्यक्ति अपने तथा दूसरे व्यक्ति के बीच दु:ख-सुख की अनुभूतियों को पृथक रूप से न देखे। यह दृष्टिकोण वैयक्तिक एकता का परिचायक है और ऐसा ही वैयक्तिक दृष्टिबोध, सामाजिक और राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिबोध हो जाता है। जब एक बार लोकमत एवं राष्ट्रमत बन जाता है तो राष्ट्रीय एकता सबल हो जाती है और राष्ट्र के विकास की गति एवं दिशा भी सुखद प्रभाव उत्पन्न करती है। परंतु यदि कहीं से भी राष्ट्रमत एवं लोकमत में विपरीतता अथवा विपरीत दिशापन रहेगा तो राष्ट्रीय एकता संकट में ही रहेगी।

साक्षरता द्वारा लिपि आधारित शिक्षा एवं परीक्षाश्रित उपाधि निश्चितरूप से पूर्ण शिक्षा नहीं है। यद्यपि मुद्रण क्रांति के बाद प्रत्येक व्यक्ति का साक्षर होना अति आवश्यक है क्योंकि व्यक्तिगत दिनचर्या से लेकर लोकतंत्र की रक्षा के लिए मतदान जैसी प्रक्रिया साक्षर व्यक्तियों द्वारा ही समुचित ढंग से निर्वाहित की जा सकती है। साक्षरता को वर्णमाला एवं गिनती से ऊपर विकासात्मक दृष्टिकोण, राष्ट्रमन एवं लोकमन के निर्माण हेतु प्रयुक्त करना होगा। इस शैक्षिक लक्ष्य की उपलब्धि लोकशिक्षण द्वारा ही संभव है। लोकशिक्षण में सामुदायिक जीवन की उपादेयता, राष्ट्रीय विकास, साक्षर एवं शिक्षित नागरिकों का लोकतंत्र में महत्व आदि कुछ महत्वपूर्ण राष्ट्रीय बिंदुओं की ओर लोगों की चेतना को आकर्षित करना प्रासंगिक होगा। शिक्षा के विभिन्न अवयव एवं अभिकरण इस राष्ट्रीय लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति एवं सुदृढ़ीकरण में समेकित रूप से उपयोग में लाए जा सकते हैं। साक्षरता सत्य के साक्षात्कार की प्रक्रिया में यदि सहायक है तब तो इसका कुछ उपयोग है। यदि साक्षरता केवल औपचारिक अभियान है तो वह शिक्षा की गुणवत्ता एवं महत्व पर प्रश्नचिह्न लगा देगी। अब यह गुरुतर दायित्व तो इस राष्ट्र के शिक्षितजनों एवं शिक्षकों पर ही है कि वे राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर शैक्षिक अभिकल्प द्वारा राष्ट्रीय एकता के कल्पवृक्ष की रक्षा करते हुए मानवीय संवेदना के पर्यावरण को एकीकृत, संगठित एवं समृद्ध कर सकें।

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विद्या शील के अभाव में शोचनीय हो जाती है और द्वेष से अपवित्र।

❑ क्षेमेंद्र

डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन का शिक्षादर्शन

खेमराज शर्मा

क्षेत्रीय शिक्षा संस्थान
भोपाल-462003

भारतीय शिक्षा को समय-समय पर आवश्यक मोड़ देने में कई विद्वानों, विचारकों और शिक्षाविदों का हाथ रहा है। इस संदर्भ में डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन का नाम निश्चय ही लिया जा सकता है जिनके शैक्षिक विचार संपूर्ण भारतीय शिक्षा के परिप्रेक्ष्य में आज भी प्रासंगिक हैं। प्रस्तुत लेख में उनके शिक्षा संबंधी कुछ विचार प्रस्तुत किए गए हैं।

बुनियादी शिक्षा पद्धति में महात्मा गांधी के शिक्षादर्शन को मूर्त रूप देने वालों में डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन का नाम प्रमुख है। भारत के इस महान शिक्षाशास्त्री के शिक्षा संबंधी मौलिक विचार भारतीय जनमानस का मार्गदर्शन हमेशा करते रहेंगे।

प्रशिक्षण से अर्थशास्त्री, व्यवसाय से शिक्षाशास्त्री और स्वभाव से मानवतावादी डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन भारत के उन सृजनशील और प्रतिष्ठित शिक्षाविदों में से है जो शिक्षा में पुराने बंधनों को तोड़ने वाली महत्वपूर्ण शक्ति के रूप में कार्य कर रहे थे। वे बुनियादी शिक्षाशास्त्री भी थे। इनका जन्म 8 फरवरी 1897 को हैदराबाद में हुआ था। बुनियादी शिक्षा पद्धति को मूर्त रूप देने वाले महान मानवतावादी डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन गणतंत्र भारत के तीसरे राष्ट्रपति तो थे ही जगत विख्यात एक महान शिक्षाशास्त्री भी थे। इनके पिता हैदराबाद में ही वकालत करते थे तथा 'आइन-ए-डेक्कान' नामक कानून संबंधी पत्रिका के संपादक भी थे। इन्होंने ज़ाकिर हुसैन की शिक्षा का प्रबंध एक अंग्रेज़ शिक्षक के निर्देशन में घर पर ही किया था। दुर्भाग्यवश वकील साहब का देहांत उसी समय हो गया जब ज़ाकिर मात्र 9 वर्ष के थे।

पिता की मृत्यु के पश्चात इनका परिवार उत्तर प्रदेश के फर्रूखाबाद ज़िले में आ गया। आप अपने तीन भाइयों के साथ एक हाई स्कूल में दाखिल हुए और बी.ए. की डिग्री आपने डा. हुसैन मोहम्मडन ऐंग्लो ओरियंटल कॉलेज (वर्तमान अलीगढ़ विश्वविद्यालय) से ली। एम.ए. में आपने अपना नाम दर्ज कराया था परंतु 1920 में महात्मा गांधी के आह्वान पर असहयोग आंदोलन में शामिल हो गए और भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में अपनी ज़बरदस्त भूमिका निभाई। इस समय वे 23 वर्ष के थे। कुछ वर्ष पश्चात आपने जर्मनी के बर्लिन विश्वविद्यालय से अर्थशास्त्र में पी.एच.डी. की उपाधि प्राप्त की। आपका विवाह 18 वर्ष की आयु में शाहजहां बेगम के साथ हुआ था।

जामिया मिल्लिया इस्लामिया की स्थापना

12 अक्तूबर 1920 को महात्मा गांधी अली बंधुओं

के साथ डा. हुसैन मोहम्मडल ऐंग्लो ओरियंटल कॉलेज में पधारे। कॉलेज के विद्यार्थियों और अध्यापकों के समक्ष भाषण करते हुए गांधीजी ने कहा कि ब्रिटिश सरकार के नियंत्रण में चल रही शिक्षा संस्थाओं का भारतीयों द्वारा बहिष्कार होना चाहिए। इनके स्थान पर राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा संस्थाओं की स्थापना होनी चाहिए। ज़ाकिर साहब इन दिनों एम.ए. के छात्र थे। इन पर गांधीजी के भाषण का गहरा प्रभाव पड़ा और उनके आह्वान पर आप असहयोग आंदोलन में सम्मिलित हो गए। इस युवावस्था में अपने भविष्य की चिंता किए बिना देश सेवा हितार्थ अपने को उत्सर्ग करना मातृभूमि के प्रति इनके प्रेम का उत्कृष्ट उदाहरण है। यही नहीं, कॉलेज छोड़ते ही आपने अलीगढ़ में एक राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा संस्था (जामिया मिल्लिया इस्लामिया) की स्थापना कर शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में अपना ज़बरदस्त परिचय दिया कि आप एक प्रबुद्ध सफल शिक्षक हैं, और आपमें पूरी संगठन शक्ति है। डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन उन थोड़े से देशभक्त भारतीयों में थे जिन्होंने अपना जीवन शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में लगाकर राष्ट्र की सेवा की।

सन् 1967 में जब वे भारत के राष्ट्रपति चुने गए तो 1920 के गुज़रे ज़माने का स्मरण करते हुए उन्होंने कहा था, "वास्तव में राष्ट्र ने एक साधारण अध्यापक को इतना बड़ा सम्मान दिया है जिसने आज से सैंतालित वर्ष पहले अपने जीवन के सर्वश्रेष्ठ भाग को राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा के लिए अर्पित करने का निश्चय किया था।"

1925 में महात्मा गांधी की सलाह से जामिया मिल्लिया का अलीगढ़ से दिल्ली स्थानांतरण किया गया। डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन को इस विश्वविद्यालय का कुलपति बनाया गया।

विभिन्न प्रतिष्ठित पद

डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन अपनी बुद्धि, योग्यता, लगन, दक्षता और चरित्रबल के आधार पर अनेक पदों पर सुशोभित हुए। डा. साहब्र वर्ष 1926 में जामिया मिल्लिया के कुलपति, 1957 में बिहार के राज्यपाल, 1962 में भारत के उपराष्ट्रपति बने। साथ ही केंद्रीय सलाहकार शिक्षा बोर्ड, विश्वविद्यालय शिक्षा आयोग, विश्व-विद्यालय अनुदान आयोग, बुनियादी राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा समिति, यूनेस्को, जागतिक विश्वविद्यालय सेवा आदि अनेक राष्ट्रीय और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय आयोगों एवं समितियों के सभापति या सदस्य के रूप में आपने कार्य किया।

विभिन्न उपाधियां

शिक्षा और संस्कृति के क्षेत्र में उनकी सेवाओं के लिए उन्हें 1954 में 'पद्म-भूषण' एवं 1963 में 'भारत रत्न' की उपाधि से अलंकृत किया गया।

रचनाएं

डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन अपने अवकाश का उपयोग लेखन कार्य में करते थे। बच्चों के लिए लिखना वे सबसे अधिक पसंद करते थे। उन्होंने छद्म नाम से बच्चों के लिए अनेक कहानियां लिखीं। उनकी 'उसी से ठंडा उसी से गरम' बाल कहानी बहुत प्रसिद्ध है। इसके अतिरिक्त 'तालीमी खुतवाद' (शिक्षा) 'एजुकेशन रिकान्सट्रक्शन इन इंडिया' (भारत में शिक्षा का पुनर्निर्माण) प्लेटो की पुस्तक 'रिपब्लिक' (भारत में शिक्षा) का उर्दू अनुवाद उल्लेखित हैं। इनके अलावा

उन्होंने 'एलीमेंट्स ऑफ इकोनामिक्स' तथा आर्थिक विषयों की अन्य पुस्तकों का भी अनुवाद किया।

मृत्यु एवं प्रभाव

यह निर्विवाद है कि राष्ट्रपति होकर भी डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन सफल शिक्षक ही रहे और जीवनोपयोगी शिक्षा एवं शिक्षण के लिए आपने अपना समस्त जीवन अर्पित कर दिया। जात-पात, संप्रदाय और सभी प्रकार के भदेभावों से दूर रहने वाले इस महान शिक्षाशास्त्री का देहावसान 3 मई 1969 को राष्ट्रपति भवन में हुआ। डा. हुसैन इस दुनिया से चले गए, परंतु यहां के लोगों के लिए वसीहत के रूप में छोड़ गए अपनी कार्यक्षमता, सौजन्यता, विनम्रता एवं विख्यात शिक्षा नीति। सच्चे जनतंत्रवादी एवं राजनेता के अतिरिक्त वे एक आदर्श गांधीवादी थे। हमें नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि बुनियादी शिक्षा को मूर्त रूप देने वाले डा. हुसैन ही थे। आपने यह प्रत्यक्ष अनुभव किया था कि राजनीति के तंग रास्ते से राष्ट्रीय पुनर्जागरण नहीं लाया जा सकता, यह शिक्षा, संस्कृति और राष्ट्रीय-चरित्र के नये ढांचे के माध्यम से ही लाया जा सकता है। आपने अंग्रेजी शिक्षा पद्धति को पुराना और सारहीन समझा। जामिया मिल्लिया के माध्यम से उनका उद्देश्य शिक्षा को एक नये ढंग से विकसित करना था, जिसकी जड़ें राष्ट्रीय संस्कृति में जम सकें। इनकी मृत्यु पर शोक व्यक्त करते हुए बिहार के तत्कालीन राज्यपाल श्री नित्यानंद कानूनगो ने इन्हें सांप्रदायिक सद्भावना का प्रतीक, एक कुशल राजनीतिज्ञ, शिक्षाविद तथा सच्चा जनसेवक बतलाया था। वस्तुत: वे सच्चे मानवतावादी, विद्वान, महान शिक्षाविद और श्रेष्ठ राजनीतिज्ञ थे।

शैक्षणिक विचार

डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन शिक्षा और संस्कृति को किसी व्यक्ति अथवा राष्ट्र की उन्नति का आधार मानते थे। उनका मत था कि राजनीति के माध्यम से सच्चे राष्ट्रीय नव-जागरण का युग नहीं लाया जा सकता। राष्ट्रीय चेतना के आदर्श की उपलब्धि के लिए शिक्षा और संस्कृति के उच्चतम शिखर पर पहुंचने की आवश्यकता है। इस लक्ष्य को चरितार्थ करने के हितार्थ ही उन्होंने एक शिक्षण संस्था से अपना जीवन संबद्ध किया। उनके शिक्षा संबंधी कुछ विचार इस प्रकार हैं :

- **मस्तिष्क के संपूर्ण विकास का नाम शिक्षा :** डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन ने शिक्षा को मानसिक विकास का आधार माना है। शिक्षा की परिभाषा करते हुए उन्होंने बतलाया है, "आदमी मस्तिष्क की जो शक्तियां लेकर पैदा हुआ है उसमें जितनी उन्नति हो सके, वह उसे हासिल हो जावे। शिक्षा आदमी के मस्तिष्क के पूरे-पूरे विकास का नाम है जैसे आदमी का शरीर एक छोटे से बीज से शुरू होकर, उपयुक्त भोजन पाकर फिज़ियोलाजी और केमिस्ट्री के अनुसार पूर्णता को पहुंचता है, उसी प्रकार उसके मस्तिष्क का विकास मानसिक आहार द्वारा, बुद्धि के नियमों से होता है।"
- **शिक्षा में समग्रता का सिद्धांत :** डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन ने शिक्षा में समग्रता के सिद्धांत का प्रर्वतन किया। समग्रता से तात्पर्य है बच्चों के मन, मस्तिष्क और शरीर का अर्थात उनका सर्वांगीण विकास। उनके विचारानुसार सच्ची शिक्षा वही है, जिससे बच्चे के सारे शरीर का विकास हो,

जिसमें उसकी बुद्धि, उसका मन, उसके हाथ और पैर सब साथ-साथ आगे बढ़ें। उन्होंने बालक को अनुभव के आधार पर शिक्षा देने पर बल दिया है। पाठशाला और बालकवाड़ी शिक्षक के लिए खाली सिखाने की जगह नहीं, सीखने और समझने की जगह भी है। जिस चीज़ को बच्चा अंदर से मांगता नहीं, वह उसे पचती नहीं। इसी मांग को जानना और समझना चाहिए और इसके सहारे बच्चे के सारे जीवन का इंतज़ाम करना चाहिए। किसी एक हिस्से को लेकर मांजने से जीवन नहीं चमकता, किसी एक शक्ति को उभारने और दूसरी से मुंह फेर कर शिक्षा नहीं होती।

- **बच्चा भी एक व्यक्ति :** डां. साहब ने लिखा है, "बच्चा भी एक व्यक्ति है, वह कोई बेजान चीज़ नहीं, खिलौना नहीं, गुड़िया नहीं"। अत: बच्चों के व्यक्तित्व की रक्षा करते हुए ही हम उनकी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था करें तथा उनकी उन्नति का मार्ग प्रशस्त करें। विश्व प्रसिद्ध दार्शनिक ब्रटेन्ड विलियम रसेल ने भी इस सिद्धांत का पोषण किया है। उन्होंने बतलाया है कि बच्चों के व्यक्तित्व का विकास उनकी एक वर्ष की अवस्था से प्रारंभ हो जाता है। अत: तदनुकूल ही हम लोग उनकी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था करें। आधुनिक मनोविज्ञान भी इस सिद्धांत का पोषण करता है।

  अपने छोटे होने, कमज़ोर होने, बड़े भाई से दबे होने, चहेते भाई की सौतेली बहन होने, और मां-बाप की तरफ से हेठा समझे जाने का ख्याल उसके दिल में बैठ जाता है। ऐसी स्थिति में उसका सारा जीवन उसी को हटाने, मिटाने की फिक्र में और यत्न करने में लग जाता है। ठीक प्रयत्न हो या गलत प्रयत्न, लेकिन रहती है बस यही उधेड़बुन। यह हेठेपन का ध्यान अक्सर मां-बाप ही पैदा करते हैं और अगर किसी और तरह पैदा हुआ हो तो उसे बढ़ाते हैं। बच्चा उससे बचता है तो नादानी से उसकी राह में आते हैं और बच्चे के काम को और कठिन बना देते हैं। यह सब इसलिए कि बच्चे को जानते नहीं। यह गलती शिक्षक भी करते हैं कि बच्चे के व्यक्तित्व को जाने बिना ही उससे अनदेखा व्यवहार शुरू कर देते हैं। शिक्षक को चाहिए कि वह बालक की रुचियों, क्षमताओं को जाने, उसे सहारा दे।

- **बालक को वैयक्तिक विभिन्नता के अनुसार शिक्षा देना :** बालकों के वैयक्तिक विभिन्नता के सिद्धांत को स्वीकार करते हुए डा. हुसैन ने इस विचार का प्रतिपादन किया कि बच्चों का अलग-अलग जीवन होता है। उनकी अलग-अलग रुचियां एवं प्रवृत्तियां होती हैं। यही नहीं, उनकी रुचियों, गुणों एवं प्रवृत्तियों में भी विभिन्नताएं होती हैं। अत: यह आवश्यक है कि हम अपनी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था ऐसी करें जिससे बालकों की विभिन्न प्रवृत्तियों और झुकावों का परिमार्जन और परिपोषण हो सके। उसी संदर्भ में आपने ये स्पष्ट किया है कि शिक्षा पाने वाले को अच्छी तरह जानना और समझना शिक्षण के लिए आवश्यक है। छोटे बच्चों की शिक्षा में यह और भी आवश्यक है।

- **परिवर्तनशील बालक स्वभाव :** डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन ने इस तथ्य का पोषण किया है कि बच्चों में जन्मजात स्वाभाविकता और विभिन्नता तो

होती है, परंतु समय और परिस्थितियों के फलस्वरूप उसमें परिवर्तन भी होता रहता है। प्रत्येक बच्चा प्रत्येक समय एक ही शील, स्वभाव और विचार का नहीं रहता, उसमें परिवर्तन होते रहते हैं। उसके शरीर में भी परिवर्तन होता है। इन मानसिक और शारीरिक परिवर्तनों के साथ-साथ उसकी इच्छाएं और आकांक्षाएं भी बदलती रहती हैं। अतः शिक्षकों का यह कर्तव्य है कि बच्चे को जानें, समझें तथा तदनुकूल ही उनकी शिक्षा की व्यवस्था करें। शिक्षकों की यह बहुत बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी है। वह देखे बच्चा क्या चाहता है। उसके विकास की सभी प्रकार की समस्याओं पर ध्यान देना चाहिए। शरीर के विकास के साथ सीखने की गति बढ़नी चाहिए। शरीर अपने विकास में मांस-पेशियों और मस्तिष्क का प्रयोग करता है। उनके सहारे अपने वातावरण को पहचानना सीखता है। पुट्ठों के प्रयोग पर काबू पाता है, कर्मेंद्रियों और ज्ञानेंद्रियों के अनुभव से सीखता है। चलना सीखता है, बोलना सीखता है। ढाई-तीन वर्ष की उम्र में अपनी मातृभाषा को अपने काम चलाने लायक सीख लेता है। बच्चे के जीवन में बड़ी जल्दी-जल्दी विकास व परिवर्तन आते हैं। मां, बाप और शिक्षक का काम यह है कि इस अदल-बदल पर पूरी नज़र रखें।

- **शिक्षा में स्वतंत्रता :** डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन शिक्षा की स्वतंत्रता के बहुत बड़े पोषक थे। उन्होंने बच्चों पर अनुचित दबाव डालने और उन्हें एक निर्धारित व निश्चित परंपरा पर ज़बरदस्ती ले चलने के प्रयास का घोर विरोध किया है। इससे बच्चे की प्रतिभा कुंठित हो जाती है और माता-पिता की इच्छाएं भी पूरी नहीं हो पाती हैं। उनका विचार था कि बच्चों के विकास में सबसे पहले मदरसे के सामान्य प्रबंध और अनुशासन से बच्चे की सेहत में उलझनें पैदा होती हैं। ये बच्चे जब मदरसे आते हैं तब तंदुरुस्त बच्चों की तरह खेलने-कूदने, हंसने-बोलने की आदतें अपने साथ लाते हैं, लेकिन वहां का अनुशासन उन्हें घरों में चुपचाप बिना हिले-डुले बैठने पर मजबूर करता है। प्रस्तुत तथ्य के प्रसंग में उन्होंने स्पष्ट लिखा है, "सच्ची शिक्षा आज़ादी में ही हो सकती है"।
- **अत्यधिक स्वतंत्रता अवांछनीय :** डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन शिक्षा में स्वतंत्रता के बहुत बड़े हिमायती थे, परंतु एक सीमा तक। सीमा से अधिक स्वतंत्रता का उन्होंने विरोध किया है क्योंकि बच्चों पर नियंत्रण की भी उतनी ही ज़रूरत है, जितनी स्वतंत्रता की। अपने भाषण में एक बार उन्होंने कहा था, शिक्षा स्वाधीनता की सड़क पर शासन की पगडंडियों से ही पहुंचती है। बच्चों को बिना देखभाल के नहीं छोड़ा जा सकता। उन्हें सहायता की ज़रूरत होती है। सहानुभूति और प्रेम की ज़रूरत होती है, समझाने की ज़रूरत होती है, सहारे की ज़रूरत होती है। कुछ को पगडंडियों पर हाथ पकड़ कर आगे बढ़ाना होता है, कुछ को गड्ढों में गिरने से रोकना होता है।
- **संस्कृति शिक्षा की आधारशिला :** डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन संस्कृति की लौकिक और अलौकिक चीज़ों को शिक्षा की आधारशिला स्वीकार करते हैं। हम संस्कृति के माध्यम से सच्चा राष्ट्रीय नवजागरण युग लाने में समर्थ होंगे। मानव

मस्तिष्क के लिए ये वस्तुएं प्रेरणा और शिक्षा की स्रोत हैं। डा. हुसैन का विचार है कि व्यक्ति का नैतिक और बौद्धिक प्रशिक्षण केवल राष्ट्रीय तथा मानवीय सभ्यता के तत्वों से हो सकता है और इनमें से भी एक सीमा तक व्यक्ति के लिए अपने स्वभाव और रुचि के अनुसार उचित तत्वों का चयन करना आवश्यक है। प्रस्तुत प्रसंग के संबंध में डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन लिखते हैं, "मस्तिष्क भी अपने विकास के लिए शरीर की भांति भोजन करना चाहता है। यह भोजन इसे संस्था की संस्कृति से, उसकी हस्तकला, भौतिक और आध्यात्मिक क्षेत्रों से, उसके साहित्य से, उसके उद्योग से और उसकी नैतिक व्यवस्था से, उसके रीति रिवाजों से, उसके सामाजिक जीवन के उदाहरणों से, उसके गांव, कस्बों और शहरों की व्यवस्था से, उसके संगीत से, उसकी दुकानों से, उसकी शासन व्यवस्था से, उसके महान व्यक्तियों के जीवन आदर्शों से, भिन्न-भिन्न रचनाओं से, समाज के धार्मिक संस्कारों से, समाज के धंधों से, समाज की घरेलू ज़िंदगी से, पाठशालाओं से मिलता है।" आगे वे कहते हैं, "कला, संगीत और नाच तथा गान का विद्यालय में अनिवार्य स्थान होना चाहिए। शैक्षिक क्रिया की प्रवृत्ति के विषय में मेरे सारे सिद्धांत इस विचार को बदल देते हैं, क्योंकि ये संस्कृति के कुछ प्रमुख उपकरण हैं, जो व्यक्ति के मस्तिष्क को परिष्कृत करते हैं। संस्कृति के इन तत्वों को बच्चों पर प्रकट करने की आवश्यकता है।"

- **क्रियाशीलता का सिद्धांत :** डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन क्रियाशीलता के सिद्धांत (अनुभव) के समर्थक थे। शिक्षा में क्रियाओं का मनोवैज्ञानिक सिद्धांत उन्हें पूर्णत: स्वीकार था। महात्मा गांधी के बुनियादी शिक्षादर्शन के एक बहुत बड़े सूत्रधार डा. हुसैन साहब क्रियाशीलता के सिद्धांत का समर्थन करते हुए हमें बतलाते हैं कि शिक्षा में मुद्दतों से गलती होती रही है। शिक्षा देने वाले समझते थे कि जो कुछ देना है वे देंगे, जो बनाना है, वे बनाएंगे। सारी विद्या घोलकर पिला देंगे। बच्चा जैसे एक बर्तन है उसमें जो चाहेंगे वह भर देंगे। परंतु शनैः-शनैः शिक्षा का काम करने वाले की समझ में यह बात आने लगी कि सच्ची शिक्षा भी तभी होती है जब बच्चे का मन उधर झुके, जब मस्तिष्क उसे अपनाए, उसका अपना अनुभव बने, उसे जो दिया जाए उस पर वह खुद भी काम करे, जो सिखाया जाए, उसे पचाए। इस संबंध में उन्होंने कहा है, "ठीक शिक्षा के लिए आवश्यक है कि बच्चे को उसकी दिलचस्पियों, उसके कामों और उसके शौक के सहारे शिक्षा दी जाए। वह पचती है, बाकी सब ऊपर से ही लोप हो जाती है"।

डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन और बुनियादी शिक्षा पद्धति

बुनियादी शिक्षा पद्धति में महात्मा गांधी का शिक्षा दर्शन अवश्य निहित है परंतु इस दर्शन को मूर्त रूप देने वालों में डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन का नाम स्वर्णाक्षरों में लिखा जाएगा। जामिया मिल्लिया की स्थापना कर महात्मा गांधी और भारतवासियों के समक्ष उन्होंने बुनियादी तालीम का स्पष्ट चित्र प्रस्तुत किया है। उन्होंने गांधीजी के विचारों को साकार कर दिखाया।

इसके लिए ज़ाकिर हुसैन कमेटी बनी जिसके अध्यक्ष वे स्वयं ही थे।

आपने बुनियादी शिक्षा में हाथ के काम को बहुत महत्व दिया है। इसमें कहा गया है कि शिक्षा की योजना इस प्रकार से संयोजित की जाए कि उद्योग की क्रिया में इर्द-गिर्द ज्ञान का समन्वय हो सके। उद्योग के द्वारा छात्रों को कारीगर नहीं बनाना है बल्कि उद्योग में मनुष्य के विकास की जो शक्तियां निहित हैं, उनका पूरा लाभ उठाकर बालक के व्यक्तित्व का निर्माण किया जाए।

उद्देश्य: बुनियादी शिक्षा का लक्ष्य लोकतांत्रिक समाज के लिए ऐसे नागरिक तैयार करना है जो अपने अधिकारों और कर्तव्यों को समझते हुए समाज के आर्थिक एवं राजनैतिक ज़ीवन में अपने उत्तरदायित्व का निर्वाह कर सके।

शिक्षकों की तालीम : बुनियादी शिक्षा की सफलता योग्य शिक्षकों पर निर्भर करती है। अतः शिक्षा का काम संभालने से पूर्व शिक्षकों को उद्योगों की समझ तथा शिक्षण शास्त्र का प्रशिक्षण दिया जाना चाहिए। शिक्षकों को मुख्य रूप से उद्योगों, शरीर विज्ञान, स्वास्थ्य, सामाजिक विषयों तथा समन्वित शिक्षण का पूर्ण ज्ञान होना चाहिए।

निरीक्षण एवं परीक्षण : बुनियादी शिक्षा की सफलता के लिए समय-समय पर शालाओं के लिए निरीक्षक नियुक्त करने चाहिए। निरीक्षकों को स्थानीय समस्याओं पर विचार करके शाला की उन्नति के लिए सुझाव और सहयोग देना चाहिए। विद्यार्थियों के स्तर की परीक्षा या जांच के लिए शिक्षा विभाग को स्वयं प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। जांच के अभाव में न तो विद्यार्थियों एवं शिक्षकों को उपलब्धियों का ही पता चलेगा, न बुनियादी शिक्षा की सफलता का ही। अतः बीच-बीच में कई बार जांच का प्रबंध किया जाना चाहिए।

पाठ्यक्रम : बुनियादी शिक्षा के पाठ्यक्रम में निम्नलिखित विषयों को शामिल किया जाए, जिससे छात्र अध्ययन के अलावा वह भी सीख सकें जो उनके भावी जीवन के लिए आवश्यक है—जैसे (अ) उद्योग (ब) मातृभाषा (स) गणित (द) सामाजिक ज्ञान (य) सामान्य विज्ञान (ग) चित्रकला एवं संगीत आदि।

शिक्षक की अवधारणा

डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन का विचार है कि शिक्षक बच्चों की रुचि, उनके विचार और शारीरिक परिवर्तन को अच्छी तरह जानें, समझें और तदनुकूल शिक्षण की व्यवस्था करें। अच्छे अध्यापक में वह विशेषता होनी चाहिए जो एक अच्छे नाटककार, अच्छे उपन्यासकार या अच्छे साहित्यकार, अच्छे इतिहासकार में होती है। वह एक छोटी सी धारणा, एक छोटी सी बात से, एक साधारण सी क्रिया से, चेहरे के रंग से, आंखों से, यानी कि अभिव्यक्ति के साधारण ढंग से ही व्यक्ति की वास्तविकता का पता लगा लेता है। उसे मनोविज्ञान का पूर्ण ज्ञान होना चाहिए। कली रूपी बालक को एक पूर्ण विकसित सुंदर फूल का रूप देना शिक्षक का महान कर्तव्य है। अच्छे अध्यापक के जीवन में उदारता भी होती है, गंभीरता और दृढ़ता भी। इसकी आत्मा में स्वस्थ और सत्य, रूप और सौंदर्य, नेकी और पवित्रता, न्याय और स्वतंत्रता के प्रदर्शन से एक गर्मी पैदा हो जाती है, जिससे वे दूसरों के दिलों को गरमाते हैं और तपा

कर अपने शिष्यों के व्यक्तित्व को खरा बनाते हैं।

डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन के अनुसार सच्चा और व्यापक राष्ट्रीय पुनर्जागरण समुचित राजनीति द्वारा नहीं हो सकता। उसका आधार शिक्षा, संस्कृति और राष्ट्रीय चरित्र संबंधी नवीन दृष्टिकोण होना चाहिए। शिक्षा का अंग्रेज़ी ढांचा इस प्रयोजन की सिद्धि नहीं कर सका और न ही कर सकता है। इसके उद्देश्य संकुचित और सीमित हैं। इसकी पद्धतियां गतिशील हैं। इसके विषय क्षीण और दुर्बल हैं और इसका राष्ट्रीय जीवन की धाराओं से संबंध दूर का और विरल है। वे भारत में एक ऐसी सामाजिक व्यवस्था के पक्ष में थे जिसमें विभिन्न वर्ग तथा संप्रदाय विश्वास तथा मित्रता से साथ-साथ रहें और शक्तिशाली अशक्तों को सताएं नहीं। सभी एकता से रहें किंतु ऐसी स्थिति कहां देखने को मिलती है। उन्हीं के शब्दों में, "हमारे देश के नागरिकों में दृष्टिकोण की एकता नहीं है। आधारभूत मूल्य एक नहीं है। ऐसा गीत नहीं है जिसे सब मिलकर एक स्वर में गा सकें, ऐसा त्यौहार नहीं है, जिसे सब मिलकर मना सकें, ऐसे सुख-दुख नहीं हैं जिन्हें सब कोई बांट सकें।"

डा. हुसैन की शैक्षणिक विचारधारा में व्यक्ति के चारित्रिक गुणों पर विशेष ज़ोर दिया गया है फिर वह चाहे किसी समाज या राजनैतिक संस्था का सदस्या क्यों न हो। व्यक्ति के चरित्र को ऊंचा उठाने के लिए वे पाठ्यक्रम, सहपाठ्यक्रम और विद्यालय या महाविद्यालय के सामाजिक क्रियाकलापों का पूरा-पूरा उपयोग करना चाहते थे, ताकि विद्यार्थियों के मन में उच्च आदर्शों और अभिवृत्तियों की जड़ें जमाई जा सकें।

सच्ची शिक्षा तो उस भावना से मिलती है जिससे प्रेरित होकर कार्य किया जाता है और उस उल्लास से मिलती है जो जीवन और क्रियाकलापों के संबंध का परिचालक होता है। शिक्षा में कार्य का क्या अर्थ है। इस विषय पर अखिल भारतीय शिक्षा सम्मेलन 1940 में उन्होंने कहा था, "सब कार्य शिक्षा-प्रद नहीं हो सके। कार्य तो तभी शिक्षा-प्रद होता है जब मानसिक प्रयत्न उसका मार्गदर्शन करता है। पहले आपको अपने मस्तिष्क में कार्य की योजना बनानी चाहिए, तब उसे संपादित करने के तरीकों और साधनों के बारे में सोचना चाहिए, फिर उसे निष्पादित करना चाहिए और अंत में उसका मूल्यांकन करना चाहिए और उसके परिणामों की तुलना निर्देशक योजना से करनी चाहिए।"

डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन ने भारत में विकसित बुनियादी विद्यालयों की संकीर्ण और दलीय भावना और शिक्षा के लिए दूषित वातावरण तथा शिक्षकों की नासमझी और असाधुता की खूब आलोचना की है। विद्यालय के स्तर पर शिक्षक के सामाजिक व नैतिक गुण तथा परिस्थियां, उसकी विद्वत्ता व बौद्धिक क्षमता से शायद अधिक महत्वपूर्ण होती हैं। शिक्षक के व्यक्तित्व व गुणों का ही बच्चों पर विशेष प्रभाव पड़ता है और उन दोनों में जो संबंध विकसित होता है, वह अधिक महत्वपूर्ण होता है। उन्होंने विश्वविद्यालयों के नवीनीकरण पर ज़ोर दिया जिससे कि विश्वविद्यालय मानवीय और उदार शिक्षा देने का अपना वास्तविक कर्तव्य समझें। उन्हें शक्ति, उद्योग, विद्या या अन्वेषण की निश्चय ही अपेक्षा करनी चाहिए परंतु उन्हें सबसे बढ़कर लोगों को ऐसी शिक्षा देनी चाहिए जिससे उनके हृदय और मस्तिष्क स्वस्थ बनें।"

उन्होंने पाठ्यक्रम को व्यवसायी बनाने पर बल दिया था।

डा० ज़ाकिर हुसैन ने अपना सारा जीवन शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में लगा दिया। शिक्षा में ऐसा कौन सा क्षेत्र है जिस पर उन्होंने अपने विचार व्यक्त नहीं किए! जामिया मिल्लया की स्थापना व बुनियादी शिक्षा, उनकी शिक्षा जगत को एक अनुपम भेंट है। डा. ज़ाकिर हुसैन आज हमारे बीच नहीं हैं, परंतु जगत विख्यात भारत के इस महान शिक्षाशास्त्री के शिक्षा संबंधी मौलिक विचार भारतीय ज़नमानस विशेषत: शिक्षक और विद्यार्थी वर्ग का मार्गदर्शन हमेशा करते रहेंगे।

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जो विद्या पुस्तकों में रहती है और जो धन दूसरों के हाथों में रहता है समय पड़ने पर न वह विद्या है और न वह धन।

❑ ***चाणक्य***

मूल्यों का मापन और मूल्यांकन

जमनालाल बायती

कार्यवाहक प्रधानाचार्य
राजकीय उच्च अध्ययन शिक्षा संस्थान
बीकानेर-334004

मूल्यों का मूल्यांकन एक जटिल कार्य है। मूल्यांकन विशेषज्ञों के अनुसार बच्चों में मूल्य, वृत्ति या रुचि के विकास की परीक्षा मात्र कागज़ या कलम से नहीं ली जा सकती। इसके लिए मूल्यांकन की अन्य विधियों (यथा आत्मकथा, घटनावृत्त, समाजमिति इत्यादि) को भी अपनाना होगा।

प्रस्तुत लेख में लेखक ने कई उदाहरण देते हुए मूल्यांकन प्रक्रिया के उचित प्रयोग को रेखांकित किया है।

मूल्यांकन विशेषज्ञों के अनुसार बच्चों में मूल्य या वृत्ति या रुचि के विकास की परीक्षा मात्र कागज़-कलम से नहीं ली जा सकती। यदि ऐसा किया गया तो वह केवल सूचना प्राप्ति की परीक्षा होगी। अतः परीक्षा की अन्य विधियों यथा-अनुसूची, आत्मकथा, समाजमिति, घटनावृत्त, मान-निर्धारण, सामाजिक दूरी मापन तथा क्रियात्मक परीक्षा आदि का भी सहारा लेना होगा। अध्यापकों के निर्णय, उनकी सम्मति, उनका वस्तुनिष्ठ एवं पक्षपात रहित अवलोकन-निरीक्षण भी महत्वपूर्ण है। तभी मूल्यांकन को अधिक विश्वास के साथ स्वीकार किया जा सकता है। मूल्य विकास के क्षेत्र में विद्यार्थियों की निर्योग्यताओं का पता लगा कर उन पर व्यक्तिगत रूप से अधिक ध्यान दिया जा सकता है। अस्तु, शिक्षक एवं शिक्षक प्रशिक्षक स्पष्टतः जान सकेंगे कि किसी एक विशिष्ट मूल्य के मूल्यांकन में एक या अधिक तकनीक या विधियों को काम में लिया जा सकता है और इसी भांति एक तकनीक या साधन एक से अधिक मूल्यों के मूल्यांकन हेतु प्रयोग में लाया जा सकता है।

मूल्यांकन के उद्देश्य

मूल्यांकन किसी भी क्षेत्र में किया जाए, उसके कुछ स्पष्ट उद्देश्य होते हैं। अध्यापक कुछ उद्देश्य निश्चित करके मूल्यों का अध्यापन करता है। मूल्यांकन के द्वारा वह यह जानने का प्रयास करता है कि अपने उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति में उसे किस सीमा तक तथा किस स्तर तक सफलता मिली है। यह भी कि अपने शिक्षण के मूल्यांकन कार्यक्रम में कहां संशोधन करना वांछनीय है ? छात्र की कहां व किस स्थल पर सीखने में विवशता रही है ? उसकी क्या कठिनाई है ? अस्तु, अध्यापक अपने विद्यार्थियों के संबंध में अपेक्षित ज्ञान प्राप्त कर उनका उपयुक्त मार्गदर्शन कर सकता है एवं स्वयं द्वारा निर्धारित कार्यक्रम में, यदि आवश्यक हो तो, संशोधन एवं परिवर्तन ला सकता है। इस रचना को पढ़ कर शिक्षक :

- मूल्यों के मूल्यांकन की विधियों, प्रविधियों तथा साधनों को जान सकेंगे।
- किसी विशिष्ट मूल्य के मूल्यांकन हेतु अधिक सक्षम बन सकेंगे।
- विभिन्न मूल्यों के मूल्यांकन हेतु सर्वाधिक उपयुक्त विधि, साधन या तकनीक का चयन कर सकेंगे।

निम्नांकित दो क्षेत्रों में कार्य किया जा सकेगा :

(अ) मूल्यांकन में सुधार-संशोधन की नई तकनीकों का प्रयोग, पाठ्यक्रम में सुधार हेतु सुझाव।

(ब) विद्यार्थियों के आचरण में आई त्रुटियों का आकलन एवं उनका समुचित मार्गदर्शन, त्रुटियों में परिमार्जन।

क्रियाकलाप-एक

प्रेमचंद की कहानी पर आधारित नीचे लिखा अंश पढ़िए :

"रियासत देवगढ़ के लिए नए दीवान का चयन करना था। राजा साहब ने यह कार्य दीवान को ही सौंपा। रिक्त पद के विज्ञापन के उत्तर में प्राप्त आवेदन पत्रों में से कइयों को साक्षात्कार के लिए बुलाया गया। साक्षात्कार कई दिन चलना था। अतः उनके रहने की व्यवस्था की गई। उनका आचरण, दृष्टिकोण, विचारधारा, खेलते, खाते, सोते, उठते, बैठते बात करते समय देख कर उपयुक्त प्रत्याशी का चयन करना था। प्रत्याशी संध्या में खेल-खेलकर लौट रहे थे। उस रास्ते में पड़ने वाले नाले में एक बैलगाड़ी धंस गई थी। एक तो गाड़ी में अनाज अधिक भरा था और दूसरे बैल कमज़ोर थे। अतः बैलगाड़ी को नाले के ऊपर नहीं ले जा पा रहे थे। इसलिए गाड़ीवाला यह आशा कर रहा था कि गाड़ी को नाला पार कराने में कोई उसकी मदद कर दे। खिलाड़ी एक-एक करके नाला पार कर अपने गंतव्य स्थान पर पहुंच रहे थे। इसी बीच उनमें से एक खिलाड़ी रुका तथा गाड़ीवाले से बैलों को साधने को कहा तथा स्वयं कीचड़ से भरे नाले में उतर कर पहिए को ज़ोर से घुमाकर गाड़ी को ऊपर चढ़ाने का प्रयत्न किया तो गाड़ी नाले के ऊपर थी।

"गाड़ीवाले का चेहरा प्रसन्नता से चमक रहा था कि आपने सहायता न की होती तो संभव है रात यहीं रहना पड़ता। भगवान ने चाहा तो आप ही दीवान बनेंगे'।"

यहां कुछ बातों पर ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए। अनाज से भरी गाड़ी, नाले में गाड़ी का फंसना, एक-एक कर खिलाड़ियों का नाला पार कर लेना, गाड़ी निकलवाने की आशा करना, कीचड़ में उतर कर गाड़ी को नाले पर चढ़वाना—ये सभी घटनाएं बहुत छोटी हैं, पर मूल्यों के मूल्यांकन की दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण हैं। इस छोटी सी घटना में दूसरों के लिए विचार, सहिष्णुता, सहायता, सहानुभूति आदि मूल्य स्वतः स्पष्ट हो जाते हैं। थोड़ा और बारीकी से विचार करने पर 'श्रम की महत्ता' का मूल्य भी उजागर होता है।

क्रियाकलाप-दो

मूल्यांकन करते समय आधार सामग्री को लेकर विचार कीजिए। आचार्य द्रोण की परीक्षा-व्यवस्था संबंधी उद्धरण पढ़िए :

"द्रोणाचार्य एक बार पाण्डवों की परीक्षा लेने के लिए उन्हें जंगल में ले गए। वहां एक पेड़ की ऊंची टहनी पर एक चिड़िया रख दी। परीक्षा में छात्रों को चिड़िया की आंख की पुतली छेदनी थी। द्रोणाचार्य के पूछने पर छात्र बताते रहे कि उन्हें चिड़िया दीख

रही है, पेड़ की डालियां दीख रही हैं, पेड़ से परे आकाश भी दीख रहा है, पेड़ से दूर आगे खेत में चरती हुई गाय भी दीख रही है, घर पर थाली में परोसा हुआ खाना भी दीख रहा है, आचार्य दीख रहे हैं। अर्जुन के सिवाय चारों भाइयों से ऐसे उत्तर पाकर द्रोणाचार्य ने उन्हें परीक्षा में अनुत्तीर्ण घोषित कर दिया। अब अर्जुन की बारी थी। द्रोणाचार्य ने यही प्रश्न अर्जुन से भी पूछे। अर्जुन ने बताया कि उसे केवल आंख की पुतली मात्र ही दीख रही है। चिड़िया तो दूर उसे तो चिड़िया की आंख भी नहीं दीख रही है।"

यहां ये बिंदु ध्यान खींचते हैं—परीक्षा की व्यवस्था, सामूहिक परीक्षा, जंगल में ले जाना, एक-एक को बुलाना, परीक्षा में अनुत्तीर्ण घोषित करना, आचार्य का अप्रसन्न न होना, छात्रों को स्वीकार करना, अर्जुन की परीक्षा लेना, वही प्रश्न, अर्जुन की एकाग्रता, प्रयत्नों का केंद्रित होना और अर्जुन को परीक्षा में सफल घोषित करना।

यह घटनावृत्त छोटा हो सकता है पर मूल्यांकन के क्षेत्र में, मुख्यत: मूल्य विकास की दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रखता है। बार-बार वांछित उत्तर न पाने पर भी आचार्य जी द्वारा क्रोध न करना, हताश न होना, छात्रों को प्रोत्साहित करना तथा अर्जुन की एकाग्रता जीवन मूल्यों के विकास की अभूतपूर्व परख है। यहां द्रोणाचार्य का धैर्य, गुण, संवेदनशीलता अथवा विद्यार्थियों के प्रति ममत्व भी स्पष्ट दृष्टिगोचर होता है। साथ ही अर्जुन के व्यक्तित्व में निहित एकाग्रता गुण को भी नहीं भुलाया जा सकता।

❑ क्रियाकलाप-तीन

उदाहरण को पढ़ कर उससे विकसित होने वाले मूल्यों को पहचानिए। अध्यापक महात्मा गांधी की आत्मकथा 'सत्य के प्रयोग' से संबंधित अंश कक्षा में पढ़ें (सार नीचे दिया गया है) :

"एक बार विद्यालय निरीक्षक विद्यालय का निरीक्षण करने आए। निरीक्षण के समय उन्होंने विद्यार्थियों को श्रुतलेख लिखवाया। एक छात्र ने श्रुतलेख में अंग्रेज़ी के एक शब्द 'केटल' की वर्तनी गलत लिख दी। यह बात विद्यालय के प्रधानाचार्य को अनुचित लगी तथा उन्हें निरीक्षक की डांट-फटकार की भी आशंका हुई जिससे वे बचना चाहते थे। अत: कक्षा में घूम कर पर्यवेक्षण करते समय उन्होंने उस छात्र को पांव के अंगूठे से संकेत किया कि वे आगे सामने बैठे छात्र की उत्तर पुस्तिका देखकर गलत वर्तनी को सही करले। पर छात्र ने ऐसा नहीं किया।"

विद्यालय का निरीक्षण, श्रुतलेख लिखवाना, वर्तनी गलत लिखना, प्रधानाचार्य द्वारा नकल करने का संकेत, छात्र द्वारा इस संकेत पर ध्यान न देना आदि पर ध्यान केंद्रित होता है। यह घटना सामान्य होते हुए भी परीक्षा की पवित्रता बनाए रखने का संकेत करती है। परीक्षा में अनुचित साधन नहीं अपनाना चाहिए। यह घटना छात्र से स्वयं को धोखा न देने का आग्रह करती है। उपरोक्त उदाहरण पढ़ कर उससे विकसित होने वाले मूल्यों को पहचानिए।

❑ क्रियाकलाप-चार

नियमितता गुण के मूल्यांकन हेतु अध्यापक द्वारा मापन (रेटिंग) इस प्रकार प्रस्तुत किया जा सकता है :

विद्यालय जाते समय आप रास्ते में ही चेतावनी की घंटी सुन लेते हैं। आप जो व्यवहार करना पसंद करें उसे चिह्नित कीजिए :

— दौड़ कर विद्यालय पहुंचने का प्रयास करना।
— साइकिल पर जाने वाले मित्र से स्वयं को ले जाने का आग्रह करना।
— रास्ते में किसी मित्र की सहायता करने का बहाना बनाना।
— कारण पूछने पर घर से ही देर से चलना बताना।
— पूछने पर अन्यों के भी समय पर न आने की बात कहना।
— पूछने पर देरी से आना ही स्वीकार नहीं करना।
— घंटी की परवाह किए बिना विद्यालय देर से पहुंचना।
— विद्यालय न जाकर घर लौट जाना।

ये संभावित उत्तर गंभीरता की दृष्टि से न्यूनाधिक रूप में दिए जा सकते हैं। नियमित बनने के लिए प्रथम उत्तर अति महत्वपूर्ण है जबकि अंतिम उत्तर निकृष्ट है। अन्य संभावित उत्तर इन दोनों के मध्य में है।

❑ क्रियाकलाप-पांच

सेवा भावना, सहायता, संवेदनशीलता के मूल्यांकन के लिए स्थितिजन्य परीक्षण पद द्रष्टव्य है :

स्कूल जाते समय एक रोगी सड़क के किनारे पड़ा कराह रहा है। अपनी पसंद के कार्य व्यवहार को चिह्नित कीजिए :

— बड़बड़ाएंगे कि बीमार होकर सड़क पर आ जाते हैं।
— बिना ध्यान दिए आगे बढ़ जाएंगे।
— विद्यालय से लौट कर उसके बारे में पूछताछ करेंगे।
— अन्य राहगीरों से उसको चिकित्सालय पहुंचाने के लिए कहेंगे।
— सर्वप्रथम उसे चिकित्सालय पहुंचाएंगे।

यहां यह ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए कि यह परीक्षण पद एक से अधिक मूल्यों का मूल्यांकन करता है। यहां यह भी ध्यान देने योग्य है कि ऊपर के दोनों परीक्षण पदों में संभावित व्यवहार एक-दूसरे के विपरीत हैं। प्रथम परीक्षण पद में प्रथम उत्तर सर्वोत्कृष्ट स्तर पर जांचा जा रहा है। दूसरे परीक्षण पद में अंतिम संभावित उत्तर सर्वाधिक अपेक्षित है। यहां यह भी ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिए कि संभावित उत्तरों को 1, 2, 3 की भांति संख्या से अभिहित नहीं किया है—इससे भी विद्यार्थियों को पद सोपान का संकेत मिल संकता है, अत: इससे भी बचने का प्रयास किया गया है।

❑ क्रियाकलाप-छह

धैर्य, सहिष्णुता मूल्य के मूल्यांकन हेतु निम्नांकित पद पर भी दृष्टि डालिए :

कल परीक्षा है तथा आप आज पुस्तकालय जाकर पुस्तकें मांगते हैं तो पुस्तकालयाध्यक्ष कहता है कि पुस्तकें तो अन्य छात्रों के नाम चढ़ी हैं। अपने द्वारा किए जाने वाले व्यवहार को चिह्नित कीजिए :

— पुस्तकालयाध्यक्ष पर क्रोध करेंगे।
— रिज़र्व प्रति से वहीं बैठ कर पढ़ेंगे।
— पुस्तक ले जाने वाले का नाम तथा पता जानना चाहेंगे।
— बिना तैयारी के परीक्षा देने का मानस बनाएंगे।
— पुस्तक की प्राप्ति का स्थान जानकर पुस्तक खरीद लेंगे।

❑ क्रियाकलाप-सात

श्रम की महत्ता या निष्ठा के मूल्यांकन का पद देखिए :

वृक्षारोपण के लिए गड्ढा खोदना है। नीचे लिखे संभावित उत्तरों पर क्रमशः बाएं हाथ की ओर दिए गए कोष्ठक में क्रम संख्या लिखिए :

( ) तत्काल स्वयं गड्ढा खोदेंगे।
( ) अपने से छोटी कक्षा के छात्र को बुलाकर उससे गड्ढा खुदवाएंगे।
( ) गड्ढा खोदने का काम चपरासी को सौंपने के लिए उसे बुलाएंगे।
( ) पानी की कमी बता कर वृक्ष लगाना बेकार बताएंगे।
( ) लापरवाही से वृक्षारोपण का कार्य टाल देंगे।

ऊपर के उत्तर सकारात्मक रूप से क्रमानुसार दिए गए हैं।

❑ क्रियाकलाप-आठ

उद्देश्याधारित कार्य संपादन का मूल्यांकन इस प्रकार भी किया जा सकता है :

गृहकार्य हर दशा में समय पर जांचना ही चाहिए। जो कथन सर्वाधिक रूप से आप पर लागू हो उसे चिह्नित कीजिए :

1. सदैव 2. अधिकांश अवसरों पर
3. यदाकदा 4. संभव होने पर
5. कभी-कभी 6. कभी नहीं

❑ क्रियाकलाप-नौ

बड़ों के प्रति आदर के मूल्यांकन हेतु एक परीक्षा पद दृष्टव्य है :

पिकनिक के लिए जाते समय बस में बैठने के लिए आप जिन्हें जगह देंगे, उस उत्तर को चिह्नित कीजिए :

— शिक्षक को
— अपनी ही कक्षा की छात्रा को
— भोजनालय के सेवक को
— वरिष्ठ कक्षा के छात्र को
— अपनी बारी से बस में प्रवेश करने वाले प्रथम साथी को

❑ क्रियाकलाप-दस

मूल्यांकन के पक्ष-विपक्ष देखकर पता लगाइए कि उसमें किन मूल्यों की उपेक्षा हुई है। नीचे एक अनुसूची प्रस्तुत की जा रही है। इसके जो कथन आप पर लागू हो, उन्हें बाईं ओर कोष्ठक में चिह्नित कीजिए :

( ) समय पर गृह कार्य जांचना।
( ) भ्रमित बालक का मार्गदर्शन करना।
( ) समय पर कक्षा में पहुंचना।
( ) ज़रूरतमंद छात्र की मदद करना।
( ) प्रार्थना सभा में दिन भर के कार्यक्रम की जानकारी देना।
( ) कक्षाकक्ष में छात्रों से फर्नीचर न तोड़ने का आग्रह करना।
( ) बस के समय पर विद्यालय न पहुंचने की आशा करना।
( ) निर्धन छात्रों को अवकाश के समय बगीचे में कार्य करवा कर सहायता देना।
( ) छात्रों से जलगृह में पंक्ति बनाकर पानी पीने का आग्रह करना।

( ) मीरा के पद को लय के साथ गाने का आग्रह करना।

( ) बीमार छात्र को चिकित्सालय पहुंचाना।

( ) सामुदायिक भोजन के समय पहले छात्राओं को भोजन करवाना।

( ) नल से व्यर्थ बहते पानी पर ध्यान न देना।

( ) सर्दी में भी पंखे चलाना।

( ) छात्रों से खिड़कियों के शीशे साफ करवाना।

इसप्रकार के और भी प्रश्न/कथन जोड़े जा सकते हैं। उत्तरों की मूल्यांकन तथा पुर्नमूल्यांकन द्वारा पुष्टि कीजिए।

❑ अन्य क्रियाकलाप

कभी कक्षा में श्रुतलेख लिखवाइए। विद्यार्थियों के उत्तरों का बिना किसी प्रकार का चिह्न लगाए मूल्यांकन कीजिए। छात्रों की अशुद्धियां सूचीबद्ध कर लीजिए। संभावित कठिन वर्तनियों का शुद्ध रूप श्यामपट्ट पर लिखिए। श्यामपट्ट की सहायता से अब इन्हीं श्रुतलेखों को उन्हीं छात्रों से जंचवाइए। देखिए, मूल्यांकन में कोई अंतर आया है अथवा नहीं। इसी कार्य को कभी स्वयं जांचने के बाद छात्रों द्वारा अदल-बदल कर जंचवाया जा सकता है। देखिए, क्या इस प्रकार मूल्यांकन में कोई अंतर आया है या नहीं। इससे छात्रों की ईमानदारी या धोखे के मूल्य या प्रवृत्ति का मूल्यांकन या जांच की जा सकती है।

मुक्त अभिव्यक्ति

कुछ विवादास्पद विषयों पर बच्चों को बोलने-लिखने का अवसर देना चाहिए। ऐसे विषयों पर भाषण या वाद-विवाद प्रतियोगिता आयोजित की जा सकती है—उनसे लेख लिखवाए जा सकते हैं। भाषण सुनकर या लेख पढ़कर उनका मूल्यांकन किया जा सकता है। ऐसे विषयों में उनकी तर्क शक्ति स्पष्ट दीखती है। भूमिका निर्वहन (रोल प्लेइंग) विधि में वे खुल कर बोलना पसंद करते हैं। विषय हो सकते हैं—आरक्षण, छुआछूत, पंजाब समस्या, जाति प्रथा, दहेज प्रथा, उत्तराखण्ड का निर्माण आदि। इन्हीं विषयों पर लेख के रूप में मुक्त विचार भी लिखवाए जा सकते हैं। लिखित अभिव्यक्ति को पढ़कर उनके मनोभावों का पता लगाया जा सकता है और विद्यार्थियों में विकसित मूल्यों को ज्ञात किया जा सकता है।

उपर्युक्त सामग्री को पढ़ने के बाद मूल्यांकन के उपकरणों, साधनों, तकनीकों एवं विधियों को सूचीबद्ध कीजिए।

अनुसूची, मान निर्धारण मापनी, निरीक्षण, अवलोकन, निष्पादित कार्य की जांच, आत्मकथा, दैनंदिनी (डायरी) घटनावृत्त, अभिलेख, संचयीवृत्त, चेक लिस्ट (पड़ताल सूची) समाजमिति तथा सामाजिक दूरी मापन आदि मूल्यांकन संबंधी उपकरण हैं।

व्यावहारिकता

मूल्यांकन के इन उपकरणों को कक्षा में सामूहिक रूप से प्रयुक्त किया जा सकता है। इसके अलावा वैयक्तिक रूप से भी इनकी प्रतिक्रिया इन उपकरणों द्वारा जानी जा सकती है। यह कार्य निर्धारित उद्देश्यों पर निर्भर करेगा। यदि किसी विद्यार्थी के किसी व्यवहार का गहनता से निरीक्षण कर उसके बारे में निर्णय लेना है तो यह भी संभव है कि निरीक्षण या मूल्यांकन कार्य को दोहराना पड़े या परीक्षण का दूसरी बार आयोजन भी आवश्यक हो।

भूमिका निर्वहन, प्रक्षेपणीय विधियों में से एक है। भूमिका निभाते समय छात्र की क्या स्थिति रही है—इस पर भी विवेक से वस्तुनिष्ठ निर्णय कर छात्र के क्रिया-कलाप का, कार्य व्यवहार का मूल्यांकन या वर्गीकरण किया जा सकता है।

अब यह सहज ही अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि कौन सी विधि या तकनीक किस मूल्य के मूल्यांकन में प्रयोग की जा सकती है।

पक्ष/अंग	मूल्यांकन के लिए प्रस्तावित साधन या तकनीक या उपकरण
अ. ज्ञान या सूचना की जांच	निबंधात्मक तथा वस्तुनिष्ठ प्रश्न, परीक्षण पद, इन परीक्षणों की पूरक रूप में मौखिक परीक्षा।
आ. विद्यालय एवं विद्यालय के बाहर की वैयक्तिक एवं सामूहिक गतिविधियां	कार्य-कलापों का निरीक्षण, अवलोकन (सहभागित्व युक्त एवं सहभागित्व रहित दोनों)।
इ. प्रवृत्ति, विचारधारा, दृष्टिकोण, वृत्ति, धारणा, रुचि, अवधान आदि का निर्धारण	निर्धारण-समाजमिति, छात्र द्वारा लिखे गए वृत्त, अभिलेख, आत्मकथा, डायरी, आदि का अध्यापक द्वारा निरीक्षण, अवलोकन, स्तर निर्धारण।
ई. शारीरिक विकास, स्वास्थ्य	बालकों द्वारा संपादित कार्य की क्रियात्मक परीक्षा।

मूल्यांकन

1. मूल्यांकन के मुख्य कार्य बताइए।
2. मूल्यों का मूल्यांकन अन्य पाठ्य विषयों के मूल्यांकन से किस प्रकार भिन्न है ? स्पष्ट कीजिए।
3. श्रम के प्रति निष्ठा के मूल्यांकन हेतु श्रेष्ठ विधि, कारण सहित बताइए।
4. सहिष्णुता गुण के मूल्यांकन हेतु दो वस्तुनिष्ठ पदों की रचना कीजिए।
5. बालकों में विकसित सामाजिकता के मूल्यांकन का कार्यक्रम सुझाइए।
6. प्रेमचंद की आप द्वारा पढ़ी अन्य किसी कहानी में उजागर हुए मूल्यों की सूची बनाइए।
7. अवलोकन कीजिए तथा बताइए कि निम्नांकित स्थितियों में किन मूल्यों का विकास बच्चों में नहीं हुआ है :
   - ❑ शुल्क जमा कराते समय पंक्ति न बनाना।
   - ❑ पर्वतारोहण के समय टाफी के रैपर वहीं फैंक देना।
   - ❑ ऐतिहासिक महत्व के स्थानों पर अपना नाम लिखना।
   - ❑ जन्माष्टमी का उत्सव मनाते समय कुछ छात्रों का पलायन कर जाना।
   - ❑ पुस्तकालय की पुस्तकों में से अपनी पसंद के चित्रों को फाड़ लेना।

निष्कर्ष

अध्यापक द्वारा किसी छात्र का परीक्षण-निरीक्षण या अवलोकन करने के बाद उस छात्र का क्या व्यवहार रहता है तथा उसके व्यवहार में क्या परिवर्तन आता है, अध्यापक अवलोकन कर इस संदर्भ में अपनी टिप्पणी तैयार करें।

मूल्यों के मापन संबंधी यदि कोई विशिष्ट परीक्षण या तकनीक विकसित हुई है तो आप उसका प्रयोग करते हुए भिन्न न्यादर्श या विषय पर काम कर सकते हैं। इस उपकरण को प्रमापीकृत करने की योजना भी बना सकते हैं।

निष्कर्षतः यह कहा जा सकता है कि मूल्यों का मूल्यांकन एक जटिल कार्य है। इसका महत्व इससे समझा जा सकता है कि जब शिक्षा आयोग (1948-49) का प्रतिवेदन प्रस्तुत करते समय डा. राधाकृष्णन् से पूछा गया कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में सुधार के लिए किया जाने वाला एकमात्र महत्वपूर्ण सुझाव दीजिए तो उन्होंने मूल्यांकन प्रक्रिया में सुधार को ही *सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण बताया था।* इस दृष्टि से वस्तुनिष्ठ मूल्यांकन ही सर्वाधिक उपयोगी हो सकता है। संक्षेप में बच्चे का अपेक्षित मूल्यों से संस्कारयुक्त होना— मूल्यांकन (वह भी वैध एवं विश्वसनीय) पर ही निर्भर करता है।

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समस्त शिक्षा का लक्ष्य ही पूर्ण मानव का निर्माण करना है।

❑ स्वामी विवेकानंद

आधुनिक परीक्षा पद्धति : एक अमानवीय संकल्पना

कृष्ण गोपाल रस्तोगी

ई 923 सरस्वती विहार
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प्रस्तुत लेख में लेखक ने मूल्यांकन के चार सोपानों—शिक्षण, प्रश्न-पत्र की रचना, परीक्षार्थियों द्वारा उत्तर लेखन तथा परीक्षार्थियों के उत्तरों का मूल्यांकन—की विस्तृत रूप में चर्चा करते हुए, आज की आधुनिक परीक्षा पद्धति एवं वर्तमान मूल्यांकन प्रणाली को अनेक उदाहरणों के द्वारा अविश्वसनीय बताया है। साथ ही इस ओर शिक्षाविदों का ध्यान आकर्षित करते हुए इस संदर्भ में सुधार का अनुरोध किया है।

मनुष्य के व्यवहार को अंकों में मापना एक अमानवीय संकल्पना नहीं तो और क्या है! मानवीय व्यवहार लकड़ी या पत्थर का टुकड़ा नहीं है जो मीटरों या सेंटीमीटरों में नापा जाए। लकड़ी और पत्थर दोनों अपरिवर्तनशील हैं और उन्हें मापने का यंत्र भी एक समान रहता है। मानवीय व्यवहार तो क्षण-क्षण बदलता रहता है। एक ही व्यक्ति की भाषा के तीन रूप हैं—पश्यंती, मध्यमा और बैखरी। ऐसे में भाषा के माध्यम से अभिव्यक्त परीक्षार्थी की शैक्षिक उपलब्धि एकरूप कैसे रह सकती है। तिस पर भी उसकी इस शैक्षिक उपलब्धि के पोषण और मापन के अन्य भागीदार भी हैं—उसके सहपाठी, उसका अध्यापक, प्राश्निक, अतिरिक्त मुख्य परीक्षक, मूल्यांकनकर्त्ता। इन सभी की अभिव्यक्ति के तीन रूप हैं। इन सभी में अंक संबंधी एकरूपता शतप्रतिशत लाना मनुष्य की शक्ति के बाहर है। इसके बावजूद आधुनिक परीक्षा पद्धति में परीक्षार्थी की शैक्षिक उपलब्धि का मापन अंकों के रूप में किया जाता है। विद्यालय के स्तर पर भी इसमें दोष दिखाई देते हैं। लाखों परीक्षार्थियों के लिए आयोजित सार्वजनिक परीक्षाओं में तो यह विकराल रूप में दिखाई देती है। वैसे भी जिसे हम उपलब्धि का मापन मानते हैं वह उसकी निष्पत्ति का मापन कहा जा सकता है क्योंकि परीक्षार्थी की स्मृति, चित्तवृत्ति तथा स्वास्थ्य आदि उपलब्धि और निष्पत्ति में अंतर पैदा कर देते हैं। इन सब सीमाओं के होते हुए परीक्षा को आवश्यक बुराई के रूप में स्वीकार किया जाता है क्योंकि इसका कोई विकल्प नहीं मिल पाया है।

शैक्षिक मूल्यांकन के दो उद्देश्य होते हैं—पहला है शैक्षिक जिसमें मूल्यांकन की सहायता से विद्यार्थियों की शैक्षिक उपलब्धि का निदान तथा परिष्कार किया जाता है। दूसरा है तकनीकी जिसमें मापन के आधार पर अंकों की सहायता से परीक्षार्थियों की श्रेणी अथवा वरीयता स्थान निश्चित करना होता है। उपलब्धि के परिष्कार का तात्पर्य है विद्यार्थी की उपलब्धि की त्रुटियों और कमियों को दूर कर उसे अधिकतम शुद्ध बनाना। इस स्थिति में उनकी उपलब्धि की तुलना करने की आवश्यकता नहीं होती परंतु जब किसी

स्थान या पद के लिए परीक्षार्थियों का चयन करना होता है तब अंकों अथवा श्रेणियों में उनका वर्गीकरण करने की आवश्यकता होती है। विद्यालयीय परीक्षाओं का उद्देश्य तो निश्चित रूप से उपलब्धि का परिष्कार है, पर अभी तक सार्वजनिक परीक्षा का उद्देश्य इस दृष्टि से निश्चित नहीं हो पाया है। अधिकतर परीक्षा बोर्डों में परीक्षार्थियों की उपलब्धि को श्रेणियों तथा वरीयता स्थानों में वर्गीकृत किया जाता है। पहले अंकों के आधार पर किया जाता था और अब अंकों की सहायता से श्रेणियों अर्थात ग्रेडों के आधार पर किया जाता है। दोनों के अपने-अपने गुण-दोष हैं। अंकों के आधार पर श्रेणी या वरीयता स्थान केवल एक अंक से भी बदल जाता है, अर्थात 59% द्वितीय श्रेणी स्थान हो जाता है। इसमें मान्यता यह थी कि एक-एक अंक नापतोल कर बिल्कुल सही दिया गया है जबकि शैक्षिक शोधों ने यह प्रमाणित कर दिया है कि अंकन में 20% से 30% तक त्रुटि हो सकती है। अंकों के आधार पर ग्रेड देने में दोष यह है कि 10,12 अंकों के अंतर वाले विद्यार्थियों का ग्रेड एक ही होता है। इससे एक-एक अंक का अंतर तो मिट गया पर 10,12 अंकों तक के परीक्षार्थियों का तुलनात्मक अंतर भी नहीं रहा। चूंकि ग्रेड अंकों के आधार पर दिए जाते हैं इसलिए अंकों के गुण-दोष तो परीक्षा पद्धति में बने ही रहे। ग्रेड में बदलने से केवल उनका रूप बदल गया।

मानवीय निष्पत्ति के माध्यम से शैक्षिक उपलब्धि को मापना और वह भी अंकों में मापना, यह अपने में ही एक विचित्र संकल्पना है। जब तक धार्मिक रूप में अंकों को एक दम पवित्र माना जाता रहा तब तक ठीक चलता रहा, पर जब से शोध द्वारा इस पर प्रकाश डाला गया तब से मन में अनेक प्रकार की शंकाएं आने लगीं। मूल्यांकन परिणामों की विशेषताओं के रूप में दो तकनीकी शब्द प्रचलित हैं—वैधता तथा विश्वसनीयता। वैधता का तात्पर्य है कि किसी प्रश्न या परीक्षा से जिस विषय वस्तु या योग्यता की परीक्षा करना अपेक्षित है, उसी की परीक्षा हुई है। विश्वसनीयता से तात्पर्य यह है कि किसी प्रश्न, प्रश्न-पत्र अथवा विषय में जितने अंक आने चाहिए उतने ही आए हैं, वे समय या व्यक्ति के बदलने से बदलते नहीं है। वैधता के संबंध में भी कभी-कभी शंका उठाई जाती है, जब यह कहा जाता है कि प्रश्न या प्रश्न-पत्र पाठ्यक्रम के बाहर है। पर विश्वसनीयता के संबंध में प्राय: शंका की जाती है क्योंकि उससे परीक्षार्थी का वर्तमान और भविष्य प्रभावित होता है। आइए, तनिक वैधता की उपेक्षा कर विश्वसनीयता के प्रश्न पर विचार कर लिया जाए।

संकल्पना की दृष्टि से विश्वसनीयता का तात्पर्य यह है कि यदि किसी उत्तर का मूल्यांकन भिन्न-भिन्न व्यक्ति करें या वही व्यक्ति भिन्न-भिन्न अवसरों पर करे तो बिल्कुल उतने ही अंक दिए जाने चाहिए जितने पहले उसे दिए गए थे। यह तभी संभव है जब मूल्यांकन के विभिन्न सोपानों में पूर्णतया वस्तुनिष्ठता हो, व्यक्तिनिष्ठता को लेशमात्र भी स्थान न दिया जाए। सार्वजनिक परीक्षा में मूल्यांकन के सोपान हैं—बाह्य प्राश्निक द्वारा प्रश्न-पत्र रचना, परीक्षार्थी द्वारा प्रश्नों का उत्तर लिखना, विभिन्न योग्यताओं वाले अध्यापकों द्वारा विभिन्न पृष्ठभूमि वाले परीक्षार्थियों का शिक्षण, एक नए अतिरिक्त मुख्य परीक्षक के मार्गदर्शन में विभिन्न परीक्षकों द्वारा उत्तर का मूल्यांकन। इसप्रकार इस मूल्यांकन प्रक्रिया के भागीदार हैं—शिक्षक, विद्यार्थी, प्राश्निक, अतिरिक्त मुख्य परीक्षक तथा परीक्षक। मोटे तौर पर यह कहा

जा सकता है कि मूल्यांकन के चार सोपान हैं—शिक्षण प्रश्न-पत्र की रचना, परीक्षार्थियों द्वारा उत्तर का लेखन तथा परीक्षार्थियों के उत्तरों का मूल्यांकन। इनके भागीदार पांच हैं। शतप्रतिशत वस्तुनिष्ठता तब संभव है जब इन चारों सोपानों के पांचों भागीदारों में शतप्रतिशत तालमेल हो। तभी शतप्रतिशत विश्वसनीयता संभव है। यह संभव नहीं है, इसीलिए परीक्षा परिणामों का मॉडरेशन, सांख्यिकीय विश्लेषण तथा शुद्धीकरण एवं उत्तरों का पुनर्मूल्यांकन, अंकों का योग करना आदि परिपाटियां प्रचलित हैं। इसका कारण है परीक्षार्थियों की शैक्षिक उपलब्धि की निष्पत्ति को अंकों में मापने की पद्धति के दोष और उसकी सीमाएं। मानवीय निष्पत्ति को मानवीय संसाधनों की सहायता से मनुष्य द्वारा निर्मित मापन की प्रक्रिया तथा उससे प्राप्त परिणामों को शतप्रतिशत वस्तुनिष्ठता अथवा विश्वसनीयता के साथ मापना असंभव है। हां इसे कम किया जा सकता है। व्यक्तिनिष्ठता शून्य मानवीय व्यवहार मानव को मानव नहीं रहने देगा। वैसे भी व्यक्तिनिष्ठता इतनी बुरी संज्ञा नहीं है, जीवन में पग-पग पर इसकी आवश्यकता पड़ती है।

परीक्षा परिणामों को किस प्रकार विश्वसनीय बनाया जाए, इसपर विचार करना भी तर्क संगत होगा। चूंकि अभी और कोई विकल्प नहीं है, अतएव इसी आवश्यक बुराई को जितना बेहतर बनाया जा सके, बनाने का प्रयत्न करना उपयुक्त रहेगा।

मूल्यांकन की विश्वसनीयता शिक्षण से ही प्रारंभ होती है। यह आवश्यक है कि परीक्षण संस्था शिक्षकों तथा परीक्षार्थियों को उन परीक्षण यंत्रों से भली भांति परिचित कराएं। किस प्रकार के प्रश्न का उत्तर कैसा हो यह बात भी शिक्षकों तथा विद्यार्थियों को बतानी चाहिए जिससे शिक्षक अपना शिक्षण तथा विद्यार्थी अपना अध्ययन उसके अनुकूल कर सकें। इसके लिए परीक्षण संस्थाओं को नमूने की पर्याप्त परीक्षण सामग्री तैयार करा कर विद्यालयों में भेजनी चाहिए। परीक्षा पद्धति या प्रश्न-पत्र में परिवर्तन या नवीनता लाने की स्थिति में तो यह अत्यंत आवश्यक है। इस संबंध में तो शिक्षकों को प्रशिक्षण देना भी आवश्यक है, उसे कुशल उत्पादक नहीं तो कम से कम कुशल उपभोक्ता बनाना नितांत आवश्यक है। इसके बिना कोई परिवर्तन उचित नहीं है। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि शिक्षण और परीक्षण में पूर्णतया तालमेल होना चाहिए। शिक्षण व परीक्षण का संबंध पारदर्शी होना चाहिए।

मूल्यांकन का दूसरा सोपान है परीक्षण यंत्र की रचना और वर्तमान परिप्रेक्ष्य में प्रश्न-पत्र की रचना। एन.सी.ई.आर.टी के प्रयास से देश के अनेक शिक्षा बोर्डों ने प्रश्न-पत्र को सुधारने का काम हाथ में लिया है। उसके लिए प्रश्न-पत्र की योजना तथा रूपरेखा बनाई जाती है और तदनुसार प्रश्न-पत्र के एक-एक प्रश्न की रचना होती है। प्रश्न-पत्र की रचना करने के बाद प्रत्येक प्रश्न की जांच कर प्रश्न-पत्र का विश्लेषण किया जाता है। निबंधात्मक, लघूत्तर, अतिलघूत्तर तथा वस्तुनिष्ठ प्रश्नों की वस्तुनिष्ठता की दृष्टि से गुण-दोष के आधार पर प्रश्न-पत्रों में सभी प्रकार के प्रश्नों को स्थान दिया जाता है।

इस सारी प्रक्रिया में प्रश्न-पत्र तो महत्वपूर्ण हैं ही पर प्रत्येक प्रश्न भी अत्यंत महत्वपूर्ण है। प्रश्नों के संबंध में बहुत सी बातें ध्यान रखी जाती हैं। उनमें से एक है-शिक्षक, विद्यार्थी, प्राश्निक, परीक्षक सभी के लिए प्रत्येक प्रश्न का अर्थ तथा उसके उत्तर की सीमा एक ही होनी चाहिए। यह एकता केवल उत्तर की विषयवस्तु तक ही सीमित नहीं होती

बल्कि विषयवस्तु के अंतर्गत बिंदुओं के क्रम तथा उनके परस्पर संबंध पर भी निर्भर है। इसके अतिरिक्त यह भाषा से भी प्रभावित होती है। इनमें किसी न किसी के आधार पर उत्तर की परिकल्पना में अंतर पड़ जाता है। यह अंतर निबंधात्मक प्रश्नों में सर्वाधिक होता है तथा लघूत्तर से वस्तुनिष्ठ प्रश्न तक क्रमश: कम होता जाता है। इसीलिए आजकल प्रश्न-पत्रों में यथावश्यक अधिक से अधिक लघूत्तर तथा वस्तुनिष्ठ प्रश्नों को देने का आग्रह होता है।

प्रश्न तथा प्रश्न-पत्र की रचना में भी व्यक्तिनिष्ठता बने रहने की आशंका होती है। निबंधात्मक प्रश्नों में उत्तरों की सीमा तथा लंबाई की दृष्टि से व्यक्तिनिष्ठता की आशंका बनी ही रहती है पर लघूत्तर तथा वस्तुनिष्ठ प्रश्नों में प्राश्निक, शिक्षकों तथा परीक्षार्थी में मतभेद हो सकता है। यह खतरा तथ्यात्मक प्रश्नों में तो इतना नहीं रहता पर विचारोत्तेजक प्रश्नों के उत्तरों में इसकी संभावना रहती है। परिणामस्वरूप प्रश्न-पत्र की रचना में व्यक्तिनिष्ठता स्थान बना लेती है।

परीक्षा की प्रक्रिया का तीसरा सोपान है परीक्षार्थियों द्वारा उत्तर लेखन। कुछ वस्तुनिष्ठ प्रश्न ऐसे होते हैं जिनका उत्तर देने के लिए परीक्षार्थी केवल (√) का निशान लगाते हैं या उत्तर का क्रमांक लिख देते हैं अर्थात उन्हें एक भी शब्द अपनी ओर से लिखना नहीं होता। ऐसे प्रश्नों की रचना में व्यक्तिनिष्ठता आ सकती है पर उत्तर लेखन के समय व्यक्तिनिष्ठता की कोई गुंजाइश नहीं है। परीक्षार्थी द्वारा एक शब्द भी लिखे जाने पर उसकी व्यक्तिनिष्ठता आ ही जाती है, क्योंकि वह उत्तर के रूप में शब्द का चयन करने के लिए स्वतंत्र होता है। इससे अधिक लंबा उत्तर एक वाक्य तथा अनेक वाक्यों की सहायता से लिखने पर परीक्षार्थी की व्यक्तिनिष्ठता और भी अधिक होती है। इस व्यक्तिनिष्ठता पर आधारित परीक्षार्थियों के उत्तरों की विभिन्नता ही तो उसे मानव बनाती है। प्राणहीन पत्थर या लकड़ी नहीं। समझ में नहीं आता कि हम वर्तमान परीक्षा पद्धति को यांत्रिक तथा बालक को भौतिक जगत की निष्प्राण वस्तु क्यों बनाना चाहते हैं !

परीक्षा का चौथा सोपान है परीक्षार्थियों के उत्तरों का मूल्यांकन। प्रश्न-पत्र तथा प्रश्न की रचना करते समय प्रत्येक प्रश्न का उत्तर अथवा उसकी रूपरेखा तैयार की जाती है जिससे उत्तर की विषयवस्तु तथा उसकी सीमा निश्चित की जाती है। साथ ही प्रत्येक प्रश्न की अंक योजना तैयार की जाती है। ये दोनों विधाएं उत्तरों के मूल्यांकन में निस्संदेह सहायता करती हैं पर फिर भी विषयवस्तु का प्रस्तुतीकरण प्रत्येक विद्यार्थी का अलग-अलग ही होता है। विषयवस्तु समान होने पर भी उसके प्रस्तुतीकरण की गुणवत्ता भी मूल्यांकनकर्ता को भिन्न रूप में प्रभावित करती है। भिन्न प्रभाव के कारण ही मूल्यांकन में व्यक्तिनिष्ठता आ जाती है। परिणामस्वरूप एक ही उत्तर के अंकन में अंकनकर्ताओं में मतभेद हो जाता है। ऐसा एक प्रयोग किया गया जिसमें भाषा, सामाजिक अध्ययन, विज्ञान और गणित विषयों में एक ही उत्तर का अंकन कराया गया। अंकन से पूर्व उस प्रश्न के अपेक्षित उत्तर तथा अंकन-योजना के संबंध में विचार-विमर्श भी किया गया और यह भी निश्चित किया गया कि किस स्तर के उत्तर में कितने अंक देने चाहिए। उसके बाद भी जब एक ही उत्तर का मूल्यांकन विभिन्न परीक्षकों द्वारा किया गया, तो भाषा तथा सामाजिक अध्ययन में दो तीन अंकों (4-7) का अंतर और विज्ञान व गणित में दो अंकों

(5-7) का अंतर देखा गया। इतना प्रयास करने के बाद भी व्यक्तिनिष्ठता को पूर्णतया समाप्त नहीं किया जा सका। निस्संदेह विचार-विमर्श के बाद उसे कम किया जा सका।

उत्तरों के मूल्यांकन के संबंध में एक अन्य घटना याद आती है। एक विश्वविद्यालय के प्रश्न-पत्रों तथा परीक्षार्थियों के उत्तरों के मूल्यांकन का विश्लेषण करते समय एक अनपेक्षित बात देखने में आई। साहित्य के प्रश्न-पत्र में एक प्रश्न था—निम्नलिखित पद्यांश की व्याख्या करो। इस प्रश्न के उत्तर में एक विद्यार्थी ने केवल व्याख्या संदर्भ रहित लिखी और दूसरे ने उस ग्रंथ तथा उसके रचनाकार का नाम लिखकर ससंदर्भ व्याख्या लिखी थी। संदर्भ रहित सप्रसंग पहली व्याख्या निस्संदेह ससंदर्भ तथा सप्रसंग व्याख्या से श्रेष्ठ थी। पर मूल्यांकनकर्त्ता ने दूसरी व्याख्या पर अधिक अंक दिए थे। पूछने पर मूल्यांकनकर्त्ता ने बताया कि श्रेष्ठ होने पर भी पहली व्याख्या को अंक इसलिए कम दिए गए कि उसमें संदर्भ नहीं था। तनिक सोचिए कि जिस परीक्षार्थी ने प्रश्न को समझकर अपेक्षित उत्तर दिया उसे कम अंक मिले और जिसने प्रश्न की आवश्यकता को न समझकर केवल परंपरागत ढंग से उत्तर दिया उसे अधिक अंक मिले। यह मूल्यांकन में व्यक्तिनिष्ठता का उदाहरण है। मूल्यांकन में ऐसी व्यक्तिनिष्ठता को निस्संदेह समाप्त करना चाहिए।

इसप्रकार हमने देखा कि विद्यार्थी के अध्ययन में, शिक्षक के अध्यापन में, प्राश्निक के प्रश्न-पत्र तथा प्रश्न की रचना में तथा मूल्यांकनकर्त्ता के उत्तरों के मूल्यांकन में सभी स्तरों पर व्यक्तिनिष्ठता की गुंजाइश रहती है। प्रकृति से सर्जनात्मक होने के कारण व्यक्तिनिष्ठता मनुष्य को मनुष्य बनाती है। मनुष्य न तो पशु है और न निष्प्राण वस्तु, फिर भी प्रत्येक व्यक्ति दूसरे से भिन्न होता है। किसी भी शैक्षिक कार्यक्रम के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि मनुष्य के व्यक्तित्व एवं उस पर आधारित उसकी सर्जनात्मकता को स्वीकार किया जाए। जब हमने मनुष्य की इस गतिशील उपलब्धि को भौतिक उपादानों में भौतिक वस्तुओं के समान अंकों में मापने का निश्चय कर ही लिया है तो व्यक्तिनिष्ठता की उपेक्षा कर वस्तुनिष्ठता के पीछे इतने अधिक न पड़ें कि शिक्षा प्राप्ति की यह जीवंत और मौलिक प्रक्रिया निष्प्राण हो जाए। यों भी वास्तविक जीवन में यह देखा गया है कि परीक्षाओं के अंकों तथा जीवन में सफलता का कोई महत्वपूर्ण संबंध नहीं है। हमें अंकों का उपयोग उस सीमा तक और उस रूप में ही करना चाहिए कि मनुष्य, मनुष्य बना रहे और शिक्षा उसे एक बेहतर मनुष्य बनने में सहायता करे। आइए आधुनिक परीक्षा पद्धति को उसकी सीमाओं सहित स्वीकार करें और उसका परिष्कार निरंतर करते रहें।

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भारतीय प्राथमिक शिक्षा : वर्तमान परिदृश्य एवं संभावनाएं

राम सूरत त्रिपाठी

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स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के पश्चात भारत में 6 से 14 वर्ष के बच्चों को निःशुल्क तथा अनिवार्य शिक्षा प्रदान करने के प्रयास निरंतर किए गए हैं। शिक्षा की महत्ता को प्राथमिकता देते हुए देश में सन 2000 तक सबको शिक्षित करने की योजना बनाई गई है। प्रस्तुत लेख में लेखक ने विभिन्न राज्यों के प्राथमिक विद्यालयों की संख्या एवं बच्चों का अनुपात प्रस्तुत किया है। साथ ही विभिन्न राज्यों के इन अनुपातों की परस्पर तुलना भी की है।

लेखक का कहना है कि सबको प्राथमिक स्तर पर शिक्षित करने की नीति को अधिक प्रभावी ढंग से लागू करना होगा। इसके लिए समय-समय पर निरीक्षण की ज़रूरत है।

किसी भी देश के सामाजिक व आर्थिक विकास में शिक्षा की महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होती है। मानव संसाधन द्वारा ही विकास की वर्तमान व भावी दिशा निर्धारित होती है। अनेक समाज वैज्ञानिकों ने अपने अध्ययनों द्वारा सिद्ध किया है कि कोई देश तब तक अविकसित रहता है जब तक उसके नागरिक शिक्षा से वंचित रहते हैं। संयुक्त राष्ट्र अमेरिका व जापान जैसे विकसित देशों ने अपने विकास के लिए सर्वप्रथम शिक्षा को ही बढ़ाया। जेनेवा, केन्या, ज़िम्बाब्वे व कोस्टारिका जैसे विकासशील देश अपने विकास के लिए शिक्षा पर विशेष ध्यान दे रहे हैं।

स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद भारत में प्राथमिक शिक्षा के विस्तार तथा 6 से 14 वर्ष के बच्चों को निःशुल्क तथा अनिवार्य शिक्षा प्रदान करने के प्रयास निरंतर किए गए हैं तथापि उद्देश्य पूरे नहीं हो पाए। अतएव शिक्षा की महत्ता को प्राथमिकता देते हुए सन 2000 तक सबको शिक्षित करने की योजना बनाई गई है।

बीच में ही शिक्षा से वंचित हो जाने वाले बच्चों की समस्या बहुत ही गंभीर रही है। ऐसे बच्चों को शिक्षित बनाने के लिए देश में 1979-80 से अनौपचारिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम आरंभ किया गया। आज संपूर्ण देश में लगभग 2,60,000 अनौपचारिक शिक्षा केंद्र चल रहे हैं जिनमें लगभग एक लाख केंद्र तो केवल बालिकाओं के लिए हैं। इन केंद्रों से लगभग 65 लाख बच्चे लाभांवित हो रहे हैं। नई शिक्षा नीति (1986, 92) में जन-जन तक प्राथमिक शिक्षा के अवसर पहुंचाने पर ज़ोर दिया गया है तथा इस दिशा में कई कार्यक्रम चलाए गए हैं। मई 1988 में

'राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा मिशन' की शुरूआत हुई जिसके अंतर्गत 1995 तक आठ करोड़ प्रौढ़ व्यक्तियों को शिक्षित करने का लक्ष्य बनाया गया था। इस मिशन को गरीब, दलित, अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति व श्रमिकों तक पहुंचाने के भरसक प्रयास किए गए हैं।

विगत दशकों में प्राथमिक विद्यालयों की संख्या में पर्याप्त वृद्धि की गई है। मानव संसाधन विकास मंत्रालय के शिक्षा विभाग की वार्षिक रिपोर्ट 1994-95 के अनुसार 1950-51 में देश में प्राथमिक विद्यालयों की कुल संख्या 2,09,671 थी जो बढ़कर 1970-71 में 4,08,378 तथा 1993-94 में 5,72,923 हो गई है। इसी प्रकार उच्च प्राथमिक विद्यालयों की संख्या में भी वृद्धि हुई है। वर्ष 1950-51 में उच्च प्राथमिक विद्यालयों की संख्या 13,596 थी जो बढ़कर 1970-71 में 9021 तथा 1993-94 में 1,55,707 हो गई है। आज प्राथमिक विद्यालयों में 17.05 लाख शिक्षक 10.90 करोड़ बच्चों को तथा उच्च प्राथमिक विद्यालयों में 10.82 लाख शिक्षक चार करोड़ बच्चों को शिक्षा प्रदान कर रहे हैं। उल्लेखनीय है कि देश की 94% जनसंख्या को एक किलोमीटर से कम दूरी पर प्राथमिक शिक्षा की सुविधा उपलब्ध हो गई है तथा 6 से 14 वर्ष आयु के 82% बच्चे विद्यालयों में प्रवेश ले चुके हैं।

1993-94 के आंकड़ों के अनुसार देश में प्रति प्राथमिक विद्यालय 189 छात्र पाए जाते हैं लेकिन नौ राज्यों व छह केंद्रशासित प्रदेशों में यह संख्या देश के औसत से अधिक है, देखें (तालिका 1)। राज्यों में केरल एक ऐसा राज्य है जहां प्रति प्राथमिक विद्यालय छात्र संख्या (450) सर्वाधिक है। इसके बाद गुजरात व हरियाणा राज्यों का स्थान है जहां छात्र संख्या क्रमश: 421 व 403 है। कर्नाटक, तामिलनाडु, महाराष्ट्र, उत्तर प्रदेश, त्रिपुरा व पश्चिमी बंगाल में संख्या 194 तथा 273 के मध्य है। केंद्रशासित प्रदेशों में सर्वाधिक छात्र संख्या (1004) चण्डीगढ़ में पाई जाती है। हिमालय पर्वतीय राज्यों में छात्र संख्या काफी कम है। मेघालय में न्यूनतम संख्या (42) पाई जाती है।

तालिका 1
प्रति प्राथमिक विद्यालय छात्र संख्या
(1993-94)

छात्र संख्या	राज्य/केंद्रशासित प्रदेश
400 से अधिक	— चण्डीगढ़, दिल्ली, लक्षद्वीप, केरल, गुजरात तथा हरियाणा
300 से 400	— पाण्डिचेरी
200 से 300	— महाराष्ट्र, दमन - दीव, कर्नाटक, तमिलनाडु, उत्तर प्रदेश तथा अण्डमान-निकोबार
100 से 200	— पश्चिम बंगाल, त्रिपुरा, आंध्र प्रदेश, बिहार, पंजाब, राजस्थान, दादर-नगर हवेली, सिक्किम, मध्य प्रदेश, असम, गोवा, नागालैण्ड, अरुणाचल प्रदेश, तथा मिज़ोरम
100 से कम	— हिमाचल प्रदेश, उड़ीसा, जम्मू-कश्मीर, मणिपुर तथा मेघालय

1993-94 के आंकड़ों के अनुसार उच्च प्राथमिक विद्यालयों में प्रति विद्यालय छात्र संख्या 256 पाई

जाती है। दस राज्यों व छह केंद्रशासित प्रदेशों में यह संख्या देश के औसत से अधिक है (तालिका-2)।

तालिका 2

प्रति उच्च प्राथमिक विद्यालय छात्र संख्या (1993-94)

छात्र संख्या	राज्य/केंद्रशासित प्रदेश
500 से अधिक	— पश्चिमी बंगाल, चण्डीगढ़, दिल्ली, लक्षद्वीप, केरल, पंजाब, तमिलनाडु, गोवा, हरियाणा तथा पाण्डिचेरी
400 से 500	— आंध्र प्रदेश, अण्डमान-निकोबार तथा दमन-दीव
300 से 400	— उत्तर प्रदेश, हिमाचल प्रदेश तथा त्रिपुरा
200 से 300	— महाराष्ट्र तथा मध्य प्रदेश
200 से कम	— असम, राजस्थान, सिक्किम, बिहार, मणिपुर, नागालैण्ड, जम्मू-कश्मीर, अरुणाचल प्रदेश, कर्नाटक, दादर-नगर हवेली, गुजरात, उड़ीसा, मिज़ोरम तथा मेघालय

बंगाल में सर्वाधिक छात्र संख्या (1458) पाई जाती है। गोवा, हरियाणा, केरल, पंजाब व तमिलनाडु में संख्या 606 व 666 के मध्य, आंध्र प्रदेश में 435 तथा हिमाचल प्रदेश, उत्तर प्रदेश व त्रिपुरा में क्रमश: 367, 356 व 328 पाई जाती है। मेघालय में न्यूनतम संख्या (76) पाई जाती है।

प्राथमिक शिक्षा में वृद्धि हेतु किए गए प्रयासों के फलस्वरूप अब विद्यालयों में बालिकाओं की संख्या भी बढ़ी है फलत: देश के प्राथमिक विद्यालयों में बालक-बालिकाओं का औसत अनुपात 1:.75 हो गया है। देश के 19 राज्यों व छह केंद्रशासित प्रदेशों में यह अनुपात 1:.75 व 1:.95 के मध्य पाया जाता है (तालिका-3)। प्राथमिक विद्यालयों में बालक-बालिकाओं का अधिकतम अनुपात (1:.95) केरल में तथा न्यूनतम अनुपात (1:.48) राजस्थान में पाया जाता है।

तालिका 3

प्राथमिक विद्यालयों में बालक-बालिका अनुपात (1993-94)

अनुपात	राज्य/केंद्रशासित प्रदेश
1:.85 से 1:.95	— केरल, गोवा, मेघालय, अण्डमान-निकोबार, पश्चिम बंगाल, मिज़ोरम, तमिलनाडु, पाण्डिचेरी, असम, मणिपुर, नागालैण्ड, हिमाचल प्रदेश, सिक्किम, दमन-दीव, दिल्ली, चण्डीगढ़, कर्नाटक, महाराष्ट्र तथा पंजाब
1:.75 से 1:.85	— आंध्र प्रदेश, लक्षद्वीप, हरियाणा, अरुणाचल प्रदेश, गुजरात तथा त्रिपुरा
1:.75 से कम	— मध्य प्रदेश, उड़ीसा, दादर-नगर हवेली, उत्तर प्रदेश, जम्मू-कश्मीर, बिहार तथा राजस्थान

उच्च-प्राथमिक विद्यालयों में बालक-बालिकाओं का औसत अनुपात 1:.65 है। देश के 19 राज्यों व

छह केंद्रशासित प्रदेशों में यह अनुपात देश के औसत से अधिक हैं (तालिका-4)। केरल व नागालैण्ड में अधिकतम अनुपात (1:.95) तथा राजस्थान में न्यूनतम अनुपात (1:.35) पाया जाता है।

तालिका 4
उच्च प्राथमिक विद्यालयों में बालक-बालिका अनुपात (1993-94)

अनुपात		राज्य/केंद्रशासित प्रदेश
1:.80 से 1:.95	—	केरल, नागालैण्ड, सिक्किम, मिज़ोरम, मेघालय, पाण्डिचेरी, चण्डीगढ़, अण्डमान-निकोबार, गोवा, पश्चिम बंगाल, मणिपुर तथा दमन-दीव
1:.65 से 1:.80	—	दिल्ली, पंजाब, हिमाचल प्रदेश, तमिलनाडु, कर्नाटक, महाराष्ट्र, त्रिपुरा, अरुणाचल प्रदेश, उड़ीसा, लक्षद्वीप, आंध्र प्रदेश, असम तथा हरियाणा
1:.65 से कम	—	गुजरात, जम्मू-कश्मीर, दादर-नगर हवेली, मध्य प्रदेश, उत्तर प्रदेश, बिहार तथा राजस्थान

सबको प्राथमिक स्तर पर शिक्षित करने की नीति को अधिक प्रभावी ढंग से लागू करने के उद्देश्य से अब ज़िला प्राथमिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रम क्रियांवित किया गया है। इस कार्यक्रम के प्रमुख उद्देश्य संपूर्ण प्राथमिक शिक्षा का पुनर्गठन करना, बीच में ही पढ़ाई छोड़ देने वाले बच्चों की संख्या को घटाना, बालक-बालिकाओं व धनी-गरीब वर्गों के मध्य विद्यमान साक्षरता के अंतर को कम करना, सभी को प्राथमिक शिक्षा या समकक्ष अनौपचारिक शिक्षा की सुविधाएं प्रदान करना आदि रखे गए हैं। कार्यक्रम की समुचित देखभाल के लिए अगस्त 1995 में राष्ट्रीय प्राथमिक शिक्षा मिशन की भी स्थापना की गई है।

अब संविधान के 73 वें व 74 वें संशोधन द्वारा विकास-कार्यक्रमों में जनसहभागिता के अवसर बढ़ा दिए गए हैं। प्राथमिक शिक्षा कार्यक्रमों को सुचारु ढंग से लागू किए जाने की ज़िम्मेदारी स्थानीय निकायों पर सौंपे जाने का मसौदा तैयार हो चुका है। लेकिन अभी जन-जागरण की महती आवश्यकता है। ग्रामीण अंचल के विद्यालयों में शिक्षा का स्तर अति दयनीय स्थिति में है। यदि जन-समान्य में शिक्षा के महत्व की समझ भलीभांति आ सकी तभी आशा की जा सकती है कि सन 2000 तक सबको शिक्षा देने का लक्ष्य पूरा हो सकेगा।

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जनसंख्या शिक्षा : युगीन प्रश्न

हरिश्चंद्र व्यास

व्याख्याता
राजकीय उच्च अध्ययन शिक्षा संस्थान
बीकानेर

बढ़ती जनसंख्या आज केवल भारत के लिए ही नहीं बल्कि संपूर्ण विश्व के लिए चिंता का विषय बनी हुई है। जनसंख्या विस्फोट को रोकने के प्रभावी कार्यक्रम समय-समय पर आयोजित किए जाते हैं। यह सत्य है कि जनसंख्या में बेतहाशा वृद्धि से देश के सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनैतिक विकास में बाधा उत्पन्न होती है।

प्रस्तुत लेख में जनसंख्या को कम करने तथा लोगों को छोटे परिवार के महत्व को समझाने पर बल दिया गया है। जनसंख्या शिक्षा को पाठ्यक्रम की सामग्री में सम्मिलित करने और इस संदर्भ में शिक्षकों के प्रशिक्षण की उचित व्यवस्था की बात भी लेख में कही गई है।

जनसंख्या विस्फोट आधुनिक विश्व की सबसे गंभीर समस्या है। यह कई समस्याओं की जननी भी है। आज पूरा देश यदि किसी समस्या को लेकर गंभीर रूप से चिंतित है तो वह जनसंख्या वृद्धि की ही है। इसके दुष्परिणामों का अहसास हमें जब हुआ तब तक बहुत देर हो चुकी थी। देश के संसाधनों को बहुत क्षति पहुंचाई जा चुकी है और निरंतर पहुंचाई जा रही है। शहरी आबादी तो राष्ट्रीय औसत वृद्धि दर से भी अधिक रही है। देश की प्रगति का तलपत मिलाते समय दिवाला ही नज़र आने लगा, जब बैंक बैलेंस ही समाप्त हो तो रकम कहां से निकालें ! समस्या जनसंख्या वृद्धि की थी।

भारतीय नागरिकों का इस बारे में गंभीर रूप से चिंतित होना स्वाभाविक है, और देश चिंतित हुआ भी, लेकिन बढ़ती जनसंख्या की चिंता आज भी बनी हुई है। इसका प्रमुख कारण है कि सरकारी प्रयासों के उपरांत भी परिवार नियोजित करने की चेतना का अभाव बना हुआ है। जनसंख्या वृद्धि को सीमित करने के लिए इस वृद्धि के कारणों की जड़ों को उखाड़ने हेतु प्रभावी कार्यवाही वांछित है, विशेष रूप से अनपढ़ एवं गरीब लोगों को जनसंख्या वृद्धि से होने वाले सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं व्यक्तिगत दुष्परिणामों के बारे में सचेत करना होगा। आज भी लगभग 40 करोड़ लोग अपनी न्यूनतम आय आपूर्ति में गंभीर कठिनाइयों का सामना कर रहे हैं। एक शुभ संकेत यह है कि इस समस्या के प्रति देश में जागरूकता के अभियान चलाए जा रहे हैं। लोगों के अंधविश्वासों को समाप्त करने का अवरोध प्रदान कर जनसंख्या को सीमित करने की चेतना जाग्रत करने के फलस्वरूप 1991 की जनगणना के अनुसार देश की जनसंख्या वृद्धि में 1971-81 की तुलना में

1.61 प्रतिशत की कमी आई है जो निश्चित रूप से शुभ संकेत है। सन 1971 से 1981 के बीच वृद्धि दर 24.66 प्रतिशत थी जबकि पिछले दशक में वृद्धिदर 23.5 हो गई है। लेकिन अभी और प्रभावी, ठोस एवं निर्णायक कदम उठाने की नितांत आवश्यकता है। अन्यथा देश में 25.5 प्रतिशत जन्मदर के हिसाब से सन 2000 तक भारत की जनसंख्या एक अरब तक पहुंचने की प्रबल संभावना है।

जनसंख्या की वृद्धि को सीमित करने हेतु यह आवश्यक है कि हमारी भावी पीढ़ी एवं निरक्षर जनता को इस समस्या के प्रति सही वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण को अपनाने की प्रेरणा प्रदान की जाए। देश को इस समस्या से उबारने हेतु आवश्यकता इस बात की भी है कि कालांतर में जो नौजवान व्यावहारिक एवं पारिवारिक जीवन में प्रवेश करेंगे, उन्हें परिवार को सीमित तथा स्वस्थ रखने की जानकारी देते हुए उनमें समायोजन करने की अभिवृत्तियों का विकास किया जाना चाहिए ताकि "हम दो हमारे दो" को क्रियान्वयन का रूप दिया जा सके तो सन 2000 तक एक अरब की आबादी का भारत होगा। इस कार्य में असावधानी बरती जाने पर सन 2010 तक जनसंख्या लगभग 3 अरब तक पहुंचने की संभावना है।

इस जनसंख्या रूपी बाढ़ से तभी बचा जा सकता है जब हमारे किशोर, नौजवान तथा निरक्षर नागरिकों को देश की जनसंख्या नीति के अनुरूप सीमित परिवार रखने का कर्त्तव्य निभाने को चीन की भांति उत्प्रेरित किया जाए। यह शिक्षण संस्थाओं, अनौपचारिक शिक्षा केंद्रों एवं प्रौढ़ शिक्षा केंद्रों के माध्यम से छोटे परिवार से होने वाले लाभ की संचेतना बढ़ाकर प्रकृति, जीव-जन्तु वनस्पति के बीच इसे इस तरह व्याख्यातित करना चाहिए कि परिवारों को सीमित एवं संतुलित बना कर देश को होने वाले दुष्परिणामों से बचाया जा सके। यह संचेतना तभी संभव हो सकती है जब वे उसके सभी तरह के दुष्परिणामों को जाने एवं जनसंख्या में सुधार हेतु प्रभावी कार्य करें। एशिया के अधिकांश देशों की जनसंख्या वृद्धि में कमी आई है जिनमें श्रीलंका, फिलीपाइंस, इंडोनेशिया, मलेशिया, कोरिया, थाईलैण्ड आदि प्रमुख हैं। भारत में भी वर्ष 1991 की जनगणना में दर्शाए गए जनसंख्या संबंधी आंकड़े दर में मामूली कमी को प्रदर्शित करते हैं।

भयंकर तथ्य

विश्व में प्रत्येक सातवां व्यक्ति भारतीय है अर्थात विश्व की 14 प्रतिशत जनसंख्या (84 करोड़ 40 लाख) भारत में है, जबकि विश्व की 2 प्रतिशत भूमि भारत के पास है। भारतवर्ष की आबादी में प्रतिवर्ष करीब एक करोड़ लोगों की वृद्धि होती है अर्थात एक आस्ट्रेलिया जितनी आबादी जुड़ जाती है और प्रति दस वर्षों में 16 करोड़ से अधिक जनसंख्या पर जापान जुड़ जाता है। वर्तमान वृद्धि दर सन 1981 से 1991 में 2.11 प्रतिशत प्रतिवर्ष के हिसाब से 30 वर्ष में जनसंख्या दुगनी हो जाएगी, जबकि 1971-91 में यह वृद्धि दर 2.22 प्रतिशत ही थी। स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात 1971 तक भारत में निरक्षरों की संख्या भी बढ़कर 30 करोड़ से 38.60 करोड़ हो गई थी। आज निरक्षरों की संख्या 47.9 करोड़ है तथा सन 2000 तक बढ़कर 50 करोड़ तक पहुंचने की संभावना है। आबादी का वर्ग प्रतिवर्ष 2.67 जबकि 1981 में 2.26 था। सन 1981 से 1991 में प्रति किलोमीटर 51 लोग बढ़े हैं। भारत जनसंख्या

की मध्य आयु 49 वर्ष है एवं जन्म दर प्रति 1000 के पीछे 38.8 है जबकि विकसित राष्ट्रों जैसे इंग्लैंड में 18 तथा जर्मनी में 17 है। भारतीयों की वार्षिक आय 79 डालर है जबकि अमेरिकनों की 2697 डालर है।

द्रुतगति से जनसंख्या वृद्धि के फलस्वरूप देश में निर्धनता फैली है तथा सामाजिक उपाय केवल संविधान की पुस्तक तक ही सीमित रहा है। ऐसी परिस्थितियों में अन्याय के विरुद्ध लड़ने की शक्ति भी काल्पनिक बनकर रह गई है। अत: प्रजातांत्रिक भारत में यह अनुभव किया जा रहा है कि जनसंख्या वृद्धि हमारे देश की प्रमुख समस्या है और आज इसने कई गंभीर रूप धारण कर लिए हैं। भारत की जनसंख्या की दर 1981-91 में 16 करोड़ थी इससे प्रतिवर्ष भारत को 1 लाख 12 हज़ार विद्यालय, 3 लाख 30 हज़ार अध्यापक, 22 लाख मकान, 10 लाख मीटर कपड़ा, 1 करोड़ 10 क्विंटल अनाज और 40 हज़ार नौकरियां प्रदान करने की अतिरिक्त व्यवस्था महसूस हो रही है। सफाई प्रबंध एवं विभिन्न प्रकार के बढ़ते प्रदूषण से छुटकारा पाने के लिए राष्ट्रीय बजट को भारी भरकम रकम की आवश्यकता पड़ेगी।

यह स्पष्ट है कि हमने पिछले 10 वर्षों में एक नए जापान जितनी व्यवस्था को बढ़ाया है। जनसंख्या वृद्धि दर इस दशक में 23.5 रही है जो गत दशक में 24.66 थी। संख्या की दृष्टि से 10 वर्ष में आबादी में हुई वृद्धि 1931 से 1961 के बीच के वर्षों में हुई वृद्धि के बराबर थी। निर्विवाद रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि जनसंख्या का बढ़ता हुआ रूप आज राष्ट्रीय जीवन के हर पहलू पर गहरा प्रभाव डाल रहा है। इससे राष्ट्र की प्रति व्यक्ति आय, जीवन स्तर, संतुलित आहार, शैक्षणिक विकास, पर्यावरण एवं संसाधनों की कमी का होना आदि सभी प्रकार की समस्याएं उत्पन्न हो रही हैं। आज देश की एकता व अखंडता को धर्म, संप्रदाय, भाषा, क्षेत्र आदि के आधार पर विखंडित करने के जगह-जगह तांडव नृत्य हो रहे हैं। उसका प्रभाव अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से जनसंख्या वृद्धि से हुई आर्थिक असमानता के फलस्वरूप व्यय क्षमता क्षीण होने के कारण प्रमुख रूप से परिलक्षित होता है। न्यूनतम आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति करना भी मुश्किल हो रहा है।

देश की बढ़ती जनसंख्या की विस्फोटक स्थिति के कारण अर्थशास्त्री, शिक्षाविद, राजनेता एवं योजनाकार बड़े चिंतित हैं क्योंकि विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में विकास योजनाएं अपने निर्धारित उद्देश्यों की प्राप्ति नहीं कर पाएंगी। जनसंख्या की बढ़ती हुई स्थिति पर किए गए मामूली से नियंत्रण पर हमें खुशियां नहीं मनानी चाहिए, बल्कि मज़बूती के साथ विकसित राष्ट्रों की भांति उसकी वृद्धि को कम करने हेतु प्रभावी अभियान प्रारंभ करना चाहिए। इस हेतु जनसंख्या आधारित शिक्षण शिक्षा के सभी स्तरों पर आवश्यक है। इस दृष्टि से अगस्त 1969 में शिक्षा मंत्रियों, शिक्षा सचिवों, समाज कल्याण एवं स्वास्थ्य और परिवार कल्याण के प्रतिनिधियों का बंबई में राष्ट्रीय सेमिनार आयोजित हुआ। इस सेमिनार में जनसंख्या शिक्षा को विद्यालयों एवं शिक्षक प्रशिक्षण संस्थाओं तक पहुंचाने की दृष्टि से निम्नांकित दो निर्णय लिए गए जिनका ब्यौरा इस प्रकार है:

- सभी स्तर की शिक्षा में जनसंख्या शिक्षा को समन्वित रूप दिया जाए।
- जनसंख्या शिक्षा से बच्चे यह समझ सकें कि परिवार के आकार को नियंत्रित रखा जा सकता

है और जनसंख्या को सीमित करने पर राष्ट्रीय जीवन को अधिक उन्नत व संपन्न किया जा सकता है। छोटा परिवार भौतिक आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति पर ज़्यादा सहायक हो सकता है।

जनसंख्या शिक्षा का अभियान बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या के प्रति जागरूकता पैदा करते हुए विवेक युक्त व्यवहारों का विकास करना है। इससे व्यक्ति, परिवार, समुदाय, राष्ट्र और विश्व के परिवेश में उससे होने वाले लाभों के बारे में सोचते हुए सीमित परिवार रखने की आवश्यकता को हृदयंगम कर उसे क्रियान्वयन का रूप दिया जा सकेगा।

यह एक यौन शिक्षा रहित शैक्षिक कार्यक्रम है जिसमें परिवार, समाज, राष्ट्र एवं विश्व की जनसंख्या की स्थिति का अध्ययन किया जाता है। इसका उद्देश्य छात्रों में इस स्थिति के प्रति विवेकपूर्ण, उत्तरदायित्वपूर्ण दृष्टि एवं व्यवहार का विकास करना है। जनसंख्या शिक्षा विद्यार्थियों को यह समझने योग्य बनाती है कि परिवार के आकार पर नियंत्रण कर राष्ट्र के जीवन स्तर को उच्च बनाने में सहायता की जाए। जनसंख्या के बारे में लोगों को सचेत करने हेतु जनसंख्या के तथ्यों को इकट्ठा करते हुए उनका विश्लेषणात्मक ज्ञान दिया जाना वांछनीय है। देश में बीमारियों एवं मृत्युदर की कमी का कारण बढ़ते हुए विज्ञान की प्रगति है। अत: विज्ञान और टेक्नोलोजी का उपयोग जनसंख्या को सीमित करने की अभिवृत्तियों का विकास करने के लिए करना चाहिए क्योंकि यह वृद्धि केवल सामाजिक, राजनैतिक और शैक्षिक आधार को ही प्रभावित नहीं करती अपितु हमारे सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों को भी प्रभावित करती है। आने वाली पीढ़ी एवं नागरिकों को विकृत होते परिवारों, हानियों, समाजिक धरोहर इत्यादि के विषय में अवगत कराना हमारा उत्तरदायित्व है। माताओं के अच्छे स्वास्थ्य से बच्चों का स्वास्थ्य भी अच्छा होता है। अत: समाज का यह पुनीत कर्तव्य है कि बढ़ती हुई जनसंख्या के बारे में छात्र-छात्राओं, नर-नारियों को वस्तुस्थिति से अवगत कराया जाए जिससे हमारे राष्ट्रीय जीवन के आर्थिक, राजनैतिक, समाजिक क्षेत्रों में अच्छा प्रभाव पड़ सके क्योंकि जनकल्याण और सामाजिक आर्थिक विकास में घनिष्ठ संबंध होता है। विभिन्न पिछड़े क्षेत्रों में अंधविश्वास, भाग्यवादी दृष्टिकोण, रूढ़िवाद व निरक्षरता को उखाड़ फेंककर परिवार कल्याण कार्यक्रम को अपनाकर परिवार नियंत्रण से होने वाले लाभ की ओर इंगित किया जाए ताकि कालांतर में सोवियत रूस की भांति जनसंख्या घटने की स्थिति पैदा हो सके।

जनसंख्या शिक्षा का लक्ष्य छात्र-छात्राओं में सीखने की यह प्रक्रिया स्केंडिनेवियाई देशों की भांति विकसित करना है जिससे जनसंख्या के संबंध में विभिन्न पक्षों का अवलोकन करते हुए वे सामाजिक दृष्टि से स्वयं को उपयुक्त बना सकें। इसके साथ ही जनसंख्या शिक्षा का यह दृष्टिकोण नहीं है कि छात्र-छात्राओं पर तैयार की हुई पाठ्यसामग्री लाद दी जाए। छात्र-छात्राओं में ऐसी समानताओं का विकास होना चाहिए जिससे जनसंख्या के संबंध में छोटे परिवार से गुणात्मक जीवन के महत्व को वे स्वत: समझ सकें।

जनसंख्या के विषय में प्रदान किए जाने वाले ज्ञान का प्रसार प्रारंभिक स्तर पर किया जाए। इसके लिए प्रचलित पाठ्यक्रम में भी संशोधन आवश्यक है। हमें चाहिए कि जनांकिक के परिणामों की जनसंख्या शिक्षा को विषय-वस्तु का आधार माना जाए और इसी के अनुरूप औपचारिक, अनौपचारिक

शैक्षिक कार्यक्रम संगठित एवं संचालित किए जाएं।

आज विभिन्न राज्यों में प्रचलित पाठ्यक्रमों में कुछ न कुछ सीमा तक यह विषय सामग्री उपलब्ध है। राजस्थान राज्य में भी किशोर अवस्था तक पहुंचते-पहुंचते विभिन्न विषयों में प्रदत्त विषय सामग्री के माध्यम से जनसंख्या से संबंध स्थापित करने का प्रयास किया गया है किंतु इतना ही पर्याप्त नहीं है। राज्य के सभी औपचारिक, अनौपचारिक माध्यमों के सभी स्तरों पर एवं सभी क्षेत्रों में जनसंख्या शिक्षा प्रदान करने की नितांत आवश्यकता है।

जनसंख्या शिक्षा की विषय-वस्तु के शैक्षिक कार्यक्रमों की दृष्टि से दो विकल्प होते हैं। प्रथम, वर्तमान शैक्षिक पाठ्यक्रम में ही इसकी विषय-वस्तु आवश्यकतानुसार सम्मिलित की जाए। द्वितीय, इस विषय को पृथक से पढ़ाया जाए।

राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर प्रथम विकल्प को अधिक व्यावहारिक माना गया है। जनसंख्या आधारित शिक्षण कार्य में सभी स्तर के शिक्षकों का दायित्व महत्वपूर्ण है। शिक्षा संबंधी सभी परियोजनाओं की व्यावहारिक ज़िम्मेदारी अध्यापकों पर होगी। इस ज़िम्मेदारी को अध्यापक पूर्णत: निभा लेता है तो संबंधित जानकारी देने में वह सफल होगा। इससे छात्राओं में जनसंख्या विषयक विवेकयुक्त व्यवहार परिवर्तन संभव हो सकेगा क्योंकि प्राय: विद्यालयी शिक्षा समाप्त करने से पूर्व अल्प आयु में उनकी शादी हो जाती है। लड़कियों की शादी प्राय: किशोरावस्था से पूर्व हो जाती है। हमारे देश में लड़कियों की शादी की औसत आयु 14.5 वर्ष है। ग्रामीण एवं आदिवासी क्षेत्रों में शादी के लिए निर्धारित आयु के संबंध में बनाए गए कानूनों की खुलकर अवहेलना होती है।

शिक्षक को यह निर्णय करना होगा कि विषय शिक्षण के साथ जनसंख्या शिक्षा किस रूप में व किस पद्धति द्वारा दी जाए। विषय को अधिक से अधिक रुचिकर बनाने, विषय-वस्तु ग्रहण करने एवं प्रेरित करने का उत्तरदायित्व भी शिक्षक का होगा।

विद्यालयों में छात्रों को उचित जनसंख्या शिक्षा देने के पूर्व शिक्षकों का प्रशिक्षण भी आवश्यक है। प्रशिक्षण सेवापूर्व और सेवारत दोनों ही स्थितियों में संभव है। शिक्षक प्रशिक्षण विद्यालयों, महाविद्यालयों में प्रविष्ट होने वाले छात्राध्यापकों को पाठ्यक्रम वस्तु के साथ जनसंख्या शिक्षा के प्रकरणों की जानकारी भी देनी आवश्यक होगी। इसके साथ ही सत्रीय कार्य का महत्व भी कम नहीं है।

सामान्य सम्मेलनों, कार्यगोष्ठियों का आयोजन करना, पुस्तक का संक्षिप्तीकरण करना, संस्थाओं का निरीक्षण, पाठ्यक्रम सहगामी क्रियाओं का आयोजन, छोटे तथा विस्तृत परिवारों का वैयक्तिक अध्ययन, शहरी तथा ग्रामीण क्षेत्रों के परिवारों का सर्वेक्षण और जनसंख्या वृद्धि से व्यक्ति के रहन-सहन पर पड़ने वाले प्रभावों का अध्ययन भी शिक्षक प्रशिक्षण के साथ जोड़ा जा सकता है। इससे जनसंख्या शिक्षा के सैद्धांतिक एंव व्यावहारिक दोनों पक्षों को बल मिलेगा।

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संज्ञानात्मक विकास एवं ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने की स्थिति के परिप्रेक्ष्य में विज्ञान की उपलब्धि

सत्यनारायण त्रिपाठी
रीडर, शिक्षाशास्त्र विभाग
गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालय, गोरखपुर

कृष्णदेव तिवारी
जूनियर रिसर्च फैलो, गोरखपुर वि.वि.

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन के शोध परिणामों से यह ज्ञात हुआ कि ट्यूशन लेने और न लेने का संबंध न तो बच्चों के संज्ञानात्मक विकास से जुड़ा है और न ही विज्ञान विषय में छात्रों की उपलब्धि से। छात्रों की विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धि उनके संज्ञानात्मक विकास की स्थिति पर निर्भर करती है। सर्वोत्तम उपलब्धि औपचारिक प्रकीय अवस्था पर निर्भर करती है। अंत में शोधकर्त्ता ने यह सुझाव दिया है कि ट्यूशन के प्रति अभिभावकों की प्रवृत्ति को हतोत्साहित कर उनके सहयोग से औपचारिक संस्थाओं के शिक्षण स्तर को बेहतर बनाने और नवाचारों को अपनाने पर बल देना चाहिए।

तीव्र औद्योगिक एवं वैज्ञानिक प्रगति ने समाज के प्रत्येक व्यक्ति का ध्यान अपनी तरफ आकर्षित किया है। फलस्वरूप प्रत्येक राष्ट्र के नागरिकों ने अपने पाल्यों को इस तरह के विषयों में प्रवीण होने के लिए निरंतर उत्प्रेरित करना प्रारंभ कर दिया है। परंतु समाज में अपने कर्तव्यों के प्रति विमुखता की प्रवृत्ति ने शिक्षकों को भी आ घेरा है। फलस्वरूप विद्यालयों में समस्त विषयों विशेषकर विज्ञान विषयों के शिक्षण स्तर में गिरावट दृष्टिगोचर हो रही है। इस समस्या ने अभिभावकों को अपने पाल्यों हेतु अच्छे विद्यालयों एवं व्यक्तिगत रूप से शिक्षण प्रदान करने के अवसर ढूंढ़ने के लिए मजबूर कर दिया है। इसलिए विज्ञान शिक्षण का कार्य विद्यालयों में न होकर अन्यत्र होना प्रारंभ हो गया है तथा विद्यालय मात्र प्रमाण-पत्र प्रदान करने के स्थान बनते जा रहे हैं। इस प्रवृत्ति ने शिक्षाशास्त्रियों एवं प्रशासनिकों को गंभीर रूप से सोचने को मजबूर कर दिया है। सरकार एवं विश्वविद्यालयों ने तो प्राइवेट ट्यूशन निषिद्ध करने का अनेक बार प्रयास किया है, परंतु ट्यूशन संबंधी विशिष्टताओं एवं भ्रांतियों की तरफ लोगों का ध्यानाकर्षण कर उसके लिए उचित विकल्प प्रदान करने का प्रयास नहीं किया गया।

समस्या कथन

किसी विषय में छात्रों की उपलब्धियों को प्रभावित करने वाले अनेक कारक हैं। उपलब्धि कारकों को लेकर अनेक शिक्षाशास्त्रियों—चोपड़ा (1984), मित्रा (1978), त्रिपाठी (1987), मेहरोत्रा (1986), सिंह (1986), त्रिवेदी (1987), ग्रोवर (1979), पाल (1986), जोसेफ (1979) तथा त्रिपाठी (1994) ने

कार्य किए हैं। बुद्धि एवं संज्ञानात्मक विकास, शिक्षण अवसर, शिक्षण विधि, समाजिक-आर्थिक स्तर, घर का वातावरण, उपलब्धि अभिप्रेरणा इत्यादि इसको प्रभावित करने वाले प्रमुख कारकों में से हैं। विज्ञान शिक्षण हेतु प्रदत्त अवसरों में अच्छे विद्यालयों में अच्छे अध्यापकों से शिक्षण प्रदान करने की सुविधा के अतिरिक्त छात्रों को विशेष अध्यापकों से विशेष ढंग (व्यक्तिगत रूप) से शिक्षण दिया जाना प्रमुख है। आज अभिभावकों में यह धारणा प्रबल होती जा रही है कि अपने पाल्यों को अध्यापकों द्वारा व्यक्तिगत शिक्षण की सुविधा अवश्य प्रदान करनी है।

सैनी (1991) ने कक्षा आठ स्तर पर छात्रों द्वारा ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने के 10 प्रमुख कारणों की पहचान की। ये कारण हैं—अभिभावकों द्वारा प्रेरित किया जाना, बीमारी के कारण अध्ययन में हुई क्षति, परीक्षा में सर्वोच्च स्थान प्राप्त करना, ट्यूशन में स्वयं की रुचि, असंतोषजनक कक्षा शिक्षण, कक्षाएं छूटने से अध्ययन में क्षति, अध्यापकों से नैकट्य स्थापित करना, कक्षाध्यापक द्वारा उत्प्रेरित होना, घरेलू कार्य में व्यस्तता के कारण अध्ययन में क्षति, खेतों में कार्य करने के कारण अध्ययन में क्षति। इन कारणों में सैनी ने सबसे महत्वपूर्ण कारण अभिभावकों द्वारा प्रेरित किया जाना पाया गया। सैनी ने यह भी पाया कि ट्यूशन जाने वाले छात्रों में 70 प्रतिशत ने 60 प्रतिशत से अधिक अपनी पहली की कक्षा में अंक अर्जित किए हैं। शेष पाल्यों ने भी 50 से 59 प्रतिशत के बीच पिछली कक्षा में अंक अर्जित किए हैं। इससे लगता है कि ट्यूशन जाने वालों में अधिकांश बच्चे अच्छी शैक्षिक योग्यता की पृष्ठभूमि रखते हैं। परंतु व्यक्तिगत रूप से शिक्षण में विद्यालयों में प्राप्त उचित साधन उपलब्ध नहीं हो पाते। व्यक्तिगत अध्यापक अपना परंपरागत शिक्षण तरीका ही व्यक्तिगत शिक्षण में अपनाता है। व्यक्तिगत अध्यापक छात्रों के संज्ञानात्मक विकास को दृष्टिगत रखते हुए विषयवस्तु एवं उसके लिए उपयुक्त सहायक सामग्रियों का उपयोग करने में अक्षम होता है। इस स्थिति को देखते हुए शोधकर्ता द्वय ट्यूशन की वर्तमान स्थिति पर निरंतर चिंतन करते रहे। उनके मस्तिष्क में कुछ ऐसे प्रश्न यथा-क्या संज्ञानात्मक विकास ट्यूशन प्राप्त करने वाले छात्रों की विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धि से किसी रूप में संबंधित है ? क्या ट्यूशन पढ़ने से छात्रों की विज्ञान विषय की उपलब्धि में वृद्धि होती है? क्या एक ही कक्षा के विभिन्न संज्ञानात्मक अवस्था वाले छात्रों की उपलब्धि में अंतर होता है? समान संज्ञानात्मक स्तर वाले छात्रों की, जो ट्यूशन पढ़ते हैं, विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धि ट्यूशन न पढ़ने वाले छात्रों की विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धि से किस माने में भिन्न हैं? क्या संज्ञानात्मक अवस्था का स्तर छात्रों की भौतिकी में उपलब्धि को प्रभावित करता है? जूनियर हाई स्कूल के बच्चे किस-किस संज्ञानात्मक अवस्था में होते हैं? क्या ट्यूशन से संज्ञानात्मक विकास प्रभावित होता है?

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन में अध्येता ने जूनियर हाई स्कूल के 200 यादृच्छिक ढंग से चुने गए ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं ट्यूशन ग्रहण न करने वाले छात्रों पर लासन का औपचारिक प्रक्रियाओं का कक्षा-परीक्षण एवं भौतिक उपलब्धि परीक्षण प्रशासित किया है।

उपरोक्त प्रश्नों के उत्तर प्राप्त करने के क्रम में शोधकर्त्ताओं ने अपने शोध कार्य को करने का निश्चय किया। उन्होंने अपनी शोध समस्या को इस रूप में अभिव्यक्त किया :

'जूनियर हाईस्कूल के छात्रों की विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धि की उनके संज्ञानात्मक विकास एवं ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने की स्थिति के परिप्रेक्ष्य में अध्ययन।'

प्रयुक्त शब्दावली की कार्यकारी परिभाषा

- **विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धि :** प्रस्तुत शोध में विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धि से तात्पर्य है कि उत्तर प्रदेश के जूनियर हाई स्कूल के विज्ञान विषय के भौतिकी अंश में छात्रों ने ब्लूम (1956) के संज्ञानात्मक पक्ष में कितनी योग्यता अर्जित की है। छात्रों की विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धि त्रिपाठी (1994) द्वारा निर्मित भौतिकी उपलब्धि परीक्षण पर छात्रों की स्थिति बताती है।
- **संज्ञानात्मक विकास :** मानव के जीवनपर्यंत जानने एवं समझने की क्रिया में निरंतर परिवर्तन को संज्ञानात्मक विकास की संज्ञा दी गई है।

पियाजे की संज्ञानात्मक विकास की अवस्थाएं

अवस्थाएं	आयु विस्तार (वर्ष में)	अवस्थाओं की कुछ प्रमुख विशेषताएं
(1) संवेदी गामक अवस्था	0 - 2	गामक बुद्धि, यहां और अब के संसार में रहना प्रारंभ में वस्तुनिष्ठ वास्तविकता से संबंधित भाषा एवं विचार नहीं होता है, लेकिन ये शनैः-शनैः विकसित होते हैं।
(2) पूर्व प्रकीय अवस्था	2 - 7	आत्मकेंद्रित विचार, वस्तुओं के वर्गों की पहचान लेकिन उनके वर्गीकरण हेतु तार्किक कमज़ोरी दृष्टिगोचर होती है। तर्क एवं कल्पनाएं प्रत्यक्षीकरण से आच्छादित होती हैं।
(3) मूर्त प्रकीय अवस्था	7 - 11	संरक्षण की योग्यता, वर्ग एवं उनके संबंधों की तार्किक योग्य, गिनती की समझ, मूर्त आधारित चिंतन, विचार में उत्क्रमणीयता का विकास।
(4) औपचारिक प्रकीय अवस्था	11 से ऊपर	चिंतन, काल्पनिकता से निपटने की क्षमता, विचारों में पूर्ण सामान्यीकरणीयता। प्रबल प्रमेयी आदर्शवादिता का विकास।

व्यक्ति के संज्ञानात्मक विकास की जीन पियाजे ने चार अवस्थाएं बताई हैं। इन अवस्थाओं की विशेषताओं के सारांश पिछले पृष्ठ पर हैं।

संज्ञानात्मक विकास की ये अवस्थाएं पदानुक्रमीय होती है, अर्थात् अंतिम अवस्था में पहुंचने के लिए व्यक्ति को पूर्व की अवस्थाओं से क्रमशः गुज़रना आवश्यक होता है। परंतु कोई बालक उपर्युक्त अवस्थाओं से किसी आयु विशेष में किस अवस्था से गुज़रेगा, इसमें व्यैक्तिक भिन्नता पाई जाती है।

संज्ञानात्मक अवस्था की स्थिति पता करने हेतु लासन (1978) ने औपचारिक तर्कना का कक्षा परीक्षण विकसित किया। इस परीक्षण का हिंदी अनुकूलन त्रिपाठी (1994) ने किया। इस परीक्षण पर व्यक्ति की स्थिति उसकी संज्ञानात्मक अवस्था बताती है।

- **ट्यूशन** : ट्यूशन से यहां तात्पर्य है छात्रों द्वारा कक्षा शिक्षण के अतिरिक्त व्यक्तिगत अध्यापकों द्वारा उपहार अथवा नकद धन देकर अपने निवास या अध्यापक के निवास या अन्यत्र किसी स्थान पर शिक्षण प्राप्त करना।

शोध का उद्देश्य

प्रस्तुत शोध का उद्देश्य ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों की उनके संज्ञानात्मक विकास एवं विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धि संबंधी कुछ महत्वपूर्ण रहस्यों को उद्घाटित करना है। एतदर्थ प्रस्तुत शोध के प्रमुख उद्देश्य इस प्रकार हैं :

- जूनियर हाई स्कूल स्तर की विभिन्न संज्ञानात्मक अवस्थाओं (मूर्त प्रकीय, संक्रमण एवं औपचारिक प्रकीय अवस्था) वाले बच्चों की विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धियों का अध्ययन करना।
- ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों की संज्ञानात्मक स्थिति का अध्ययन करना।
- ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों की विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धियों का अध्ययन करना।
- सांख्यिकीय विधि द्वारा संज्ञानात्मक विकास एवं ट्यूशन का छात्रों की उपलब्धियों पर होने वाले प्रभाव का आकलन करना।

पूर्व मान्यताएं

प्रस्तुत शोध को निम्नलिखित पूर्व मान्यताओं के साथ संपादित किया गया :

- जूनियर हाई स्कूल स्तर पर तीनों अवस्थाओं (मूर्तप्रकीय, संक्रमण एवं औपचारिक प्रकीय) वाले बच्चे पाए जाते हैं।
- आंकड़ा संग्रह करने के पूर्व समस्त छात्रों ने विज्ञान पाठ्यक्रम का पूर्ण अध्ययन कर लिया है।
- संज्ञानात्मक अवस्था की स्थिति विश्वसनीय ढंग से मापी जा सकती है।

परिकल्पनाएं

प्रस्तुत शोध में इन परिकल्पनाओं की जांच की गई :

- विभिन्न अवस्थाओं के छात्रों की विज्ञान विषय में माध्य उपलब्धि में सार्थक अंतर है।
- ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण

करने वाले छात्रों की विज्ञान विषय में माध्य उपलब्धियों में सार्थक अंतर नहीं है।

- ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों के माध्य संज्ञानात्मक प्राप्तांकों में कोई सार्थक अंतर नहीं है।
- संज्ञानात्मक विकास एवं ट्यूशन दोनों ही छात्रों की विज्ञान विषय की उपलब्धियों को प्रभावित करते हैं।

शोध विधि

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन में शोध अध्ययन के एक्स–पोस्ट–फैक्टो अभिकल्प का प्रयोग किया गया है। इसमें घटित घटना के तथ्यों को संकलित करके स्वतंत्र परिवर्त्यों से आश्रित परिवर्त्य का संबंध स्थापित किया गया तथा विभिन्न परिवर्त्यों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में छात्रों का अध्ययन किया गया।

- **जनसंख्या** : गोरखपुर ज़िले के जूनियर हाई स्कूल स्तर पर उत्तर प्रदेश पाठ्यक्रम के अंतर्गत शिक्षा ग्रहण करने वाले संपूर्ण छात्र।
- **प्रतिदर्श** : प्रस्तुत अध्ययन में जनसंख्या से 200 छात्रों को शुद्ध यादृच्छिक ढंग से चुना गया। इस प्रतिदर्श में 56 ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं 144 ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्र प्राप्त हुए। ट्यूशन प्राप्त करने वालों छात्र प्रायः शहरी क्षेत्र से संबंधित थे।
- **उपकरण** : प्रस्तुत शोध में प्रमुख रूप से निम्नलिखित दो उपकरणों का उपयोग किया गया :

1. लासन का औपचारिक प्रक्रिया का कक्षा परीक्षण (त्रिपाठी 1994 द्वारा हिंदी रूपांतरित)
2. भौतिकी उपलब्धि परीक्षण (त्रिपाठी 1994)

भौतिकी उपलब्धि परीक्षण स्पीयरमैन ब्राउन सूत्र (गिलफोर्ड, 1965 पृ.–457) द्वारा 0.94 तथा टकर द्वारा संशोधित के–आर–21 सूत्र से 0.88 पाई गई। इस परीक्षण की समवर्ती वैधता 0.77 पाई गई। लासन के कक्षा परीक्षण की क्रानबैक अल्फा विश्वसनीयता गुणांक लासन द्वारा स्वयं 0.86 तथा हाफ स्टेन द्वारा इज़राइली जनसंख्या पर 0.73 पाया गया। त्रिपाठी ने भारतीय जनसंख्या पर लासन परीक्षण का विश्वसनीयता गुणांक स्पीयरमैन बाउन सूत्र से 0.60 पाया। अतः दोनों उपकरण अत्यधिक विश्वसनीय एवं वैध हैं।

- **आंकड़ा संग्रह** : चुने गए प्रतिदर्श पर सर्वप्रथम भौतिकी उपलब्धि परीक्षण का प्रशासन किया गया जिसमें 70 पद हैं तथा प्रशासन में लगभग 50 से 60 मिनट का समय लिया। इसके पश्चात लासन का औपचारिक प्रक्रिया का कक्षा परीक्षण प्रशासित किया गया। द्वितीय परीक्षण की विशेषता यह रही कि इसमें 15 पद है जो कि प्रशासक द्वारा प्रयोग प्रदर्शन के माध्यम से समस्या उत्पन्न करके प्रशासित किया गया। चूंकि प्रशासक अपने द्वारा प्रशासन में प्रयोग प्रदर्शित करता था इसलिए इस परीक्षण में छात्रों ने विशेष रुचि दिखाई। पाण्डुलिपियों का संग्रह कर परीक्षण मैनुअल में निर्धारित अंकन विधि से उनका अंकन किया गया। दोनों परीक्षणों में प्रत्येक प्रश्न पर एक अंक था। भौतिकी उपलब्धि का अधिकतम पूर्णांक 70 एवं लासन के परीक्षण का अधितम पूर्णांक 15 है। इस प्रकार दोनों परीक्षणों में छात्रों के प्राप्तांक क्रमशः 0 से 70 एवं 0 से 15 के मध्य रहे।

- **आंकड़ों का सांख्यिकीय विश्लेषण :** विभिन्न परीक्षणों के प्रशासन करने के फलस्वरूप प्राप्त आंकड़ों का सर्वप्रथम वर्णनात्मक सांख्यिकी (मध्यमान एवं मानक विचलन) ज्ञात किया गया। पुनः संज्ञानात्मक अवस्था एवं ट्यूशन ग्रहण के सापेक्ष आकस्मिक तालिका तैयार की गई। इस तालिका से $\chi 2$ की गणना की गईं। लासन के परीक्षण के प्राप्तांकों एवं उपलब्धि परीक्षण के प्राप्तांकों के मध्य सहसंबंधों को देखा गया। ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वालों दो ऐसे समूह बनाए गए जिन्हें लासन परीक्षण प्राप्तांकों पर मैच किया गया जिससे ट्यूशन का प्रभाव देखने का प्रयत्न किया गया। प्रसरण के विश्लेषण के माध्यम से एफ-अनुपात ज्ञात किया गया जिससे संज्ञानात्मक अवस्थाओं, ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने एवं उनके परस्पर अंतर्प्रक्रिया के प्रभाव का भी अध्ययन किया गया।

परिणाम

सर्वप्रथम छात्रों को लासन के परीक्षण के आधार पर मूर्त प्रक्रीय, संक्रमण प्रक्रीय एवं औपचारिक प्रक्रीय में वर्गीकृत किया गया। विभिन्न अवस्थाओं के बच्चों के भौतिकी उपलब्धि परीक्षण के प्राप्तांकों की वर्णनात्मक सांख्यिकी सारिणी-1 में प्रस्तुत किया गया है। सारिणी-1 में विभिन्न अवस्थाओं में तुलनात्मक संबंधी निष्कर्षात्मक सांख्यिकी भी दी गई है।

सारिणी-1

संज्ञानात्मक विकास की विभिन्न अवस्थाओं में छात्रों के भौतिकी उपलब्धि परीक्षण के प्राप्तांकों का वर्णनात्मक एवं तुलनात्मक सांख्यिकीय विवरण

सांख्यिकी	मूर्त प्रक्रीय	संक्रमण प्रक्रीय	औपचारिक प्रक्रीय	योग
संख्या N	59	136	5	200
मध्यमान M	20.49	26.64	36.60	25.08
मानकविचलन SD	9.38	10.45	6.53	10.60
म॰ की मानक त्रुटि σM	1.22	.89	2.92	0.75
तुलनात्मक समूह	मूर्त-संक्रमण	मूर्त-औपचारिक	औपचारिक-संक्रमण	
अंतर की मा॰ त्रुटि σDM	1.50	3.158	3.05	
मध्यमानों का अंतर D	6.15	16.11	9.96	
क्रांतिक अनुपात CR	4.10 **	5.10 **	3.26 **	

** .01 स्तर पर सार्थक।

द्वितीय उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति हेतु ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों के लासन परीक्षण के प्राप्ताकों की वर्णनात्मक सांख्यिकी सारिणी-2 में वर्णित है।

सारिणी-2

ट्यूशन प्राप्ति के आधार पर लासन परीक्षण प्राप्तांकों की वर्णनात्मक सांख्यिकी

ट्यूशन की स्थिति / सांख्यिकी	ग्रहण करने वाले छात्र	न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्र
N	56	144
M	7.09	6.65
SD	2.70	2.33
σM	0.36	0.19
σDM	0.41	
CR	1.07	

तृतीय उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति हेतु सांख्यिकी विश्लेषण के परिणाम सारिणी-3 में दिए गए है। इसमें ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों की भौतिकी उपलब्धि परीक्षण के प्राप्तांकों

सारिणी-3

ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों की भौतिकी उपलब्धि परीक्षण के प्राप्तांकों संबंधी सांख्यिकी

ट्यूशन की स्थिति / सांख्यिकी	ग्रहण करने वाले छात्र	न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्र
N	56	144
M	27.80	24.21
SD	10.40	10.46
σM	1.39	.87
σDM	2.69	
CR	1.47	

संबंधी सांख्यिकी दर्शाई गई है।

ट्यूशन एवं संज्ञानात्मक विकास की आश्रिता को देखते हेतु आकस्मिकता सारिणी निर्मित की गई। इससे संबंधित विवरण सारिणी-4 में प्रदर्शत है। इस सारिणी में कोष्ठक में दी गई संख्या छात्रों का प्रतिशत बताती है।

सारिणी-4
संज्ञानात्मक विकास एवं ट्यूशन की स्थिति से संबंधित आकस्मिकता सारिणी तथा विभिन्न कोष्ठों में छात्रों का प्रतिशत

संज्ञानात्मक अवस्था / ट्यूशन की स्थिति	मूर्त प्रक्रीय	संक्रमण प्रक्रीय	औपचारिक प्रक्रीय	योग
ग्रहण करने वाले छात्र	14 (25%)	40 (71.4%)	2 (3.5%)	56
न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्र	45 (31.3%)	96 (66.7%)	3 (2%)	144
योग	59 (29.5%)	136 (68%)	5 (2.5%)	200

$\chi 2 = 1.00 < \chi 2$ .05 at 2 df

ट्यूशन का प्रभाव देखने हेतु लिए गए प्रतिदर्श में से ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं ट्यूशन न करने वाले छात्रों के मैच (समूह) बनाए गए। इन तुल्य समूहों के छात्रों की भौतिकी उपलब्धि परीक्षण

सारिणी-5
संज्ञानात्मक विकास पर तुल्य किए गए ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों की भौतिकी उपलब्धि के प्राप्तांकों की सांख्यिकी

सांख्यिकी / ट्यूशन की स्थिति	N	M	SD	σM	σDM	CR
ग्रहण करने वाले छात्र	39	27.87	10.70	1.713	2.32	1.34
न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्र	39	24.77	9.75	1.562		

के प्राप्तांकों की सांख्यिकी सारिणी-5 में दी गई है। ट्यूशन एवं संज्ञानात्मक विकास के संबंधों को देखने हेतु प्रसारण का विश्लेषण F-अनुपात ज्ञात करके किया गया। इसके परिणाम सारिणी-6 में दिए गए हैं।

संज्ञानात्मक विकास एवं भौतिकी उपलब्धि परीक्षण प्राप्ताकों के संबंधों को सहसंबंध ज्ञात करके भी देखा गया। इन सहसंबंधों को ज्ञात करने के परिणाम को सारिणी-7 में दिया गया है।

सारिणी-6
ट्यूशन एवं संज्ञानात्मक विकास की स्थितियों को लेकर किए गए द्विदिश प्रसरण विश्लेषण के परिणाम

प्रसरण स्रोत	मध्यमान से विचलन के वर्गों का योग	df	माध्य विचलन वर्ग	F: अनुपात
ट्यूशन की स्थिति	67.68	1	67.68	0.63
संज्ञानात्मक विकास	1333.52	1	1333.52	12.50**
अंतर्क्रिया ट्यूशन × संज्ञानात्मक विकास	50.02	1	50.02	0.47
समूहांतर्गत स्रोत	4693.26	44	106.66	

** .01 स्तर पर सार्थक अंतर

सारिणी-7
संज्ञानात्मक विकास एवं उपलब्धि परीक्षण के सहसंबंधों का विवरण

ट्यूशन की स्थिति	N	सहसंबंध	सार्थकता स्तर
ग्रहण करना	56	.337	.01
न ग्रहण करना	144	.371	.01

परिणामों की व्याख्या

विभिन्न संज्ञानात्मक अवस्थाओं में भौतिकी उपलब्धि परीक्षण संबंधी सांख्यिकी का विवरण सारिणी-1 से देखने से प्रतीत होता है कि—जैसे संज्ञानात्मक अवस्था बढ़ती है उसी के अनुरूप विज्ञान विषय में छात्रों की मध्यमान उपलब्धि भी बढ़ती है। मूर्त प्रक्रीय, संक्रमण प्रक्रीय एवं औपचारिक प्रक्रीय अवस्था में विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धि में मध्यमान क्रमशः 20.49,

26.64 एवं 36.6 पाए गए हैं। उपलब्धि परीक्षण के मानक विचलनों में सबसे अधिक मानक विचलन संक्रमण प्रक्रीय अवस्था में दृष्टिगोचर हुआ। तीनों अवस्थाओं में मानक विचलन क्रमश: 9.38, 10.45 और 6.53 पाया गया। यहां पर विभिन्न अवस्थाओं के माध्य उपलब्धियों संबंधी पहली परिकल्पना कि 'विभिन्न अवस्थाओं के विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धियों में सार्थक अंतर है' की जांच की गई। सारिणी-1 से स्पष्ट है कि मूर्त-संक्रमण प्रक्रीय, मूर्त-औपचारिक एवं औपचारिक संक्रमण प्रक्रीय समूह से संबंधित कांतिक अनुपात क्रमश: 4.10, 5.10 एवं 3.26 प्राप्त हुए जो कि .01 सार्थकता स्तर से काफी अधिक है। अत: हमारी परिकल्पना स्वीकार्य हो गई। अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से यह परिणाम दर्शाता है कि संज्ञानात्मक विकास एवं विज्ञान विषय में छात्रों की उपलब्धि परस्पर संबंधित है। इसकी पुष्टि संज्ञानात्मक विकास संबंधी प्राप्तांकों एवं उपलब्धि परीक्षण संबंधी प्राप्तांकों के मध्य सहसंबंध ज्ञात करके भी किया गया। सहसंबंधों से संबंधित सांख्यिकी सारिणी-7 में प्रदर्शित की गई है। ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले दोनों स्थितियों में सहसंबंध के मान निम्न परंतु सार्थक पाए गए। त्रिपाठी (1994), ने विज्ञान विषय में अपने शोध के दरमियान संज्ञानात्मक विकास एवं उपलब्धि के मध्य निम्न परंतु सार्थक सहसंबंध पाए हैं। जहां तक तीनों अवस्थाओं में जूनियर हाई स्कूल स्तर के छात्रों के पाए जाने की स्थिति का प्रश्न है इससे संबंधी विवरण सारिणी-4 में प्रदर्शित हैं। ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने एवं न ग्रहण करने वाले दोनों प्रकार में छात्रों की स्थिति में सबसे कम छात्र (3.5 प्रतिशत और 2 प्रतिशत) औपचारिक प्रक्रीय अवस्था में पाए गए और सबसे अधिक छात्र (71.4 प्रतिशत, 66.7 प्रतिशत) संक्रमण प्रक्रीय अवस्था में पाए गए। अत: यदि हम यह कहें कि जूनियर हाई स्कूल के छात्र औपचारिक प्रक्रीय अवस्था की विशेषता नहीं प्रदर्शित कर पाते हैं तो इसमें कोई अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी। माध्यमिक स्तर के छात्रों पर हिगेनन्टेंक और गेट (1971), रेनर और स्टैफोर्ड (1973), फ्रोयोट (1970), कार प्लास और पीटर्सन (1970), लोवेल (1961), और डोल (1970), आदि शिक्षाशास्त्रियों द्वारा किए गए अनुसंधान से पता चलता है कि इस स्तर पर भी औपचारिक प्रक्रीय छात्रों की संख्या 40 से 75 प्रतिशत के मध्य ही है। त्रिपाठी 1994, ने जूनियर हाई स्कूल पर औपचारिक प्रक्रीय छात्र मात्र 3 प्रतिशत पाए। अत: वर्तमान शोध पूर्व किए गए शोधों के अनुरूप ही परिणाम प्रदर्शित किया।

छात्रों की संज्ञानात्मक स्थिति का अध्ययन उनके ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने के परिप्रेक्ष्य में लासन परीक्षण के प्राप्तांकों की सांख्यिकी निकाल कर किया गया। इससे संबंधित सांख्यिकी सारिणी-2 में वर्णित है। इस सारिणी के अवलोकन से पता चलता है कि ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों के मध्यमान क्रमश: 7.09 और 6.65 पाए गए। इनके मानक विचलन भी क्रमश: 2.70 और 2.33 पाए गए। इनके मध्यमानों की तुलना क्रांतिक अनुपात से की गई। क्रांतिक अनुपात का मान सार्थकता अंतर हेतु आवश्यक मूल्य तक नहीं पहुंचा। अत: हमारी यह शून्य परिकल्पना कि 'ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों के संज्ञानात्मक माध्य प्राप्तांकों में कोई अंतर नहीं है' स्वीकार्य हो गई। ट्यूशन का संज्ञानात्मक

विकास से संबंध आकस्मिता सारिणी-4 से $\chi2$ की गणना करके भी देखा गया। स्वतंत्रता परीक्षण से ज्ञात हुआ कि ट्यूशन को लेना और न लेना बच्चों के संज्ञानात्मक विकास से बिल्कुल स्वतंत्र है क्योंकि $\chi2$ का मान अत्यंत कम पाया गया और हमारी स्वतंत्रता की परिकल्पना स्वीकार्य हो गई।

इसी प्रकार ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों की विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धियों का अध्ययन विभिन्न सांख्यिकी की गणना करके किया गया जिसका विवरण सारिणी-3 में दिया गया है। ट्यूशन गहण करने वाले एवं ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों की भौतिकी उपलब्धि परीक्षण पर माध्य प्राप्तांक क्रमशः 27.80 एवं 24.21 पाए गए। इनके मानक विचलन क्रमशः 10.40 एवं 10.46 प्राप्त हुए। ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वालों का मध्यमान प्राप्तांक अधिक पाए जाने पर भी वह ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों के मध्यमान से सार्थक रूप से भिन्न नहीं पाया गया क्योंकि दोनों के मध्य प्राप्त क्रांतिक मान 1.47 मिला। अतः यहां भी हमारी शून्य परिकल्पना स्वीकार्य होगी। यह नहीं कहा जा सकता कि ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले छात्र किसी रूप में ट्यूशन न ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों से अधिक लाभांवित रहे। सैनी (1991) कक्षा 8 स्तर के ट्यूशन ग्रहण करने वाले छात्रों की ट्यूशन ग्रहण से पूर्व उपलब्धियों के अध्ययन में पाया कि ये बच्चे अधिकांशतः प्रथम श्रेणी वाले होते हैं परंतु उन्होंने ट्यूशन के पश्चात की उपलब्धियों का अध्ययन नहीं किया। इसलिए वर्तमान शोध परिणाम सैनी के शोध के विपरीत है ऐसा नहीं कहा जा सकता।

संज्ञानात्मक विकास एवं ट्यूशन के प्रभावों को देखने हेतु दो युक्तियों को अपनाया गया। पहली युक्ति यह रही कि प्रतिदर्श में से लासन के परीक्षण के आधार पर दो तुल्य समूहों को निर्मित किया गया जिसमें 39-39 छात्र प्राप्त हुए। इन समूहों के भौतिकी परीक्षण के माध्य प्राप्तांकों की तुलना की गई। इससे संबंधित सांख्यिकी सारिणी-5 में दी गई है। दूसरी युक्ति ये अपनाई गई कि प्रतिदर्श से 48 ऐसे बच्चों को चुना गया जिनमें 12 बच्चे अत्यधिक उच्च संज्ञानात्मक विकास स्तर वाले थे। जो ट्यूशन लेते थे और 12 बच्चे ऐसे थे जो ट्यूशन नहीं लेते थे। इसीप्रकार 12 निम्न संज्ञानात्मक विकास स्तर वाले बच्चे थे जो ट्यूशन लेते थे और 12 ऐसे थे जो ट्यूशन नहीं लेते थे।

इन बच्चों के भौतिकी परीक्षण के प्राप्तांकों को लेकर द्विदिशीय प्रसरण विश्लेषण विधि लगाई गई जिसके परिणाम सारिणी-6 में दिए गए हैं। सारिणी-5 से स्पष्ट है कि ट्यूशन लेने और न लेने वाले छात्रों के भौतिकी परीक्षण के माध्य प्राप्तांकों में क्रांतिक अनुपात 1.34 है जो अत्यल्प एवं सार्थकता स्तर से बहुत कम है। अतः इस प्रविधि से भी हमारी शून्य परिकल्पना कि 'ट्यूशन लेने और ट्यूशन न लेने वाले छात्रों की माध्य विज्ञान उपलब्धियों में कोई सार्थक अंतर नहीं है' स्वीकार्य हो गई। सारिणी-6 में एफ-अनुपात को देखने से पता चलता है कि केवल संज्ञानात्मक विकास का ही स्रोत ($F = 12.50$) प्रभावकारी है। अन्य स्रोत ट्यूशन तथा ट्यूशन एवं संज्ञानात्मक विकास की अंतर्क्रिया बिल्कुल ही प्रभावकारी नहीं रहे। एफ-परीक्षण से प्राप्त परिणाम अन्य विधियों से संज्ञानात्मक विकास एवं विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धि संबंधी सांख्यिकी विश्लेषण से प्राप्त परिणामों की पुष्टि ही करता है।

निष्कर्ष एवं सुझाव

प्रस्तुत अध्ययन के शोध परिणामों की व्याख्या के आधार पर कुछ निष्कर्ष निकाले जा सकते हैं :

- जूनियर हाई स्कूल पर ट्यूशन पढ़ने एवं न पढ़ने वाले दोनों प्रकार के छात्रों में अधिकतर छात्र औपचारिक प्रक्रिया का व्यवहार प्रदर्शित करने में असमर्थ हैं।
- ट्यूशन लेने और न लेने का संबंध न तो बच्चों के संज्ञानात्मक विकास और न विज्ञान विषय में छात्रों की उपलब्धि से जुड़ा है।
- छात्रों की विज्ञान विषय में उपलब्धि उनके संज्ञानात्मक विकास की स्थिति पर निर्भर करती है। सर्वोत्तम उपलब्धि औपचारिक प्रक्रीय अवस्था पर होती है।

उपरोक्त निष्कर्षों से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि अभिभावकों का अंधाधुंध अपने पाल्यों को विज्ञान विषय में ट्यूशन के लिए प्रेरित करना कोई औचित्य नहीं रखता। इससे छात्रों का परिश्रम, समय एवं अभिभावकों का धन ही नष्ट होता है। आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि अभिभावक अतिरिक्त धन देकर औपचारिक विद्यालयों के स्तर को उठाने का प्रयास करें, जहां पर विज्ञान एवं प्रौद्योगिकी के आविष्कारों के फलस्वरूप शैक्षिक नवाचारों को अपनाया जाए। तभी छात्रों के विभिन्न पक्षों का समन्वित विकास हो सकेगा। इन छात्रों की अनावश्यक व्यक्तिगत शिक्षकों के पास जाने में जिस ऊर्जा की हानि हो रही है उसे वे अपने शैक्षिक उपलब्धि के स्तर को बेहतर बनाने में उपयोग कर सकेंगे। साथ ही साथ उनके संज्ञानात्मक विकास की स्थिति के अनुरूप विषयवस्तु एवं शिक्षण विधि का उपयोग कर उनके विकास की गति को तीव्रतर किया जा सकता है। अत: आज आवश्यकता है कि कुछ विद्यालयों को लेकर अधिगम केंद्र बनाए जाएं जहां छात्रों की अतिरिक्त शिक्षण ग्रहण करने की पिपासा को उनकी आवश्यकतानुसार शांत किया जा सके। इसके लिए सरकार एवं अभिभावकों के सम्मिलित प्रयास की आवश्यकता है।

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उठो, जागो और रुको मत; जब तक लक्ष्य प्राप्त न हो जाए।

❑ *स्वामी विवेकानंद*

पर्यावरण समस्या : समाधान में छात्र व शिक्षक की भूमिका

अमरनाथ दत्त गिरि

बी-4/56-बी, हनुमान घाट
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इस भूखण्ड पर मानव तभी तक अपने जीवन को सुरक्षित रख सकता है जब तक कि वह प्रकृति प्रदत्त संपदाओं का समुचित रूप से प्रयोग करे तथा किसी भी परिस्थिति में उसे नष्ट न होने दे। प्रस्तुत लेख में लेखक ने पर्यावरण का परिचय देते हुए उसमें दिन-प्रतिदिन हो रहे परिवर्तनों के भयंकर दुष्परिणामों से अवगत कराया है। उनका मत है कि पर्यावरण संबंधी समस्याओं से निपटने के लिए विद्यार्थियों एवं शिक्षकों को अहम भूमिका निभानी होगी।

हमारे चारों ओर का वातावरण एवं परिवेश, जिसमें हम, आप और अन्य जीवधारी रहते हैं, सब मिलकर "पर्यावरण" बनाते हैं। पर्यावरण बड़ा व्यापक शब्द है। पर्यावरण का तात्पर्य उस समूची भौतिक एवं जैविक व्यवस्था से है, जिसमें जीवधारी रहते हैं, बढ़ते-पनपते हैं और अपनी स्वाभाविक प्रवृत्तियों का विकास करते हैं।

हमारा वातावरण मुख्यत: तीन भागों में विभाजित है। वातावरण के उस हिस्से को जिसमें चट्टानें, रेत आदि हैं और जो पौधों के पोषण का कार्य करता है, 'स्थल मंडल' (Lithosphere) कहते हैं। वातावरण के उस हिस्से को जिसमें जल स्थित है 'जल मंडल' (Hydrosphere) कहते हैं। स्थल और जलमंडल के ऊपर करीब 200 मील तक फैला हुआ है गैसीय वातावरण, जिसे 'वायुमंडल' (Atmosphere) कहते हैं। इसमें विभिन्न मात्राओं में आक्सीजन, नाइट्रोजन, कार्बन-डाई-आक्साइड जैसी गैसें विद्यमान हैं।

धरती के उस हिस्से को जिसमें जीवधारी निवास करते हैं, 'जीवमंडल' (Biosphere) कहते हैं। पृथ्वी की सतह से 6 मील ऊपर और 6 मील नीचे धरती या पानी का हिस्सा ही जीवमंडल है परंतु सच तो यह है कि लगभग 90 प्रतिशत जीव धरती से एक मील नीचे यानी कि कुल 2 मील तक के क्षेत्र में ही रहते हैं।

वे सभी परिस्थितियां जिनसे हमारे पर्यावरण में असंतुलन व्याप्त हो, 'प्रदूषण' उत्पन्न करती हैं। वास्तव में प्रदूषण वायु, जल तथा स्थल की भौतिक, रासायनिक और जैविक विशेषताओं का वह अवांछनीय परिवर्तन है, जो मनुष्य और उसके लिए लाभदायक दूसरे जंतुओं, पौधों, औद्योगिक संस्थानों, कच्चे माल इत्यादि को किसी भी रूप में हानि पहुंचाता हो।

पर्यावरण में परिवर्तन के दुष्परिणाम

प्रकृति अपनी ओर से अपने सभी संघटकों का अनुपात

ठीक बनाए रखने की भरसक कोशिश करती है, लेकिन मानव ने प्रकृति को छेड़कर उसकी मूल संरचना में, व्यवस्था में खलल डाला है। फलस्वरूप पर्यावरण की बिगड़ती दशा आज समूचे संसार के लिए चिंता का विषय है। जब धरती पर मानव आया तो अनेक वर्षों तक इसकी नैसर्गिकता में कोई अंतर नहीं आया। लेकिन ज्यों-ज्यों वह विकास की ओर अग्रसर होता गया, मशीनों का सहारा लेता गया, प्रकृति में असंतुलन की स्थिति व्याप्त हो गई।

धड़ाधड़ जंगल कटते जा रहे हैं, पहाड़ों की पीठें नंगी होती जा रही हैं, बाढ़ों और भू-स्खलनों की तबाही हर साल हमें तंग करती है।

ईंधन खत्म होता जा रहा है। प्राकृतिक संपदा के भंडारों ने चेतावनी दे दी है, वे प्राय: समाप्त हो चले हैं। पक्षियों, वन्य जीवों को लोभी शिकारी अपना निशाना बना रहे हैं। पक्षियों के रैनबसेरे उजड़ गए, पंछी अब नीड़ क्यों नहीं बनाते? जब पंछी ही लुप्त हो रहे हैं तो नीड़ कौन बनाए? अपने कलरव और मधुर कूक से प्रकृति को कौन रोमांचित करे?

धरती बंजर होती जा रही है, खेती योग्य भूमि कम होती जा रही है। इतनी बड़ी आबादी के लिए भरपेट भोजन जुटा पाना ही मुश्किल काम है, फिर पहनने, ओढ़ने और आमोद-प्रमोद की तो बात ही क्या! साधन जवाब दे रहे हैं, मांग बढ़ती जा रही है। क्या यही विज्ञान और तकनीकी युग की भेंट है?

विकास सुख-सुविधा उपलब्ध करने के लिए होना चाहिए न कि तबाही के लिए। हम मौत के कगार पर खड़े हैं। कुछ ठीक नहीं, कब वर्तमान सभ्यता का अभिशाप यानी प्रदूषण का ज़हर हमें समूचा निगल जाए।

प्रकृति से समझौता

समय रहते हमें अपने आपको इसके चंगुल से बचाना ही होगा। सच तो यह है कि हमने स्वयं मूर्खता की है। तात्कालिक लाभ के लिए अविवेकपूर्ण ढंग से वन उजाड़े, प्रकृति का दोहन किया, अंधाधुंध रूप से उसे लूटा। हमने तो सोचा प्रकृति हमारी चेरी है, भोग्या है, उसे भोगने का हमें अधिकार है। जितना चाहो, दुह लो, परंतु यह तो हमारी विरासत है। यहीं हमसे भूल हो गई।

वास्तव में प्रकृति हमारी मां है, पोषक है, रक्षक है, जीवनदायिनी है। हम प्रकृति की संतान हैं, स्वामी नहीं। हम उससे उतना ही लें, जितना उसे लौटा सकें। वस्तुत: विकास वही है, जिसमें हम प्रकृति की मूल संपदा को बचाए रखते हुए ही ब्याज से कार्य चलाते रहें। अपनी भावी पीढ़ियों के लिए उसे संजोकर, बचाकर रखें। आने वाली पीढ़ियों की चिंता न करना उनके प्रति अनाचार है, अन्याय है और गांधी जी की भाषा में हिंसा है।

प्राकृतिक संतुलन की अवधारणा

धरती के रंगमंच पर अवतीर्ण होने वाले जीवों की सभी जातियों में मानव सबसे योग्य और बुद्धिमान है। उसके पास विवेक है और तर्क की कसौटी है। अत: हमें विवेक से काम लेना चाहिए और प्रकृति में संतुलन बनाए रखने की हर संभव चेष्टा करनी चाहिए। हम प्रकृति से उतना ही लें, जिससे उसकी अर्थवत्ता मूल्यवान बनी रहे, उसके घटकों में गड़बड़ी न आए। उसमें असंतुलन यानी घटने-बढ़ने की स्थिति जीवधारियों के लिए खतरे की घंटी है।

हमें प्रकृति से समझौता करना है, उसके साथ मिलकर रहना है, तभी हमारा अस्तित्व बरकरार रहेगा। अन्यथा मौत के मुंह में जाने में देर नहीं। कितने ही जीवों की जातियां नष्ट हो चुकी हैं। अब मात्र पुस्तकों के पन्नों में उनका ज़िक्र मिलता है। अत: हमें प्रकृति से उलझे संबंध सुधारने ही होंगे। मानव और प्रकृति के बीच बढ़ती खाई को पाटना है। आपसी रिश्तों को मज़बूत बनाना है। मानवीय संबंधों को प्रकृति के साथ एकाकार करना है, क्योंकि हम प्रकृति के अविभाज्य अंग हैं। अत: प्राकृतिक साधनों के उपयोग करने की क्षमता को अधिक से अधिक काल तक बरकरार रखने की चेष्टा ही सबसे बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण एवं सामयिक कदम होगा। वस्तुत: 'पर्यावरण सुधार' या पारिस्थितिक संतुलन (Ecological balance) की यही अवधारणा है। जीवमंडल की सबसे बड़ी समस्या भी यही है और इसी का हल ढूंढ़ना पारिस्थितिकीविदों का दायित्व है।

जीवमंडल की समस्याएं

अब आइए, जीवमंडल की मौजूदा समस्याओं पर विचार करें और देखें कि तथाकथित 'सभ्य' मानव ने प्रकृति को किस अवस्था में पहुंचा दिया है :

- **संसाधनों का समाप्तप्राय दौर :** विद्वानों का अनुमान है कि आज से 20-30 लाख वर्ष पूर्व मानव का इस धरती पर प्रादुर्भाव हुआ और सन 1830 तक दुनिया की कुल आबादी एक अरब थी। किंतु अगले 100 वर्षों में ही अर्थात 1930 तक आबादी दुगुनी हो गई। यानी जितनी जनसंख्या लाखों सालों में हुई, उतनी इधर के मात्र 100 वर्षों में ही हो गई। आबादी की बढ़ती रफ़्तार ने और गति पकड़ी। अगली एक अरब की वृद्धि केवल 30 वर्षों में ही हो गई। इसप्रकार सन 1960 तक 3 अरब नर-नारी इस धरती पर हो गए और फिर अगले 15 वर्षों में ही यानी सन 1975 तक आबादी बढ़कर 4 अरब हो गई। अब अनुमान है कि सन 2000 तक यानी कि इस शती के अंत तक जनसंख्या लगभग 7 अरब हो जाएगी।

  इस बेतहाशा बढ़ती भीड़ की मांग को पूरा करने में हम संभवत: सक्षम नहीं हो पाएंगे अत: इस पर तत्काल नियंत्रण लगाना आवश्यक है। बढ़ती आबादी के कारण, जंगल कटते जा रहे हैं, बस्तियां बसती जा रही हैं, कृषि योग्य भूमि की कमी हो रही है, चूंकि प्राकृतिक संसाधन सीमित हैं, अत: खर्च की यही स्थिति रही तो वे शीघ्र ही समाप्तप्राय हो जाएंगे।

  वैज्ञानिकों का अनुमान है कि अगले 20 वर्षों में संसार भर की खेतिहर भूमि का लगभग एक-तिहाई नष्ट हो जाएगा। जंगलों की सफाई जिस रफ़्तार से हो रही है, उस अनुपात में इस सदी के अंत तक उत्पादक वन आधे नष्ट हो जाएंगे।

  इनके ठीक विपरीत हमारी आवश्यकताएं, सुरसा के मुंह की तरह बढ़ती जा रही हैं। कारण स्पष्ट है—जनसंख्या विस्फोट। परिणाम है—संसाधनों का अभाव।

- **लुप्तप्राय जीवधारी :** अंतर्राष्ट्रीय बाज़ारों में अच्छी कीमत मिलने के कारण चोरी-छुपे बहुत से जीव मारे जा रहे हैं और खालों, उम्दा किस्म

के फरों, विलासी भोजन, प्रसाधन सामग्रियों, सजावटी चीजों के रूप में प्रयुक्त होने के लिए जीवों की जातियां तेज़ी से गायब होती जा रही हैं। स्वीडन के प्राणी-विज्ञानी काईकुरी लिंडहल के अनुसार इस धरती की लगभग 300 से अधिक जातियां तथा उपजातियां लुप्त हो चुकी हैं। अनुमानतः वर्तमान सदी में भूमंडल पर कहीं न कहीं प्रतिवर्ष एक जाति का लोप हो रहा है। जीवधारियों के विलुप्तीकरण का सीधा संबंध हमारे पर्यावरण से है, जो उनके प्रतिकूल बनता जा रहा है। ऐसी प्रतिकूल परिस्थितियों में जीवधारियों का अस्तित्व खतरे में है।

प्रकृति संरक्षण के अंतर्राष्ट्रीय संघ (International Union for the Conservation of Nature, (IUCN)) ने 'रेड डाटा' पुस्तक में विश्व के संकटग्रस्त जंतुओं की सूची दी है, जिनमें 400 पक्षियों, 305 स्तनधारी जंतुओं, 193 प्रकार की मछलियों, 138 उभयचर और सरीसृपों (रेंगने वाले जंतु) की जातियों एवं उपजातियों के लुप्तप्राय होने का डर है। उक्त संघ की संकटग्रस्त पौध कमेटी का अनुमान है कि लगभग 25,000 जातियां संकट में हैं।

- **मौसमी परिवर्तन** : वातावरण में कार्बन-डाई-आक्साइड की मात्रा बढ़ रही है। फॉसिल ईंधन अर्थात्, कोयला, तेल के जलने से इस गैस की बड़ी मात्रा वातवरण में विमुक्त होती है। सामान्य स्थितियों में पौधे इसे खींचकर, प्राणवायु (आक्सीजन) मुक्त करते हैं। लेकिन वन विनाश और शहरीकरण की प्रवृत्ति से दिनोदिन इस प्राकृतिक व्यवस्था में बाधा उत्पन्न हो रही है। फलस्वरूप कार्बन-डाई-आक्साइड की पर्याप्त मात्रा वायुमंडल में व्याप्त रहती है। यह गैस धूप को गुज़रने देती है और इस नाते वायुमंडल का ताप धीरे-धीरे बढ़ता जाता है। वैज्ञानिकों का अनुमान है कि यदि वातावरण में कार्बन-डाई-आक्साइड की मात्रा इसी प्रकार बढ़ती रही तो अगले 30-40 वर्षों में धरती के ताप में 3 से 5 डिग्री सेटी॰ तक की अनावश्यक वृद्धि हो जाएगी। फलस्वरूप शीतोष्ण क्षेत्र रेगिस्तान हो सकते हैं, ध्रुवों की बर्फ पिघल सकती है जिससे जल प्लावन की संभावना हो सकती है। इसका अर्थ हुआ कि सागरों का तल ऊंचा हो जाएगा। परिणामस्वरूप संसार के कुछ नगर जलमग्न हो सकते हैं।

अभी तक आपने वन विनाश के दुष्प्रभाव का एक पक्ष देखा, अब आइए, दूसरे पहलू पर भी गौर करें। हर साल बाढ़ें आती हैं। यदि हम बाढ़ों के कारणों की खोजबीन करें तो पता चलेगा कि इसका कारण मानवजन्य ही है। उत्तर भारत में बाढ़ आने का प्रमुख कारण है-हिमालय में वन विनाश। जंगलों के न रहने से वर्षा का पानी मिट्टी को तेज़ी से काटता है, जबकि घने जंगलों के वृक्ष अपनी आड़ में पानी रोक कर उसके वेग को कम कर देते हैं और ऐसा पानी अधिक मिट्टी नहीं काट पाता है। जब पेड़ों का कटाव होता है तो पहाड़ों की नंगी पीठें पानी के वेग के लिए कोई अवरोध नहीं उपस्थित कर पातीं और मिट्टी काटकर नदियों को पाट देती हैं। फलतः नदियों की जलधारण क्षमता कम हो जाती है और अतिरिक्त पानी नदी के दोनों किनारों के बाहर पहुंच जाता है। यहीं से शुरू होती है बाढ़ों की विनाशलीला। इसके

विपरीत यदि घने जंगल कायम रहें तो वनस्पतियों से ढकी पहाड़ों की पीठें अधिकांश पानी सोख लेंगी और धीरे-धीरे वर्ष भर नदियों में जल प्रवाह होता रहेगा।

वन विनाश से बाढ़ के अलावा दो और भी हानियां हुई हैं-नदियों का उथला होना तथा धरती की उपजाऊ परत का क्षय होना। उपजाऊ मिट्टी की हल्की-सी परत भी प्रकृति सैंकड़ों वर्षों में बना पाती है और देखते ही देखते टनों उर्वरा शक्ति से ओतप्रोत मिट्टियां नदियों की भेंट चढ़ जाती हैं। नदियों में मिट्टी की मात्रा बढ़ जाने से बांधों की उम्र कम हो जाती है। बांध के संबंध में एक ही उदाहरण देना पर्याप्त होगा। निर्माण के समय रामगंगा बांध की उम्र 188 वर्ष आंकी गई थी लेकिन अब बांध में बढ़ती मिट्टी के जमाव के कारण उसकी कुल उम्र केवल 40 वर्ष रह गई है। प्राकृतिक असंतुलन का एक उदाहरण और देखिए। संभवत: ईसा से 3000 साल पहले वह धरती भी हरी-भरी थी, जहां आज राजस्थान का रेगिस्तान है। यह प्राकृतिक संपदा के विनाश का ही दुष्परिणाम है। वैज्ञानिकों का यह अनुमान है कि यदि जंगलों का कटाव न रोका गया तो दिल्ली भी वीरान हो जाएगी। ज्ञातव्य है कि रेगिस्तान राजधानी की ओर बढ़ रहा है।

वन संरक्षण आसान भी है और कारगर भी। वन आदि संस्कृतियों के पोषक तो थे ही, कमोवेश आज भी हैं। वन हमारे रक्षक हैं। इनसे भू-स्खलन और बाढ़ें रुकती हैं। ये ध्वनि प्रदूषण भी कम करते हैं। फैक्ट्रियों या प्रयोगशालाओं के आस-पास वृक्ष रोपे जाने चाहिए ताकि शोर की कुछ मात्रा कम हो। इस प्रकार वन रोपण को सामाजिक वानिकी का महत्वपूर्ण अंग मानना चाहिए और राष्ट्रीय विकास कार्यक्रम के रूप में अपनाया जाना चाहिए।

- **धरती के रक्षा कवच का नाश** : हमारे वातावरण में कुछ ऊंचाई पर ओज़ोन (आक्सीजन के अणुओं) की एक परत है, जो सूर्य की पराबैगनी (अल्ट्रावायलेट) किरणों से हमारी रक्षा करती है। यह घातक किरणें उस परत में अवशोषित हो जाती हैं और दोषमुक्त धूप हमें प्राप्त होती है। यदि सुरक्षा आवरण न होता तो तमाम जीवधारी धूपताम्रता (Sun-burn) और त्वचा कैंसर से पीड़ित हो जाते। अभी पता चला है कि बहुत से उद्योगों से मुक्त होने वाले रसायन खासकर क्लोरोकार्बन, ओज़ोन पट्टी में पहुंचकर रासायनिक प्रक्रिया से उसका क्षय करते हैं। यदि रसायनों से मुक्त होने की दर यही रही तो अगले 40 वर्षों में धरती की ओज़ोन पट्टी में कम से कम 24 से 30 प्रतिशत की क्षति हो सकती है, जो त्वचा कैंसर के रूप में मानव तथा पशुओं को क्षति पहुंचा सकती है तथा इसके प्रभाव से वायुमंडल में परिवर्तन हो सकता है। इससे मौसम भी प्रभावित हो सकते हैं।

त्राण का मार्ग किधर

स्वाभाविक है कि आधुनिक भौतिक युग और भौतिक संस्कृति बनाम औद्योगिक संस्कृति बनाम प्रौद्योगिक संस्कृति (Technoculture) हमारे लिए विनाश का मार्ग प्रस्तुत कर रही है। हमारा जीवमंडल अब

मात्र 'प्रौद्योगिकी मंडल' (Technosphere) बनकर रह गया है, जिसमें चारों ओर गैसों का धुंआ भरा माहौल और कृत्रिमता की ही झलक है। अब हालत ऐसे हो रहे हैं कि हम सांस लेने के लिए शुद्ध वायु को भी तरस जाएंगे। यही है तकनीकी युग की बहुमूल्य भेंट।

स्पष्ट है कि ये परिस्थितियां हमने स्वयं उत्पन्न की हैं, अतः इनसे निपटने का मार्ग भी हमें ही खोजना है।

विकास और सृजन साथ-साथ

ऐसी संस्कृति को विकसित करने की आवश्यकता है, जिसमें प्राकृतिक संपदा का विवेकपूर्ण उपयोग हो। इसका अपव्यय रुके। विनाश करके विकास की बात करना नितांत कोरी कल्पना है। अतः हमें ऐसी नीति व्यवहार में लानी होगी, जिसमें आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक विकास के साथ पर्यावरण का संरक्षण भी हो। भारत में पारिस्थितिकी के जनक प्रो॰ रामदेव मिश्र कहते हैं, "लोग पारिस्थितिकीविदों से पूछते हैं कि क्या स्वच्छ और अच्छे जीवन के लिए हम पाषाण युग में चले जाएं? क्या विज्ञान, तकनीकी तथा सामाजिक विकास को हम तिलांजलि दे दें?" उनका कहना है कि, "समाधान पीछे जाने में नहीं है। हमें पर्यावरण की रक्षा करनी है और इसके लिए जनसामान्य के निम्नतम स्तर तक जागरूकता पैदा करनी होगी। स्वस्थ पर्यावरण जैसे भी बन सके, वही विकास है। ऊर्जा प्रवाह और पदार्थों का संचरण प्राकृतिक परितंत्रों के अनुसार सामाजिक सेवा में इस धारणा से लगाना है कि पर्यावरण से उधार ली हुई चीजें फिर वापस कर देनी हैं। जब तक हमारे अर्थ और विज्ञान नैतिकता का सहारा नहीं देंगे, हमारा कल्याण नहीं हो पाएगा। एक नई सभ्यता का विकास करना है, जिसमें व्यक्ति, समाज, भौतिक तथा जैविक संसाधन उन्नत किए जा सकें।"

ज़रूरत है नैतिक चेतना की

सौभाग्य से अपना देश पश्चिमी देशों की तुलना में अभी उतना अधिक प्रदूषण की चपेट में नहीं आया है। हमारे यहां अभी उद्योगों की उतनी अधिकता नहीं है। मशीनी जीवन की छाया-माया से अधिकांश भारतवासी अभी भी बचे हुए हैं, क्योंकि असली भारत तो गांवों में बसता है। अतः जीवन में रहन-सहन की सादगी ही हमारी लक्ष्मण रेखा है, जो प्रदूषण रूपी रावण से अभिशप्त होने से हमें बचा रही है।

पश्चिमी राष्ट्र अतिभौतिकतावादी हैं, जहां सारे दैनिक क्रियाकलाप मशीनों पर आधारित हैं। स्वाभाविक है कि मशीनों का उत्पादन फैक्ट्रियों में होगा, जो बिजली, ईंधन से चलेंगी और बदले में कूड़े-कचड़े और धुंए का तोहफा प्रकृतिक को भेंट करेंगी। अतः जो राष्ट्र जितने ही उद्योगपरक या तकनीकीपरक हैं, वहां प्रदूषण उतना ही अधिक है। अतिविकसित राष्ट्रों के लिए प्रदूषण सिरदर्द है। वे अब अपने अस्तित्व की रक्षा के लिए पर्यावरण को ठीक रखने, शुद्ध रखने की पुरज़ोर कोशिश कर रहे हैं। सच तो यह है कि पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों, खासकर अमेरिका में, पर्यावरण की गंदगी को दूर करना, पर्यावरण को ठीक रखना अपने आप में एक स्वतंत्र व्यवसाय बनता जा रहा है। यदि हम उद्योगों में प्रदूषण नियंत्रित करने की तकनीक विकसित करें, उनसे उत्पन्न हो रहे प्रदूषण की जांच-परख करते रहें तो नियंत्रण संभव है।

भारत में समय रहते पर्यावरण सुधार की नैतिक चेतना विकसित हो जाए, तो गमीनत है। अभी हमारा पर्यावरण बहुत अधिक नहीं बिगड़ा है।

अपने देश में पर्यावरण के संबंध में सभी को पर्याप्त जानकारी नहीं है। स्वस्थ जीवन, स्वच्छ जीवन क्या है और उसका महत्व क्या है, अभी भोले भारतीय ग्रामीण इतना भी नहीं जानते। यदि हम उन्हें साफ-सुथरा रहना और साफ खाना-पीना बता सकें तो समझिए कि अपने आप लोगों को पारिस्थितिकी का ज्ञान हो जाएगा जो इस दिशा में बहुत बड़ा कदम होगा।

छात्र और शिक्षक की भूमिका

पर्यावरण संबंधी इस विवेचन से एक बात पूर्णरूप से स्पष्ट है कि यदि वर्तमान और भावी जीवन को सुखी बनाना है तो संपूर्ण देश में प्रत्येक स्तर पर पर्यावरण संबंधी जागरूकता का महाभियान चलाना होगा। सरकारी तंत्र व संस्थाएं अपनी सामर्थ्य के अनुसार प्रयास कर रही हैं किंतु इस दिशा में वांछित परिणाम तभी दिखाई देगा जब छात्रों को अपने पर्यावरण संरक्षण की दृष्टि से प्रशिक्षित किया जाए। इस दृष्टि से शिक्षकों विशेष तौर से विज्ञान शिक्षकों का उत्तरदायित्व बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण है। वे अपनी कक्षा के विद्यार्थियों को उनके मानसिक स्तर के अनुरूप जानकारी प्रदान कर उन्हें इस बात के लिए प्रोत्साहित कर सकते हैं कि वे अपने घर-परिवार, पास-पड़ोस व समुदाय के लोगों में पर्यावरण के प्रति जागरूकता उत्पन्न करें और उन्हें समझाएं कि पर्यावरण का संरक्षण करना अपने इष्टदेव की पूजा करने से कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है।

विद्यार्थियों की मदद से पर्यावरण के प्रति जागरूकता लाने के लिए प्रायः हमारी शिक्षा प्रणाली में जो प्रक्रिया अपनाई जाती है, उसके अंतर्गत स्कूली पाठ्यक्रम में ही पर्यावरण पर कुछ पाठ शामिल कर लिए जाते हैं और फिर विद्यार्थियों से कहा जाता है कि वे इस जानकारी को अन्य लोगों तक पहुंचाएं। यहां यह प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या केवल सूचना देना मात्र जागरूकता लाना है? क्या शिक्षकों और पुस्तकों से मिली जानकारी के आधार पर वे लोगों को अपने पर्यावरण के प्रति सचेत रहने को कह पाएंगे। क्या यह जानकारी उन्हें लोगों द्वारा उठाए गए प्रश्नों का सामना करने के लिए समर्थ बना पाएगी? निश्चित ही इस प्रक्रिया में सिद्धांत और व्यवहार के बीच एक दूरी रहेगी। ज्ञान और वास्तविकता, सिद्धांतों और परिस्थितियों के बीच हमेशा तालमेल बैठाना संभव नहीं हो पाएगा।

संचार या संप्रेषण का अर्थ होता है लोगों के जीवन में परिवर्तन लाना। जब हम संचार को पर्यावरण के साथ जोड़ते हैं तो वह पूरी तरह एक समाजिक विषय बन जाता है। पर्यावरण संचार और संचार प्रक्रिया को पूरे सामाजिक पर्यावरण से जोड़कर देखना अनिवार्य हो जाता है। पर्यावरण के प्रति लोगों का दृष्टिकोण संचार की सही पद्धति, वैज्ञानिक जानकारी और उनकी भागीदारी से ही बदला जा सकता है। इसके लिए छात्रों को पर्यावरण की परंपरागत पद्धति से शिक्षा देने के स्थान पर एक वैकल्पिक मॉडल अपनाना होगा।

वैकल्पिक मॉडल

इस मॉडल के अंतर्गत विद्यार्थियों को इस बात का

प्रशिक्षण दिया जाना चाहिए कि वे वैज्ञानिक पद्धति का प्रयोग कर अपने आस-पास के पर्यावरण के प्रति अपनी समझ बढ़ाएं। वे स्वयं पर्यावरण का विश्लेषण करने की क्षमता विकसित करें। स्वयं समस्या का अनुभव करें और तब इस पृष्ठभूमि के साथ पर्यावरण के किसी विशेष क्षेत्र पर लोगों से अपनी जानकारी बांटने और उनसे जानकारी लेने का कार्य करें।

विश्व प्रसिद्ध पर्यावरण शास्त्री निकोलस पौलुनिन ने कहा है, "अपने पर्यावरण को बचाने की एक अनिवार्य शर्त है कि लोग अपने पर्यावरण के प्रति एक संपूर्ण विस्तृत समझ रखें।" और यह संपूर्ण विस्तृत समझ केवल एक सही दिशा के मॉडल से ही प्राप्त हो सकती है।

'एकलव्य' और 'किशोर भारती' नामक दो समाजसेवी संस्थाओं ने इस मॉडल को अपनाकर पर्यावरण संचार में एक महत्वपूर्ण और अनुकरणीय प्रयोग किया है। इस प्रयोग के अंतर्गत मध्यप्रदेश के छिंदवाड़ा ज़िले के परसिया नगर तथा आसपास के तीन उपनगरों को शामिल किया गया।

दिसंबर 1986 से जुलाई 1987 तक चलने वाले इस पर्यावरण जागरूकता अभियान में चार सरकारी स्कूलों, एक प्राइवेट स्कूल और एक विज्ञान कालेज के शिक्षकों और छात्रों को चुना गया। कुल 30 छात्र-छात्राओं को इस कार्यक्रम के लिए चुना गया। पर्यावरण जागरूकता प्रयोग के लिए पानी पर ही ध्यान केंद्रित किया गया। यह कार्यक्रम पांच चरणों में पूर्ण हुआ। प्रथम चरण में, नौ शिक्षकों और तीस विद्यार्थियों को पर्यावरण रसायनशास्त्र पर एक सप्ताह का प्रशिक्षण दिया गया। कार्यक्रम के दूसरे चरण में, मानीटरिंग का काम किया गया। इसके अंतर्गत छात्रों ने सप्ताह के अवकाश दिवस में पानी के स्रोतों से पानी के नमूने एकत्र किए, उनका परीक्षण किया तथा इस संबंध में अपने शिक्षकों से परामर्श किया। परीक्षण प्रतिवेदन तैयार किए गए और इस पर गंभीर विचार विमर्श भी किए गए। प्रयोग के तीसरे चरण में, फीडबैक एकत्र किया गया। सूचनाओं का आदान-प्रदान किया गया। छात्र-छात्राओं ने 600 लोगों से संपर्क किया तथा बातचीत के द्वारा लोगों को अपने कार्यक्रम और इसके लक्ष्यों की जानकारी दी।

इस तीसरे चरण से छात्रों को अंतर व्यक्ति संप्रेषण को प्रभावशाली ढंग से प्रयोग में लाने का प्रशिक्षण भी प्राप्त हुआ। इसके साथ ही साधारण लोगों से बातचीत करने, उनके घर जाकर बैठने, उनसे अनौपचारिक भेंट करने जैसी प्रक्रियाओं से विद्यार्थियों के अंदर आम आदमी की रोज़मर्रा की ज़िंदगी की समस्याओं को समझने और उनके प्रति दृष्टिकोण बदलने की दिशा में एक सकारात्मक परिवर्तन आया।

चौथे चरण में, कार्यक्रम का मूल्यांकन किया गया और उपलब्ध सारे आंकड़ों का विश्लेषण किया गया। प्रयोग के अंतिम चरण में एक सार्वजनिक सभा आयोजित की गई जिसमें निष्कर्षों को प्रस्तुत किया गया। एक पोस्टर प्रदर्शनी भी लगायी गई।

इस प्रयोग का मूल उद्देश्य विद्यार्थियों को एक वैज्ञानिक आधार पर पर्यावरण जागरूकता अभियान में संप्रेषक के रूप में सामने लाना था। उन्हें अपने समाज और पर्यावरण के प्रति वैज्ञानिक आधार पर संवेदनशील बनाना था।

पर्यावरण जागरूकता के इस पूरे मॉडल ने पर्यावरण संचार की व्याख्या को वैज्ञानिक खोज और निष्कर्षों से जोड़ दिया है। यह मॉडल राष्ट्रीय और अंतर्राष्ट्रीय वैचारिक संगोष्ठियों में 'पर्यावरण बचाओ' की शब्दाडंबर की बहसों से अलग एक यथार्थवादी मॉडल है।

आजकल विज्ञान की अन्य शाखाओं की तरह पर्यावरण विज्ञान और पर्यावरण संचार शोध संस्थानों और विश्वविद्यालयों में मात्र प्रोजेक्ट लेना, अध्ययन करना और संगोष्ठियों को आयोजित करके उनकी रपट छापना बौद्धिक विलासिता का विषय बन चुका है। पर्यावरण के हालत पर हर वर्ष किसी न किसी विशेषज्ञ या विद्वान की पुस्तक प्रकाशित हो जाती है। यह सच्चाई है कि पर्यावरण पर साहित्य की कोई कमी नहीं है, कमी है पर्यावरण पर काम करने वाले लोगों की। ऐसे लोगों की, जो अपने आस-पास रह रहे लोगों को वैज्ञानिक जानकारी के आधार पर पर्यावरण की समस्याओं की जानकारी सीधी व सरल भाषा में दे सकें, उन्हें शिक्षित कर सकें। परसिया नगर के छात्रों और शिक्षकों ने इस दिशा में एक पहल की है। अब अन्य शिक्षकों की ज़िम्मेदारी है कि वे छात्रों को पर्यावरण जागरूकता के लिए एक वैज्ञानिक आधार पर संप्रेषक के रूप में तैयार करें।

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विज्ञान व्यवस्थित ज्ञान है और बुद्धिमत्ता व्यवस्थित जीवन।

❑ **कांट**

भारतीय शिक्षा क्षेत्र में व्याप्त रुग्णता : एक अर्थशास्त्रीय दृष्टि

पी. के. चौबे

गीता चौबे

गोविंद बल्लभ पंत सामाजिक विज्ञान संस्थान इलाहाबाद

स्वतंत्रता के पश्चात शिक्षा क्षेत्र में सकल राष्ट्रीय उत्पादन का व्यय निरंतर बढ़ता गया। अब सरकार शिक्षा पर छह प्रतिशत के बराबर व्यय करने के लिए कृतसंकल्प है, परंतु ये संसाधन किसी अन्य क्षेत्र की आवश्यकता की कटौती पर प्राप्त होंगे। अर्थशास्त्रियों का विचार है कि हमें उन सिद्धांतों का निरूपण करना होगा जो ये निश्चित करें कि बालक की शिक्षा पर होने वाले व्यय को राज्य व पालकों के बीच कैसे विभाजित किया जाए। लेखक ने शिक्षा को समेकित अर्थव्यवस्था के महत्वपूर्ण अंग के रूप में देखकर ही उसके स्वरूप के विषय में निर्णय लेने की बात कही है।

सरकार शिक्षा पर सकल राष्ट्रीय उत्पाद के छह प्रतिशत के बराबर व्यय करने के लिए कृतसंकल्प है, ऐसा वह विगत कई वर्षों से कह रही है। कुछ लोग सोचते हैं कि यदि ऐसा हो सकता तो शिक्षा के लिये पर्याप्त संसाधन होते और शिक्षा क्षेत्र का एकमात्र वास्तविक संकट (वित्तीय संकट) दूर हो गया होता। शेष सभी समस्याएं वित्तीय संसाधनों से जुड़ी हैं।

ऐसा सोचने वाले विश्लेषक कोठारी शिक्षा आयोग (1966) द्वारा दी गई संख्या तो याद रखते हैं पर उसका तर्क भूल जाते हैं। कोठारी आयोग के लिए छह प्रतिशत व्यय लक्ष्य नहीं था, साधन था। उसकी अनुगणना के अनुसार शिक्षा लक्ष्यों को प्राप्त करने हेतु शनैः शनैः शिक्षा व्यय राष्ट्रीय आय अनुपात बढ़कर 1975-76 तक छह प्रतिशत हो जाना आवश्यक होता। निश्चित रूप से इस अनुगणना में जनसंख्या वृद्धि, राष्ट्रीय आय वृद्धि और शिक्षा की संरचना के विषय में कुछ मान्यताएं निर्धारित की गईं थीं।

हम जानते हैं कि स्वतंत्रता के प्रारंभिक वर्षों में यह प्रतिशत 1.2 था। छठे दशक के अंत तक बढ़कर यह 2.5 प्रतिशत हुआ। तदुपरांत धीमी गति से बढ़ता हुआ सातवें दशक के अंत तक 3.0 प्रतिशत पहुंचा। आठवें दशक में थोड़ा बहुत परिवर्तन होता रहा। एकाध बार ही यह प्रतिशत 4.0 की संख्या पार कर पाया। कुल 6.0 प्रतिशत की स्थिति में विपुल संसाधनों की उपलब्धता निश्चित हो सकेगी। परंतु ये संसाधन किसी और क्षेत्र की आवश्यकता की कटौती पर प्राप्त होंगे। यदि समग्र अर्थव्यवस्था की दृष्टि से विचार करें तो संसाधनों के अंतर्क्षेत्रीय विनिधान पर दृष्टि दौड़ानी होगी। गत्यात्मक दृष्टि से

जहां शिक्षा अन्य क्षेत्रों के लिये संपूरक है, वहीं स्थैतिक रूप से संसाधनों के लिए स्पर्धात्मक। फिर शिक्षा क्षेत्र के अंतर्गत अंतर्क्षेत्रीय विनिधान पर भी ध्यान देना होगा।

अर्थशास्त्रियों ने इस विषय पर सामान्यत: अपनी संकुचित दृष्टि का परिचय दिया है। वे सोचते हैं कि उन्हें उन सिद्धांतों का निरूपण करना है जो ये निश्चित करते हैं कि बालक की शिक्षा पर होने वाले व्यय को राज्य और पालकों के बीच कैसे विभाजित किया जाए। प्राय: एक शताब्दी पूर्व मार्शल ने इसे उन कतिपय व्यावहारिक समस्याओं में से एक माना, जिनमें अर्थशास्त्रियों की सीधी रुचि है। हम इससे बहुत आगे नहीं गए यद्यपि शिक्षा का अर्थशास्त्र एक नई शाखा के रूप में उभरा।

नीति-नियामकों के लिए आवश्यक होगा कि वे देखें कि जिन संसाधनों का उपयोग किसी इच्छित क्षेत्र में होना है, वे किन क्षेत्रों की कटौतियों से प्राप्त होंगे। शिक्षा के लिए अधिक संसाधनों का अर्थ ग्रामीण विकास हेतु कम संसाधनों का उपलब्ध होना होगा। पुन: उन्हें सामाजिक संसाधनों के इष्टतम विनिधान पर विचार करना होगा।

सामान्यत: एक व्यक्ति अपनी संतान के लिए उससे अधिक करने का प्रयास करता है, जितना उसके पालकों ने उसके लिए किया होता है। अपनी सामर्थ्य के कारण उच्च वर्ग के माता-पिता कुछ अधिक कर गुज़रते हैं। उच्च वर्ग के इस व्यवहार को मार्शल उस मनोवृत्ति का हिस्सा मानते हैं जो भविष्य (की प्राप्तियों) को पर्याप्त कम दर पर घटोत्री करते हैं। यह निस्वार्थपरता और अनुराग-अतिरेक के नैतिक लक्षणों से भिन्न है। पर यह मनोवृत्ति वर्गजन्य है अथवा संसाधन-संपन्नताजन्य? संभवत: भविष्य हेतु विनियोग का विकल्प अधिक संसाधन-संपन्न व्यक्ति के लिए विलास हो सकता है और कम साधन-संपन्न के लिए अत्यावश्यक उपभोग। इसलिए दोनों की घटोत्री दरें भिन्न होंगी। पुन: दरिद्र को ब्याज की अत्यंत ऊंची दर पर ऋण लेना पड़ता है और अति संपन्न अपेक्षाकृत कम लाभदर पर उद्योग चलाते हैं। बीच के लोग बीच की स्थितियों से गुज़रते हैं। परिणामत: दरिद्र वर्ग के बच्चे सस्ती/नि:शुल्क शिक्षा का लाभ भी नहीं ले पाते और संपन्न वर्ग तथा मध्यम वर्ग के बच्चे उपदानित शिक्षा का लाभ ले जाते हैं।

एक दूसरी सोच के अंतर्गत, परिवार की संस्था ने व्यक्ति को अपनी उत्तराधिकारी पीढ़ियों के माध्यम से शाश्वत जीवन दिया है। वह वंश-परंपरा के माध्यम से जीता रहता है। इसलिए भी वह अपनी ही भावी ज़िन्दगी पर व्यय करता है। आजकल के पाश्चात्य मॉडल भी इस संकल्पना का उपयोग विश्लेषण में करने लगे हैं।

पर राज्य इसमें क्यों भागीदार होना चाहता है? राज्य का जीवन अनंत है। हम जानते हैं कि राज्य की सीमाएं और नाम बदलते रहते हैं, पर ये मान्यता बनी रहती है। एक किस्म का सातत्य तो रहता ही है। समाज राज्य सहित अपनी सभी संस्थाओं को अपने हित में उपयोग में लाता है। अंत:पीढ़ी समता की दृष्टि उसे प्रेरित करती है कि भावी पीढ़ियां कम से कम वैसी ज़िंदगी जी सकें जैसी वर्तमान पीढ़ी जी रही है तथा जैसी समाज की पीढ़ियों ने भूत में जी है। बहुधा भविष्य के जीवन स्तर के लिए हम अन्य समाजों से भी प्रतिमान चुनते हैं और अपनी वर्तमान

संस्थाओं के द्वारा या नई संस्थाओं के द्वारा उन्हें प्राप्त करने का प्रयास करते हैं। शिक्षा इस निर्माण में भी प्रमुख भूमिका का निर्वाह करती है।

इन विचार बिंदुओं के बाद हम उस विश्लेषण पर आते हैं, जिसका नीति-निर्धारण में विशेष योगदान हो सकता है। यह विश्लेषण व्यक्तिगत मांगों के योग और समग्र सामाजिक मांग के विभेद को उजागर करता है और बतलाता है कि एक विकृति दूसरी विकृति को कैसे जन्म देती है। इन विकृतियों के लिए संकेत समाज, बाज़ार या राज्य किसी भी दिशा से आ सकते हैं क्योंकि ये तीनों निकाय अलग-अलग दर्शनों से प्रभावित होते हैं।

ऐसा लगता है कभी शालेय शिक्षा का रूप विद्या रहा होगा। अपने आपको या अपने वातावरण, परिवेश को जानने की इच्छा तथा प्रयास का स्वरूप। इस दार्शनिक-वैज्ञानिक-तार्किक-जिज्ञासा की शांति के प्रयास के साथ-साथ ललित सृजन का रचनात्मक रूप उभरा होगा जो सीधे ऐंद्रिक सुख प्राप्ति का मर्यादित स्थानापन्न रहा होगा। विगत कुछ शताब्दियों में शिक्षा का यह रूप भी जुड़ा जो मनुष्य की उत्पादन क्षमता में वृद्धि करता है, जिससे अंततः उपभोग स्तर में सुधार आता है। बचे हुए समय का उपयोग दार्शनिक-वैज्ञानिक-तार्किक-जिज्ञासाओं की शांति हेतु हो सकता है। यदि दूसरे और तीसरे अवयवों को साहित्यिक एवं औद्योगिक कहें तो कह सकते हैं कि आज के युग में तीसरे का वर्चस्व बहुत बढ़ गया है। कौशल-नैपुण्य का विकास समाज की अन्य संस्थाएं यथा परिवार या परस्पर नातों से होता ही रहा है। वह शालेय शिक्षा का अंग बाद में बना।

आज की शालेय शिक्षा अब अंतिम वस्तु न होकर माध्यमिक वस्तु/माध्यमिक आगत हो गई है। अर्थात अब यह शाला से सीधे घर नहीं जाती अपितु कार्यशाला होकर जाती है। इसलिए इसे निवेश की दृष्टि से देखा जाता है। व्यक्तिगत दृष्टि से इसे अच्छे व्यवसाय का पासपोर्ट माना जाता है। यह ध्यान देने की बात है कि यह माध्यमिक वस्तु/आगत एक पूंजी आगत की तरह है जिसका अपक्षय और निष्क्रियमण भी होता रहता है। अभ्यास से सीखने की प्रक्रिया अपक्षय की गति को कम करती है और एक ज्ञान दूसरे ज्ञान की पीठ पर सवार होकर उसे निष्क्रिय करता रहता है।

शिक्षा पर निवेश एक लागत है जो वैयक्तिक भी है और सामाजिक भी। निवेश प्रतिफलों की आशा में किया जाता है। प्रतिफल या हितलाभ व्यक्तिगत भी होंगे और समाजगत भी। यदि विश्लेषण की सुविधा के लिए अन्योन्य संबंधों को छोड़ दें तो निम्न सोपानों पर विश्लेषण को बढ़ाया जा सकता है।

अधिकांश अल्प उन्नत देशों का यह एक आनुभविक तथ्य है कि निजी प्रतिफल शिक्षा में बिताए गए वर्षों के साथ बढ़ते जाते हैं। यह तब भी सही है जब कि नौकरी-बाज़ार काफी संकुचित है और अधिक शिक्षा के उपरांत नौकरी पाने की संभाविता काफी कम है। यहां तक कि बांग्लादेश में अतिशिक्षितों में 50 प्रतिशत बेराज़गार हैं। अर्थात उच्च शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के बाद भी संकुचित नौकरी-बाज़ार में प्रवेश सरल नहीं है। तथापि प्रत्याशित निजी प्रतिफल काफी ऊंचे रहते हैं क्योंकि जहां नौकरी पाने की संभाविता आधी हो जाती है वहां वेतन दर चार गुनी।

प्रत्याशित प्रतिफलों की तुलना में निजी लागतें तेज़ी से नहीं बढ़ती हैं। इधर कुछ वर्षों को छोड़ दिया जाए तो कहा जा सकता था कि "जितनी शिक्षा

ऊंची, उतनी शिक्षा सस्ती'' और ''सबसे ऊंची शिक्षा सबसे सस्ती शिक्षा''। देश के अधिकांश भागों में किसी न किसी धारा में, किसी न किसी आधार पर प्रवेश सुनिश्चित। इन कथनों की अतिरंजना को छोड़कर भी स्थिति गुणात्मक रूप से यही रहती है।

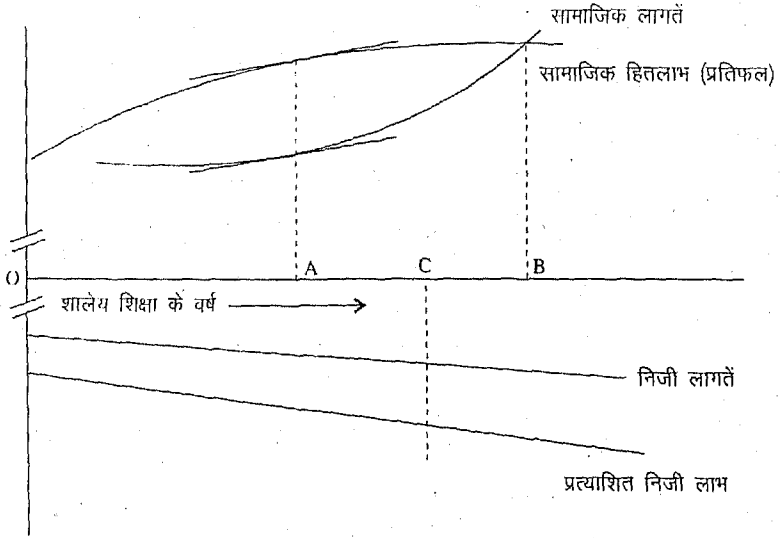
इन निजी मौद्रिक/भौतिक लागतों में यदि अवसर लागतों को शामिल किया जाए तो? विशेष अंतर नहीं आएगा क्योंकि दिए गए वर्ष या काल-खण्ड में यदि नौकरी पाने की संभावना अतिक्षीण हो (और नौकरी का विकल्प हेय समझा जाए) तो निजी लागतें बहुत नहीं बदलेंगी।

निजी लागतों और निजी प्रत्याशित प्रतिफलों का अंतर शिक्षा के स्तर, अर्थात शिक्षा के वर्षों के साथ बढ़ता जाता है। परिणामत: एक संदर्भ व्यक्ति के लिए शिक्षा-वर्षों की इस आधार पर कोई सीमा नहीं। केवल दूसरी प्रतिबाधाओं से ही इस पर अंकुश लगता है यथा न्यूनतम लागत भी वहन न कर पाना, शिक्षा हेतु अपेक्षित योग्यता का अभाव। इसका अर्थ यह हुआ कि व्यक्तिगत अनुगणना की दृष्टि से कोई स्तर अनुकूलतम नहीं। अन्य बाधाओं से प्राप्त हल एक कोणीय हल होगा जो अधिकतम तो है, अनुकूलतम नहीं।

प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को अपनी क्षमता तक पढ़ने को मिले, इसमें समाज या राज्य को क्या परेशानी हो सकती है? शालेय शिक्षा के प्रावधान में समाज को भी लागतें उठानी पड़ सकती हैं जो सरकारी और गैरसरकारी दोनों होती हैं। संसाधनों के लिए, चाहे वे निजी तिजोरियों से आएं अथवा सरकारी खजानों से, स्पर्धात्मक दावे हैं। समाज की हर गतिविधि की सामाजिक लागतें होती हैं। वैकल्पिक क्षेत्रों की गतिविधियों के अवसरों को खोने की लागत, जिनसे समाज लाभ उठा सका होता, महत्वपूर्ण हैं। जैसे-जैसे शिक्षा का स्तर ऊंचा होता जाता है ये लागतें भी बढ़ती जाती हैं क्योंकि उच्च शिक्षा को ऊंची, अनुवर्ती और महंगी पूंजी लागतों की दरकार होती है।

जहां तक सामाजिक प्रतिफलों का प्रश्न है वे ऊंचे होते हैं पर तेज़ी से नहीं बढ़ते। उन पर ह्रासमान प्रतिफल जैसा नियम लागू होता है और वे घटती हुई दर से बढ़ते हैं। परिणामत: निवल समाजिक लाभ, जो दोनों का अंतर है, प्रारंभ में बढ़ता है और बाद में घटने लगता है और एक स्तर पर ऋणात्मक हो जाता है। संभवत: इस स्तर के पूर्व ही अन्य बाधाएं उसकी वैयक्तिक मांग को रोक देती है।

इसे यदि वैयक्तिक मांगों के योग या औसत के रूप में प्रस्तुत करें, तो दिए गए रेखाचित्र से अधिक स्पष्ट किया जा सकता है। चित्र की X-अक्ष पर औसत वर्ष प्रदर्शित किए गए हैं। Y-अक्ष के ऊपरी भाग पर सामाजिक हितलाभ (प्रतिफल) और सामाजिक लागतें दर्शाई गईं हैं। इस अक्ष के नीचे के भाग में प्रत्याशित निजी प्रतिफल तथा निजी लागतों को दर्शाया गया है। Y-अक्ष के दोनों ही भाग धनात्मक मात्राओं को प्रदर्शित करते हैं :

सामाजिक लाभ और समाजिक लागतें, निजी लाभ और निजी लागतों से भिन्न हैं। सामाजिक लाभ और सामाजिक लागतों का अनुगणन गतिविधियों की अन्योन्यता और व्यक्तियों के अंत:संबंधों का संज्ञान लेता है जबकि निजी अनुगणन वैयक्तिक अवयवों के योग हैं, जिनमें अन्योन्यता और अंत:संबंधों का संज्ञान नहीं लिया जाता है। वैयक्तिक अनुगणन सामान्यत: शेष जगत को दिया हुआ मानकर व्यवहार

करते हैं, जब तक वे शतरंजी खेलों की स्पष्ट गंध न महसूस करें।

नीति-निर्धारण में सामाजिक दृष्टि अपनानी चाहिए और वैयक्तिक व्यवहार के ऐसे संकेत देने चाहिए ताकि अभीष्ट स्थिति के लिए वे प्रेरित हो सकें।

हम देखते हैं OA स्तर से पूर्व के औसत शिक्षा वर्ष समाज को वांछनीय (अधिकतम) लाभ से कम लाभ पहुंचाएंगे और OB स्तर से अधिक के शिक्षा वर्ष तो समाज की हानि करते हैं। संभवतः OC स्तर शिक्षा वर्षों की मांग हो रही है। इस दवाब के तहत हम C की तरफ बढ़ते रहे हैं। आवश्यकता है A की ओर लौटने की। यह सच है A की स्थिति विकास के साथ दाहिनी ओर खिसकने की प्रवृत्ति रखती है जैसा अन्य विकसित देशों में हुआ है।

स्पष्ट है अन्य बाधाएं न होतीं तो वैयक्तिक अनुगणना पर आधारित मांग उस बिंदु के पार भी जा सकती है जहां निवल सामाजिक लाभ शून्य हो जाता है। इसका अर्थ यह होता कि समाज रेलवे लाइन बिछाने या ग्रामीण विकास की बजाय शिक्षा पर खर्च कर रहा है। यदि हम A और C के बीच किसी D स्तर की औसत वर्ष की शिक्षा दे रहे हैं तो संसाधनों का गलत विनिधान कर रहे हैं और वह मनुष्य नामक संसाधन का भी है।

यह अतिसरलीकृत विश्लेषण संकेत भेजता है कि :

- मज़दूरी वैभिन्य को कम किया जाए ताकि निजी प्रत्याशित लाभ नीचे आएं।
- निजी लागतों में वृद्धि की जाए।
- सामाजिक लाभों को बढ़ाया जाए।

आजकल लोग दूसरे हल पर ज़ोर डाल रहे हैं जो निजी लागतों में वृद्धि की संस्तुति करता है। इस हल से समता प्रभावित होगी जबकि प्रथम हल से समता को बढ़ावा मिलेगा। द्वितीय हल से समाज निम्न-आय-वर्ग के पालकों के बच्चों की अंतःशक्ति का पूर्ण लाभ नहीं उठा सकेगा। इस सोच-विचार के

कारण कुछ लोग विशेष किस्म की ऋण योजनाओं की संस्तुति करते हैं। उनके अनुसार प्रवेश तो योग्यता के आधार पर हो परंतु जो लोग अपनी शिक्षा का खर्च न वहन कर सकें, उनके लिए ऋण ही सुविधा उपलब्ध हो। एक स्तर के बाद शिक्षा पर उपदान समाप्त हो, उसके पक्षधरों की संख्या बढ़ती जा रही है।

इस विश्लेषण से नीतिगत युक्ति यह उभरती है कि शिक्षा का सार्वभौमीकरण अपेक्षाकृत निम्न-स्तर पर हो यथा प्राथमिक अथवा प्रारंभिक। इस स्तर की शिक्षा एक अच्छी नागरिकता की दृष्टि से ही आवश्यक है। बाद की शिक्षा, शिक्षा के दूसरे क्षेत्रों से आगत संबंधों और शिक्षा क्षेत्र के अंतर्गत आंतर-आगत संबंधों पर आधारित होनी चाहिए।

औसत वर्ष घटाने का एक तरीका नीचे-स्तर की शिक्षा का प्रभावी सार्वभौमीकरण भी है। इससे कम वर्षों वाली शिक्षा का औसत की अनुगणना में भार बढ़ेगा। पर सबसे महत्वपूर्ण अस्त्र मज़दूरी-वैभिन्य को घटाना है अर्थात ऊंचे स्तर की शिक्षा की मांग का दवाब कम करना। निम्न वर्ग की आयवृद्धि प्राथमिक शिक्षा के सार्वभौमीकरण को प्रभावी बनाने में मदद करेगी। उच्च वर्ग की आयवृद्धि में कमी उच्च-शिक्षा के व्यापीकरण हेतु क्रियाशील दवाब में कमी लाएगी।

वर्तमान नानुकूलतम स्थिति से अनुकूलतम स्थिति की ओर प्रयाण शनैः-शनैः ही करना होगा क्योंकि स्थिति उलटने की लागत भयावह हो सकती है।

उक्त विश्लेषण के कुछ निहितार्थ तथाकथित उच्च शिक्षा पर भी लागू होते हैं। अल्पविकसित देशों में, विशेष रूप से भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में, ऐसा मानना है कि उच्च-शिक्षा वास्तव में शिक्षित बेराज़गारों के अंतिम आश्रयस्थल, अंतिम अवशोषी है। सूक्ष्म दृष्टि से देखें तो मालूम होगा कि वह बेराज़गारी भत्ते का महंगा स्वरूप है। इसे समाप्त करने का प्रयास बाज़ार में, खासतौर से श्रम-बाजार में, परिवर्तन दरकार करेगा। बहुधा एक सुझाव दिया जाता है कि न्यूनतम अर्हताओं के स्थान पर बहुत से कामों के लिए अधिकतम अर्हताओं का प्रावधान किया जाए। सुझाव परीक्षणीय है। पर वांछित स्थिति प्राप्त करने के लिए यह पर्याप्त शर्त नहीं हो सकती। सच यह है जब इस तरह की बात करते हैं तो हम सोचते हैं कि सारे लोग संगठित क्षेत्र में कार्य कर रहे हैं। संगठित क्षेत्र में तो केवल 10 प्रतिशत लोग काम कर रहे हैं जिसके दो-तिहाई सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में। संगठित क्षेत्र में और अधिक कार्यों की स्थिति कैसे पैदा हो, यह असली चुनौती है।

तथापि कुछ बातें निश्चयात्मक तौर पर कही जा सकती हैं। प्रथम, हमें प्राथमिक शिक्षा के प्रभावी सार्वभौमीकरण के माध्यम से औसत शिक्षा वर्ष घटाकर अनुकूलतम स्थिति की ओर बढ़ना होगा। द्वितीय, उच्च-शिक्षा के प्रावधान और नामांकन हेतु दवाब को कम करना होगा। शिक्षालय और खालीपन के बीच चुनाव की वर्तमान स्थिति को शिक्षालय और श्रमबाज़ार के बीच चुनाव की स्थिति में बदलने का महत प्रयास करना होगा अर्थात रोज़गार के अवसरों का सृजन। तृतीय, मज़दूरी-वृद्धि और रोज़गार-वृद्धि के माध्यम से आय-वृद्धि प्रभावी कर निम्न आय वर्ग के लोगों को बच्चों को शिक्षा हेतु मुक्त करने के प्रति उत्प्रेरित करना। बच्चों (और कई परिस्थितियों में महिलाओं) का रोज़गार दरिद्रताजन्य रोज़गार है। इस तरह से श्रम-शक्ति का आकार कृत्रिम रूप से बढ़ा

हुआ है। चतुर्थ, शिक्षा की विभिन्न धाराओं और विभिन्न स्तरों के बीच अत्यंत सुविचारित विनिधान हेतु सार्थक पहल करनी आवश्यक है। अंतिम, शिक्षा को समेकित-अर्थव्यवस्था (समाज व्यवस्था और राज-व्यवस्था सहित) के महत्वपूर्ण अंग के रूप में देखकर उसके स्वरूप के विषय में निर्णय लेना।

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संदर्भ

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प्राचीन एवं अर्वाचीन भारत में छात्र जीवन

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प्राचीन भारतीय शिक्षा का स्वरूप धार्मिक रहा है। ब्रह्मचर्य जीवन ही उस समय का छात्र जीवन था जो नैतिकता से परिपूर्ण था। आधुनिक कालीन शिक्षा अपने प्राचीन इतिहास के सापेक्ष में काफी परिवर्तित हो चुकी है। आधुनिक शिक्षा प्राचीन काल की तरह व्यक्ति को उसकी शाश्वत समस्याओं से नहीं जोड़ती है वरन उसके स्थान पर व्यक्ति की सामाजिक समस्याओं का समाधान ही ढूंढ़ती है।

शिक्षा वैदिक कालीन परिवेश में अमृतत्व की ओर बढ़ने के प्रयासों का यर्थाथ रही है जबकि आधुनिक काल आते-आते शैक्षिक ज्ञान की आवश्यकता मात्र 'साक्षरता' या 'निर्दिष्ट विषय का परिचय' मात्र हो गई। इस परिवर्तन ने छात्र जीवन को इस रूप में प्रभावित किया है कि वैदिक कालीन अवधारणा के अनुरूप छात्र शिक्षा को अपने व्यक्तित्व निर्माण का साधन मानने के स्थान पर आधुनिक काल में अर्थोपार्जन की शिक्षा में साक्षर होना मात्र समझते हैं।

शिक्षा का मौलिक उद्देश्य प्राचीन काल में व्यक्ति के एक ऐसे विशिष्ट व्यक्तित्व का निर्माण करना रहा है जो तत्कालीन आधारीय संस्थाओं को अपनी पूरी अस्मिता से झंकृत कर सके। पुरुषार्थ चतुष्टय की उपलब्धि, ऋणत्रय से मुक्ति, ब्रह्म एवं धर्म के स्वरूपों का बोध और सामान्य व्यवहार में भी धर्म की परोक्ष अनिवार्यता सरीखे गुणों को धारण करने वाले व्यक्तित्व का छात्र में समुचित विकास प्राचीन कालीन शिक्षा का प्रमुख उद्देश्य रहा है। किंतु आधुनिक कालीन जीवन में उपरोक्त तत्वों की आवश्यकता महत्वहीन हो गई है और शिक्षा सामान्यतौर पर व्यावसायिकता का आधार बन गई है। इसप्रकार चिंतन की आध्यात्मिक सारणियों के स्थान पर भौतिक सारणियों पर प्रकाश अधिक पड़ा है। शिक्षा जीविकोपार्जन के ही उद्देश्य से अधिक संचालित है, किसी आंतरिक विकास के उद्देश्य से कम।

विद्या जो एक निरंतर प्रयोगशील सभ्यता के आविष्कारजन्य परिणामों के रूप में प्राचीन काल में संकलित की जाती रही वह आधुनिक काल में प्रयोगों के नवीन परिष्कार की दृष्टि में धुंधली होने लगी है। जो कुछ मनुष्य ने अपने पूर्व काल में खोजा था उसे उत्तर काल में मात्र प्रयोग करने में लगा दिया।

सृष्टि के क्रम में जिन जन्मजात क्षमताओं को लेकर शिशु अवतरित होता है, वे क्षमताएं उसे सामाजिक प्राणी के रूप में विकसित होने में सहायक होती हैं। यदि उसे सामाजिक वातावरण से पृथक कर दिया जाए तो वह अपने में कुछ ऐसी विशेषताएं विकसित कर लेगा जो उसे समाज के सदस्य के रूप में जीवनयापन करने में बाधाएं उपस्थित करेंगी। यही बाधाएं छात्र-जीवन में अगर उसे शिक्षण संस्थाओं में भी होने लगती हैं, तो छात्र की मनोभावनाएं अशान्ति के भंवर में डूब जाती हैं। इससे राष्ट्र के उज्ज्वल भविष्य का भवन निर्मित होने से वंचित हो जाता है।

आज के युवा छात्र का जन्म भारतीय स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के पश्चात ही हुआ है। तब से भारतीय परिस्थितियों, मूल्यों तथा मान्यताओं में बड़ा भारी अंतर हो गया है। युग परिवर्तन तथा मूल्य-भ्रांतियों के इस पीड़ाजनक काल में तरुण छात्रों को न कोई सही मार्ग दिख रहा है और न कोई मार्गनिर्देश ही दे रहा है। इसप्रकार इस युवा शक्ति का सही उपयोग नहीं हो पा रहा है। इस वय के व्यक्ति के 'स्व' के स्वरूप की स्थापना, सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा तथा जीवन मार्ग के निर्णय आदि पूर्ण नहीं हो रहे हैं। फलस्वरूप उनके लिए जीवन एक चुनौती न बन कर एक उलझन भरी पहेली बन गया है जिसके कारण वर्तमान युग में छात्र का जीवन अशांति, आंदोलन तथा आक्रोश का पर्याय बन गया है।

युवा अशांति का सबसे प्रमुख कारण राजनेताओं द्वारा छात्रों को भुलावे में रखकर, उन्हें भड़का कर, विद्रोह कराकर स्वयं पद प्राप्त करना है। आज देश में राजनीतिक अस्थिरता, आर्थिक असमानताएं तथा सामाजिक तनाव विद्यमान हैं। देश में व्याप्त भ्रम और परस्पर अविश्वास के रहते कोई प्रगति नहीं हो पाती है। इसके कारण नवयुवकों में बेरोज़गारी बढ़ती जा रही है। समाजवाद के झूठे नारों की आड़ में पूंजीपतियों को बढ़ावा दिया जा रहा है और नवयुवकों को आर्थिक समस्या के समाधान हेतु व्यावसायिक कार्य का प्रलोभन दिया जाता है। इसप्रकार राजनीति से प्रेरित कुछ छात्र नेताओं द्वारा छात्रों को भड़काना और विध्वंस कार्य में सम्मिलित करना तथा अनुपयोगी कार्यों के लिए आंदोलन, हड़तालें करना युवकों की अशांति का कारण हैं।

युवकों की अशांति का एक कारण शिक्षण संस्थाओं में व्याप्त भ्रष्टाचार और आपसी गुटबाज़ी भी है। आजकल की शिक्षा, शिक्षा है ही नहीं। उससे न तो विद्यार्थियों को लाभ है, और न शिक्षकों को ही। केवल पुस्तकीय ज्ञान में छात्रों को इतना आनंद नहीं आता कि उनका पूरा ध्यान उसी में लगा रहे। 'जीवन द्वारा जीवन के लिए शिक्षा' शिक्षा की दृष्टि से एक क्रांतिकारी कदम था। परंतु उसके अनुकूल व्यवस्था नहीं हो पाई। दूषित शिक्षा प्रणाली भी छात्र-असंतोष का कारण है। आज भी शिक्षा निरर्थक है। शिक्षा में ज्ञान प्राप्त करने का माध्यम केवल पुस्तकें हैं, जिससे बालक का विकास एकांगी रह जाता है।

समाज में नैतिकता का अभाव भी युवकों की अशांति का कारण है। समाज में व्याप्त कुरीतियां छात्रों के जीवन में असंतोष का पर्याय हैं। आजकल समाजवाद का नारा चारों ओर सुनाई पड़ रहा है, परंतु यह एक कोरा नारा है और भारतीय समाजवाद से बिल्कुल भिन्न है। समाज की रचना और उसकी

कुछ संस्थाओं में आज के युवा वर्ग भाग लेना चाहते हैं, परंतु प्रौढ़ पीढ़ी जिसका रहन-सहन, सोचने का ढ़ंग और कार्य विधि सभी कुछ उनसे भिन्न होता है, युवा वर्ग को अपना साझीदारी नहीं बनाना चाहती क्योंकि वह उन्हें अपरिपक्व समझती है। इसका प्रतिफल यह होता है कि युवा छात्र की इच्छाएं अपनी तृप्ति के लिए अवसर नहीं पाती हैं जिससे उनकी अभिव्यक्ति कुंठित हो जाती है। पुरानी पीढ़ी नई पीढ़ी को पथ विमुख मानती है और नई पीढ़ी पुरानी पीढ़ी के लोगों की सोच को खूंटे से बंधा हुआ मानती है। शिक्षालयों में भी शिक्षक तथा छात्रों की सोच में अंतराल बढ़ता जा रहा है। युवा छात्र सूचना, ज्ञान, कौशल में नवीनता, शोधपरक ज्ञान का आकांक्षी होता है और जब वह अपने शिक्षकों में यह पाता है कि वे पुराने नोट्स से पढ़ा रहे हैं *(साहित्य एवं कला* वर्ग के विषयों में बहुधा यही स्थिति है) तो उसकी भग्नाशा में अभिवृद्धि होती है।

युवा असंतोष का एक प्रमुख कारण परिवार है क्योंकि युवाओं की प्रथम पाठशाला परिवार ही होती है। पारिवारिक कार्यों और समस्याओं के निवारण संबंधी विचार-विमर्श में वह भाग नहीं ले पाता क्योंकि माता-पिता उसे अबोध बालक समझते हैं। यदि वह अपनी राय प्रकट करने का प्रयास करता है तो माता-पिता उसकी बात अनसुनी कर देते हैं जिससे उस की आंतरिक भावना परिवार में भी विद्रोह करने के लिए प्रेरित हो उठती है।

इसप्रकार भारत में युवा अशांति पिछले कई वर्षों से सामान्य चर्चा का विषय बनी हुई है। वैसे वर्तमान समय में भी उक्त समस्याओं के कारण युवा असंतोष और आक्रोश बढ़ता ही जा रहा है, किंतु सभी छात्र विद्रोह के भाव से उद्वेलित नहीं हैं। जब तक हम युवा असंतोष के कारणों को दूर करने में सफल नहीं होंगे, तब तक यह अशांति, क्षोभ और विद्रोह चलता ही रहेगा। देश की जनतंत्रीय पद्धति, समाज की स्थिति और शिक्षा की वर्तमान दशा तथा पारिवारिक परिवेश पर विचार करते समय युवा अशांति को दृष्टि में रखना आवश्यक है, क्योंकि वर्तमान की समस्या वर्तमान छात्र-जीवन में अशांति तथा आक्रोश का रूप धारण कर चुकी है।

सामाजिक परिवेश एवं जीवन स्तर का छात्र जीवन पर प्रभाव

प्राचीन काल की उपलब्धियों को मानक बनाकर यदि आधुनिक कालीन सामाजिक व्यवस्था का मूल्यांकन किया जाए तो दोनों बातों में पर्याप्त अंतर दृष्टिगत होता है। इस अंतर को रेखांकित करता हुआ सबसे अधिक महत्वपूर्ण तथ्य नैतिकता ही दिखती है। सामान्यतया जिन मानवीय मूल्यों का विकास वैदिक कालीन मानव सभ्यता ने किया था कालांतर में वे मूल्य अधिकृत होते गए हैं या उनकी मान्यताएं ही बदल गई हैं। इस लम्बी कालावधि में सामाजिक दशा पर्याप्त परिवर्तित हुई है और साथ ही नैतिकता की परिभाषा भी बदलती गई है। वातावरण अपने पूर्व नियमों के सापेक्ष उच्छृंखल हुआ है तथा नई नीतियों का निर्धारण किया गया है।

वैदिक कालीन व्यक्ति जहां अपने निर्माण की पृष्ठभूमि में आध्यात्मिकता को रखकर चलता था उसके स्थान पर आधुनिक कालीन व्यक्ति अपनी भौतिकता को महत्व देकर चल रहा है। वैदिक कालीन व्यक्ति की मानसिकता जहां 'स्व' के भेद के

समापन के लिए प्रयासरत थी वहां आधुनिक कालीन व्यक्ति 'स्व' निर्माण की भूमिका मात्र 'स्व' के लिए ही निश्चित करने की ओर प्रयासरत है। इस वैभिन्य के मूल में एकात्म चिंतन है जो प्राचीन काल में अपनी पूरी तीव्रता से प्रकाशित है तथा आधुनिक काल में लुप्त हो चला है। प्राचीन कालीन एकात्मक चिंतन की प्रवृत्ति उस समय के व्यक्ति को अनुशासित करती रही है। उसके अनुसार सभ्य समाज की प्रत्येक इकाई के आंतरिक स्पंदन उसके स्वयं के स्पंदनों के समानांतर रहे हैं अर्थात व्यक्ति सहानुभूति की भावना से लगातार प्रेरित होता रहा है। इसप्रकार व्यक्ति अपने आचार के संदर्भ में जो नीतियां निश्चित करता है वे उसे अपनी ही तरह प्रत्येक इकाई को रखने की प्रेरणा देती हैं। आधुनिक काल में व्यक्ति मूलत: व्यक्तिवादी है। उसकी प्रत्येक क्रिया, उसके चिरंतर परोक्ष या अपरोक्ष रूप से उसी के संदर्भ में प्रारंभ होती है। इसका मूल कारण है आधुनिक व्यक्ति में एकात्मबोध का अभाव। आधुनिक समाज की यही मनोवृत्ति प्राचीन काल से आधुनिक काल की समाजिक व्यवस्था के परिवर्तन को रेखांकित करती है। इस अंतर की मूलभूत अवस्थाओं पर यदि विचार किया जाए तो वर्तमान सामाजिक व्यवस्था की पूर्ववर्ती सामाजिक व्यवस्था भी कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है। इस मानसिकता ने शिक्षा के क्षेत्र को प्रभावित किया है जिसमें सर्वाधिक छात्र जीवन प्रभावित हुआ है। व्यक्तिवादी मनोवृत्ति ने जहां व्यक्ति को सामूहिक स्तर पर इच्छानुकूल जीवन जीने की शिक्षा दी है वहीं छात्र जीवन को भी उसके मूलभूत उद्देश्यों से भटका दिया है। छात्र जीवन से ही व्यक्ति की मनोवृत्ति अपने मानसिक विकास की ओर कम तथा सुख, साधन एवं ऐश्वर्य विकास की ओर ज्यादा उन्मुख हो गई है। छात्र अपने प्रारंभिक जीवन से ही उन दायित्वों से जुड़ गया है जो ब्रह्मचारी को उसके गृहस्थ जीवन मे वहन करने पड़ते थे। व्यक्तिवादी मनोवृत्ति ने पारिवारिक दायित्वों से व्यक्ति को मुक्त कर दिया है तथा माता-पिता-पुत्र, पालक-पाल्य के परस्पर संबंध अर्थहीन होते गए हैं। तात्पर्यत: श्रम-विभाजन का सुंदर प्रारूप संयुक्त परिवार की परिकल्पना को तोड़ने लगा है। इस दिशा में विकसित होता छात्र जीवन छात्र के संबंध में अपनी पुरानी मान्यताओं से कोसों दूर है। परिणामस्वरूप आधुनिक छात्र जीवन आत्मतत्व के शोध की प्रासंगिकता पर बल देने लगा है। उच्छृंखलता उसकी स्वाभाविकता बन गई है।

इसप्रकार प्राचीन कालीन जीवन ने जहां व्यक्ति को अनुशासित करते हुए उसके सामुदायिक विकास की दिशाएं ढूंढ़ी हैं तथा स्वयं व्यक्ति को एक पुष्ट इकाई का रूप दिया है वहीं अर्वाचीन व्यवस्थाओं में व्यक्ति की सत्ता स्वतंत्र हुई है किंतु उसका सामुदायिक बोध शून्य होता गया है। मात्र अपनी ही कसौटी पर खरा मनुष्य अपने प्रयत्नों के द्वारा अपनी पूरी मानवता को संकटग्रस्त अवस्था में पहुंचा चुका है। इसीप्रकार छात्र जीवन भी प्रभावित हुआ है। प्राचीन काल में छात्र का पुष्ट निर्माण उसकी उपयुक्त सामाजिक व्यवस्था ही करती थी जिसके अभाव में आज का छात्र, छात्र शब्द की व्याख्या के अर्थ से कोसों दूर है।

शिक्षा के उद्देश्य एवं छात्र जीवन

संज्ञान और भाषा ही किसी भी शिक्षा के मूलाधार होते हैं। इन्हीं के माध्यम से शिक्षा के उद्देश्यों,

सिद्धांतों एवं मौलिक व्यवहारों का प्रतिपादन होता है। जिस शिक्षा का कोई स्पष्ट उद्देश्य नहीं होता, उससे न तो भाषा का विकास होता है और न संज्ञान की सृष्टि ही होती है।

शिक्षा के प्रमुख रूप से तीन उद्देश्य माने जाते हैं। प्रथम, शिक्षा के माध्यम से ब्रह्मज्ञान की प्रेरणा मिलती है। द्वितीय, राष्ट्रीय भावना का विकास होता है और तृतीय, सामाजिकता की प्रेरणा मिलती है। इसप्रकार ब्रह्मज्ञान, राष्ट्रीयता की आस्था और सामाजिकता का पोषण ही किसी भी शिक्षा के मूल तत्व माने जाते हैं। इन्हीं तीन मूल तत्वों से राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा की निष्कलंकता का प्रतिपादन होता है।

शिक्षा के पांच आधारभूत तत्व माने गए हैं— शिक्षक, छात्र, शिक्षा-संस्था, पाठ्यक्रम और समाज। इसी आधार पर प्राचीन भारत में शिक्षा का मूल उद्देश्य मानव जीवन का सर्वांगीण विकास था। इसी उद्देश्य को आधार बनाकर शिक्षा-संस्थाओं की स्थापना की जाती थी। इसी आधार पर ऐसे शिक्षक रखे जाते थे, जो छात्रों के सार्वांगीण विकास के लिए प्रयत्नशील रहते थे। इसी उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिए समाज भी प्रयत्नशील रहता था और इसी को आधार बनाकर पाठ्यक्रम निश्चित किए जाते थे। परंतु आधुनिक भारत में शिक्षा का मूल उद्देश्य अर्थोपार्जन हो गया है। आर्थिक उदारीकरण के इस दौर में विश्वविद्यालयों एवं उच्च शिक्षा केंद्रों को उद्योग में तब्दील करने का अव्यावहारिक कदम उठाया जा रहा है। डेविड मैसी (1991) के अनुसार विश्वविद्यालय बाज़ार का एक तत्व है। विश्वविद्यालयों में आने वाले छात्रों का स्वाद अब बदल चुका है। अब उनकी रुचि साहित्य मे नहीं रह गई है वरन उनकी रुचि धनोपार्जन में है। विश्वविद्यालय को उद्योग में बदलने की यह महत्वाकांक्षा ज्ञान एवं शक्ति के संबंधों जैसे महत्वपूर्ण प्रकरण की महत्ता पर बल नहीं देती है। इस तरह से नैतिक समाज से जुड़े संपूर्ण सवालों का जवाब नहीं मिल पाता है। आर्थिक प्रगति चाहे कालेजों की हो या निगमों की या सरकारी अभिकरणों की—व्यक्ति के मूल्यों पर आधारित है।

मूल्य चूंकि निर्णायक हैं, अत: प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या हमारे विश्वविद्यालय इनके निर्माण के लिए अधिक कुछ कर रहे हैं? क्या नागरिक उत्तरदायित्व की भावना पैदा कर पा रहे हैं? क्या दूसरे के हितों का संरक्षण कर पा रहे हैं? भारतीय ही नहीं अपितु अमेरिकी अविभावक भी अपने यहां की स्थिति की समीक्षा करते हुए आश्चर्य व्यक्त करते हैं कि उच्च शिक्षा के संस्थान क्या आधारभूत बातों की जानकारी बच्चों को देते हैं? यथा—स्पष्ट रूप से चिंतन में मदद करना, नैतिक व्यक्ति बनने में मदद करना, व्यवसाय की प्राप्ति में या उन मूल्यों को खोजने में जिससे वे बुद्धिमत्तापूर्ण चुनाव कर सकें। अर्थ को ही आधार मानकर शिक्षक मात्र अपनी औपचारिकता पूरी करता है जिससे छात्रों का विकास किसी लक्ष्य की ओर नहीं हो पाता है। शिक्षा-संस्थाएं व्यवसाय का केंद्र बन गई हैं तथा पाठ्यक्रम का कोई उद्देश्य ही नहीं निकलता है। इसप्रकार वर्तमान शिक्षा प्रणाली मात्र व्यवसाय बन गई है।

प्राचीन शिक्षा का मूल उद्देश्य मानव का सर्वांगीण विकास करना था, अर्थात व्यक्ति का शारीरिक, मानसिक एवं आध्यात्मिक विकास करना। इसलिए शिक्षक, छात्र, शिक्षा-संस्था, शिक्षा पद्धति एवं समाज को उद्देश्यपरक सांचे में ढाला जाता था। आज की शिक्षा का उद्देश्य 'शिक्षित' बनाना तो है, किंतु मानव का सर्वांगीण विकास करना नहीं है। आज का

शिक्षक, इस उद्देश्य के लिए प्रयत्न नहीं करता। आज का छात्र इसके लिए जागरूक नहीं है। आज की शिक्षा-संस्थाएं इसके लिए कार्य नहीं करतीं, न ही आज की शिक्षा पद्धति में इसके अनुकूल छात्रों को ढालने की शक्ति देती हैं और न ही आज के समाज में भी उसे बदलने की कोई आकांक्षा है।

अतएव, आज शिक्षा जगत में 'आदर्श' किनारा हो गया है। 'सर्वांगीण विकास' का कहीं नाम तक नहीं लिया जाता, 'आध्यात्मिक विद्या' में दुर्गंध आने लगी है। 'चारों पुरुषार्थों की प्राप्ति' को तुच्छ एवं हेय माना जाता है। 'सच्चरित्रता' कोसों दूर भाग गई है। 'अनुशासनप्रियता' का नाम लेना बुरा माना जाता है। 'आत्मीयता' सात समुद्र पार जा चुकी है। 'सज्जनता' मिट्टी में मिल गई है। 'सात्विक वातावरण' का नामोनिशान भी नहीं रहा है और आज 'योग्यता' को दफना दिया गया है। ऐसी स्थिति में आज की शिक्षा तथा छात्र का जीवन अपने मूल उद्देश्य को कैसे प्राप्त कर सकता है। यदि इसमें यथाशीघ्र सुधार न किया गया, तो राष्ट्र के लिए उज्ज्वल भविष्य की कल्पना कोरा यथार्थ ही कहा जाएगा।

आर्थिक समृद्धि हेतु व्यावसायिक ज्ञान एवं नई तकनीक के हस्तांतरण से परे उच्च शिक्षा के केंद्रों को मानव प्रकृति, ईश्वर, समाज के संदर्भ में अपने सदस्यों के बीच बहस छेड़नी चाहिए। सामाजिक संस्था की उत्पत्ति—इसके विभेद एवं स्तरीकरण इसके अंतर्गत व्यावसायिक ज्ञान में आरोह, नैतिक शिक्षा की त्वरित आवश्यकता को जन्म देता है। भारतीय परिसरों में शैक्षणिक जीवन राजनैतिक स्वरूप ले चुका है। शिक्षाविद् आंशिक रूप से, यदि पूर्णतः नहीं, संस्थाओं के अवमूल्यन के लिए ज़िम्मेदार हैं। आज जो ललकार और चुनौती हमें मिल रही है वह है नैतिक सचेतनता एवं सामाजिक प्रतिबद्धता की। एक प्रश्न फिर उठता है कि उच्च शिक्षा में लगे हुए हम लोग क्या वास्तव में ज्ञानार्जन तथा उस ज्ञान को समाज के कल्याण, समग्र मानवता के लिए उपयोग मे ला रहे हैं ?

1960 के दशक में उच्च शिक्षा में उथल-पुथल का सूत्रपात हुआ जिसके साथ संपूर्ण संसार में शिक्षा में गिरावट आई। उच्च शिक्षा के प्रति सामान्य जन का दृष्टिकोण निषेधात्मक हो रहा है। जर्मनी, फ्रांस तथा अन्य यूरोपीय देशों में उच्च शिक्षा में 1960 के दशक से भीड़ बढ़नी आरंभ हुई। इससे शैक्षिक संरचना चरमरा गई। छात्र वृद्धि के कारण विश्व-विद्यालयों का प्रबंध बाधित हुआ। शिक्षकों का आत्मविश्वास डगमगाया, जनमत उच्च शिक्षा के विरुद्ध हुआ। जापान एवं संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका में विद्यार्थियों की राजनैतिक सक्रियता बढ़ी। भारत में तो स्थिति बद्तर हो गई। बीसवीं सदी के उत्तरार्द्ध से उच्च शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में जो भी ह्रास हो रहा है उसकी पूर्ति पुनः प्रयास करके इक्कीसवीं सदी में करनी होगी।

आशयतः, शिक्षा का उद्देश्य हमारे समग्र व्यक्तित्व का निर्माण करके हमें सार्थक जीवन के लिए तैयार करना है। सच्ची शिक्षा वही है, जो मनुष्य में निहित शक्ति-सामर्थ्य को जाग्रत एवं विकसित कर सके। जीवन पथ को सुगम बनाने में शिक्षा सुदृढ़ सोपान है। इसी के आधार पर हमारा लौकिक एवं पारलौकिक जीवन समुन्नत एवं समृद्ध हो सकता है क्योंकि विवेक के आलोक में अपनी शक्ति का सदुपयोग करना ही शिक्षा का परम उद्देश्य है।

उपसंहार

प्राचीन भारतीय शिक्षा का स्वरूप धार्मिक रहा है। अत: तत्कालीन शिक्षार्थी स्वाभाविक रूप से धर्म के अनुसंधान में ही लीन रहा है। तत्कालीन छात्र जीवन ब्रह्मचर्य आश्रम की महत्ता पर ज़ोर देता था। ब्रह्मचर्य जीवन ही उस समय का छात्र जीवन था। व्यक्ति उस काल में अपने उन्हीं महान लक्ष्यों को प्राप्त करने के उपायों का संधान करता था जिनके द्वारा उसे अमरत्व की प्राप्ति होती थी। सम्यक आचरण तथा व्यवहार के आधार पर मानव मन तथा शरीर, दोनों धरातलों पर अपने को पुष्ट करता था तथा एक ऐसी इकाई का निर्माण करता था जो मन तथा आत्मा से शुद्ध होते हुए शारीरिक स्तर पर भी विश्व के समस्त प्राणियों में सर्वश्रेष्ठ हो। वैदिक कालीन ब्रह्मचर्य जीवन व्यक्ति के जीवन में मानवीय मूल्यों की अवधारणा के अनुसरण पर बल देता था। इसप्रकार छात्र जीवन नैतिकता से परिपूर्ण था।

आधुनिक कालीन शिक्षा अपने प्राचीन इतिहास के सापेक्ष काफी परिवर्तित दृष्टिगत हो रही है। आधुनिक कालीन व्यक्ति के सम्मुख पहली आवश्यकता उसके व्यक्तिगत स्वातंत्र्य की थी। परंतु स्वतंत्र होकर भी व्यक्ति शिक्षा की उस अवधारणा को प्रतिष्ठित नहीं कर सका जिस पर आधारित होकर अपने सुदूर अतीत में उसने अपने जीवन में सर्वाधिक श्रेष्ठ होने का शंखनाद किया था। इसका कारण देश पर विदेशी विचारधाराओं से प्रभावित विविध तथ्य थे। उन्हीं तथ्यों से प्रभावित शिक्षा प्रणाली भी थी। परिणामस्वरूप व्यक्ति मानसिक रूप से व्यावसायिक होने लगा। नित्य नए अविष्कारों ने जहां शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में कई आयाम जोड़े वहीं शिक्षा प्राप्त करने वाले व्यक्ति के मन में सुविधावादिता का विकास भी किया। फलत: शिक्षा का स्वरूप व्यक्ति की आंतरिक उन्नति होने की अपेक्षा मात्र साक्षर होना हो गया। व्यावसायिक व्यक्तिवाद का प्रभाव अर्वाचीन शिक्षा पर इसप्रकार पड़ा कि शिक्षा व्यवस्था अर्थ के आधार पर आधुनिक ज्ञान के विनिमय में परिवर्तित होकर, वर्तमान युवा जगत की मानसिकता का शोषण करके, उसे मात्र अर्थ उपार्जन हेतु प्रेरित करने लगी।

निष्कर्षत: कह सकते हैं कि शिक्षा की अवधारणाओं पर प्राचीन काल से प्रारंभ करके यदि आधुनिक भारतीय शिक्षा पर दृष्टिपात किया जाए तो एक समस्या सामान्यतया हर हाल में विद्यमान दिखाई देती है, वह है व्यक्ति की उन्नति के मार्ग का प्रशस्तिकरण। इस अवधारणा की परिणतियों में कालक्रम के साथ विराट अंतर होता चला आया है। व्यक्ति के उत्कर्ष का चिंतन करती प्राचीन कालीन मनीषा, शिक्षा की एक ऐसी अवधारणा प्राप्त करने में संलग्न थी, जो व्यक्ति को उसके भौतिक क्षेत्रों में तो पूर्ण करती ही थी, साथ ही, मानसिक क्षेत्रों में भी पूर्ण विकास करती थी। इसी उद्देश्य के इर्द-गिर्द प्राचीन कालीन शिक्षा के सारे स्पंदन जीवित थे, किंतु, आधुनिक शिक्षा पद्धति में व्यक्ति की कल्याणकारी परिणति जिन-जिन रूपों में हुई उनमें क्रमश: उद्देश्य की ऊंचाई कम होती गई। आधुनिक शिक्षा प्राचीन काल की तरह व्यक्ति को उसकी शाश्वत समस्याओं से नहीं जोड़ती है, वरन उसके स्थान पर व्यक्ति की सामाजिक समस्याओं का समाधान ढूंढ़ती है।

आज देश में शिक्षा के उद्देश्य के अंतर्गत उपर्युक्त विवेचनों का समावेश होना चाहिए। इसके लिए शिक्षा के माध्यम से व्यक्ति को पुन: इतिहास की

ओर उन्मुख होने की आवश्यकता है। वर्तमान भारत में प्राचीन शिक्षा का सघन मूल्यांकन किया जाए तो शिक्षा जगत के लिए नई दिशा का सूत्रपात हो सकता है, जिसके आधार पर व्यक्ति का सर्वांगीण विकास करके राष्ट्र को पुन: गौरवांवित किया जा सकता है। हमें ऐसा प्रयास करना होगा कि हमारी मानसिकता हमें उदात्त चेतना से दूर न ले जाए, नहीं तो हम स्वयं अपनी ही दृष्टि में अजनबी हो जाएंगे। ज्ञान को हम उपभोग की वस्तु न मानें क्योंकि इसी में राष्ट्र की भलाई है।

❑❑

शिक्षा बालक को नए–नए अनुभव प्रदान कर उसे इस योग्य बनाती है कि वह अपने वातावरण में समायोजित होकर अपनी शक्तियों तथा निहित योग्यताओं का पूर्ण विकास कर, योग्यतानुसार अपने परिवार, समाज तथा राष्ट्र के किसी विशिष्ट क्षेत्र में योगदान कर सके।

❑ ***विनोबा भावे***

[UNITED STATES] They are a commercial people, whose point of view is primarily that of persons accustomed to reckon profit and loss Their impulse is to apply a direct practical test to men and measures, to assume that the men who have got on fastest are the smartest men, and that a scheme which seems to pay well deserves to be supported [31]

Also, since the group places different values on the things it uses, every group has a hierarchy of values which constitute its *value system*

[CHINA] " the five sources of happiness—The first is long life, the second, riches, the third, soundness of body and serenity of mind, the fourth, the love of virtue, and the fifth, fulfilling to the end the will of Heaven Of the six extreme evils, the first is misfortune shortening the life, the second, sickness, the third, distress of mind, the fourth, poverty, the fifth, wickedness, the sixth, weakness " [32]

[UNITED STATES] The following present[s] an attempt to obtain a community evaluation of a set of ideals listed in the order of estimated importance by five hundred three men and women taken very much at random from the community at large

SCALE VALUE	TRAIT	SCALE VALUE	TRAIT
278	Honesty	120	Cheerfulness
213	Dependability	90	Effectiveness
169	Self-control	71	Courtesy
153	Cooperation	71	Good sportsmanship
150	Courage	67	Open mindedness
150	Initiative	45	Reverence
142	Friendliness	41	Obedience
142	Cleanliness	0	Thrift [33]
127	Respect		

Further, changes in the relative importance of a group's adjustments produces a shift in its value system (10)

[CHINA] "This year there is war in An-hui,
In every place soldiers are rushing to arms
Men of learning have been summoned to the Council Board,
Men of action are marching to the battle-line
Only I, who have no talents at all,

[31] J Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* [1888] (New York, 1914-15, rev ed) II, p 293

[32] *Shu Ching*, tr J Legge (*Sacred Books of the East*, 3, pp 1–272) (Oxford, 1899, 2nd ed), 5 4 9 [Authentic text, 5th–3rd cents B C]

[33] A M Hunt, "A study of the relative value of certain ideals," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 30 (1935–36), (pp 222–28) pp 222, 224

> Am left in the mountains to play with the pebbles of the stream."[34]

And finally, in so far as groups differ in their adjustments, this produces variations in the importance they attribute to things, which in turn affects their value systems (11)

> [HOPI] One man acknowledged to me that our store of knowledge intrigued him Said he, "I am full of curiosity, a great *bahana* [white] education would tell me many things I've wondered about, like the stars and how a man's insides work But I am afraid of it because I have seen what it does to people I've never seen a white person at peace—most old Hopi are . We are afraid of *powakas* [witches], but our medicine men can handle them Neither your doctors nor your gods are able to control your governments, so you have more to fear Now you are dragging us into your quarrels [i e, World War II] I pity you and I don't envy you in most ways. You have much more than we have, maybe, but you haven't peace, ever, it is better to die in famine than in war . If I raise a family, clothe and feed them well, discharge my ceremonial duties faithfully, I have succeeded What do you call success?"
>
> I hesitated to mention "progress," remembering the Chicago transients during the depression, and the war, and such Had I done so, he would have had another name for it, but not because he failed to understand the meaning we attach to the word[35]

One important effect of evaluation is that it gives a purpose or meaning to life Animals act in order to satisfy their motives But man has a complex brain which he sometimes uses to perplex himself with this question "Why live?" Purpose and value are attributed to things by adjusting organisms and are not inherent in things, therefore nothing in the universe—including human life—has any intrinsic purpose or value (12)

> [CHINA] "The marionettes
> Are carved of wood
> Endowed with life
> When the strings are pulled,
> They look,
> With their wrinkled skin
> And thin white hair,
> Like real old men,
>
> But when the play is over
> And the scene is changed,

[34] Po Chu-i, *Poems*, "Visiting the Hsi Lin Temple" (p 204)
[35] D Eggan, MS

They lie lifeless,
Without movement, without breath.

So man is born,
And passes like a puppet
Through the dream-play
We call life" [36]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Out, out, brief candle!
Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player,
That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
And then is heard no more It is a tale
Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing" [37]

Besides, this life of ours has been called "the vale of tears", [38] if this means anything, it is that we are unhappy most of the time

[GREECE] "Woe to you! ye tribe of short-lived men, full of tears and born to suffering, see how fate runs counter to your hopes! All in time's long march receive in turn their several troubles, and man throughout his life can never rest" [39]

Therefore it is not very satisfactory to struggle to live just in order to be unhappy.

[HINDU] " 'Nihsreyasam' [Supreme Good] is final cessation of pain cessation of pain as described above is alone the Supreme Good. So the activity of the wise is directed only towards removing the causes of pain [40]

[UNITED STATES] "The heart asks pleasure first,
And then, excuse from pain,
And then, those little anodynes
That deaden suffering,
And then, to go to sleep,
And then, if it should be
The will of its Inquisitor,
The liberty to die" [41]

[36] Ming Huang (685–762), "Puppets," in H H Hart, *The Hundred Names* (Berkeley, 1933), p 109

[37] Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, 5 5 23–28 [38] *Old Testament*, Psalms, 84 6

[39] Euripides (5th cent B C), *Orestes*, 977–81, in *Tragoediae*, ed G Murray (Oxford, [1902–09]), tr F P Coleridge (London, 1913)

[40] Samkaramisra, *Vaisesikasutropaskara* [1425], tr N Sinha (*Sacred Books of the Hindus*, 6) (Allahabad, 1911), 1 1 4

[41] E Dickinson, *Poems*, p 6

However—fortunately or unfortunately, depending upon what you think of your fellow men—human beings are not particularly rational In this case they almost invariably put the cart before the horse. Instead of looking at their actions as attempts to satisfy their motives and then examining the worthwhileness of these motives, they think of their actions as attempts to reach goals which are ends in themselves. This is a product of evaluation

An eastern go getter spied a lazy Indian chief lolling indolently at the door of his teepee somewhere out west

"Chief," remonstrated the go getter, "why don't you get yourself a job?"

"Why?" grunted the chief

"Well, you could earn a lot of money Maybe 30 or 40 dollars a week"

"Why?" insisted the chief

"Oh, if you worked hard and saved your money, you'd soon have a bank account Wouldn't you like that?"

"Why?" again asked the chief

"For Gosh sakes!" shouted the exasperated go getter "With a big bank account you could retire, and then you wouldn't have to work any more . . ."

"Not working now," pointed out the Indian

People are reared in groups with value systems, and those things that have highest social value to the group become the life goals of its members and provide a reason for existence (13)

[CHINA] "There are four things which do not allow people to live at rest the first is long life, the second reputation, the third rank, and the fourth riches " [42]

[WESTERN EUROPE] Actually every person does not only wish to live and exist, but he wishes to have some reason for existing This reason can be another person, a thing (e g , money or position), or an idea (e g , religion or science)

This fact of "wishing to live for some purpose" was found not only in the biographical literature, i e , through the study of famous men, but also in interviews—conducted by M Andics with 110 persons who were unsuccessful in their attempts to commit suicide Most of these, chiefly from the working classes, explained "Life has no meaning for me any more" This search for the meaning of—or one's purpose in—life seems to be something quite specifically human [43]

To such an extent do people depend upon social values for their life goals, that if a group's value system breaks down, the life his

[42] *Yang-tzŭ* [4th cent B.C], tr A Forke (London, 1912), 17

[43] B Frenkel, "Studies in biographical psychology," tr A Herzman, *Character and Personality*, 5 (1936–37), (pp 1–34) p 14

tories of its members are random and unorganized, they commit suicide,[44] or they may stop reproducing

[WESTERN EUROPE] " before me—is a long, long road, but I have no goal And I do not want to go on " [45]

[MARQUESAS] At the time that I visited the group, 1920–1922, very few children were being born and I was told repeatedly by the natives that they were unwilling to have children to be, as they said, "slaves to the French " This population control was not a result of continence but was due to the native skill in contraceptive methods and their use of various techniques which we class as perversions Interestingly enough this phase of the native acculturation process seems to have passed More recent visitors to the island tell me that young people who have succeeded in making a fairly satisfactory adjustment to the new conditions have drawn together on the island of Tahuata, and this island has a vigorous, rapidly increasing population, elsewhere the population is still dwindling [46]

Because it provides the members of the society with life goals, evaluation insures that the activities most important to the group are carried on (14) It directs and organizes the individual's life history toward goals that are important to the group, and in proportion to the eagerness of the individual to reach these goals, he keeps to his path by self-control rather than external constraint [47]

[MPONDO] The ambitions of the boys and girls are distinctly and frankly practical

Boys brood a good deal on how to become rich, how to grow big, how to become brave and strong, they long above all things for the day to come when they shall be circumcised, and so shall be regarded as men They are keen to be able to fight well, to be brave, and sometimes even wish to be good cattle-herders They dream of the day when they will have many cattle of their own, and a number of wives to work for them and bear them many children, for then they will have large kraals, and be men of great importance They love to think of the days to come when they will be able to sit down and do no work, and have plenty of beer to drink, and be treated with great respect

A little girl longs for the day to come when she will be initiated into womanhood and will reach a marriageable age She desires above all things to be the great wife of a chief, or to have a husband who will pay a large number of cattle for her, she longs to have many daughters, so that when

[44] E Durkheim, *Le suicide* (Paris, 1897)

[45] I Turgenev, *Fathers and Children* [1862], p 170, in *Novels and Stories*, tr I. F. Hapgood (New York, 1903–04), VI

[46] R Linton, Letter to writer, 1911

[47] C Buhler, *Der menschliche Lebenslauf als psychologisches Problem Psychologische Monographien*, 4, Leipzig, 1933

she is old, and these daughters are given in marriage, there may be plenty of cattle at her kraal, and consequently plenty of karosses for her in her old age Girls talk a great deal about their future husbands, and speak with a frankness that would shock European ears A Kafir girl longs for a husband who can fight and sing well . . Every girl hopes her husband will be the son of a great and rich man, she also longs to have a husband who will help her in her work in the gardens and who will provide her with plenty of beads [48]

Formality of behavior

The social value of a thing determines how the members of the group respond to it

Custom is a category of usages, and at the beginning of this chapter its was argued that every custom is composed of a variety of usages If the category includes a wide range of variation, the custom is *informal* and the members of the group behave with a certain amount of spontaneity If the category consists of a narrow range of variation, the custom is formal or *ceremonial* and the behavior of the members is restricted. Perhaps the simplest example is that of men's clothes in our society When a group meets informally, a wide variety of suits are worn which differ in cut, color, material, etc By contrast, at formal occasions the suits and accessories are almost uniform

[UNITED STATES] "Your tail coat must be made of a dull-faced worsted, either black or more likely night blue, on no account of broadcloth Aside from the silk facing of the lapels and wide braid on the trousers, it must have no trimming whatever

"Wear a plain white linen (pique) waistcoat

"Your handkerchief must be white, of very fine linen preferably, gloves, if any, white " [49]

The degree of formality of behavior is a symbol of the social value of the thing being responded to Informal behavior symbolizes things with low social value, ceremonial behavior, high social value (15) Ceremony is either abstract or representational It is *abstract* when it consists of restricted behavior which has no intrinsic meaning (16) The use of archaistic English in religious ceremonies is an example of this

[48] D Kidd, *Savage Childhood* (London, 1906), pp 112, 145

[49] E. Post, *Etiquette* (New York, 1940, rev ed), pp 725–26

[UNITED STATES] "Our Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, On earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, As we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. Amen." [50]

Ceremony is *representational* when it acts out the circumstances that give the thing its high social value. (17)

[CHINA] "It is the object of ceremonies to go back to the circumstances from which they sprang." [51]

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . . at my Devotion I love to use the civility of my knee, my hat, and hand, with all those outward and sensible motions which may express or promote my invisible Devotion." [52]

In fact, the earliest known drama seems to have developed out of religious ceremonies.[53] (18) The following are two examples of representational ceremony. The first is part of an Arunta initiation into the kangaroo totemic group, and the traditional basis for the ceremony is given along with the pantomime and song by which each part of the myth is represented.

[ARUNTA]

Ceremony	*Myth*	*Song*
1. Kana-kana and Pana come on, sometimes squatting, sometimes on all fours. They are painted black and white, with the *narka pala* (black breast-painting), only their backs are red. Both have *lyampa* sprinkled with blood as head ornaments, eucalyptus branches in their hands, and blood-stained bits of *lyampa* in their mouths. Kana-kana	A pack of hounds chased a kangaroo. On his flight he came to a plain where he sat down to rest. Then he went on all fours. He saw a *mamu-manna-tai-tai* (hollow anus). It was a *mamu* dog. He went up and looked at it from all sides. This happened in Kulail (open country). Kana-kana is the kangaroo ancestor, and Pana the *manna-tai-tai*. The	*Kuru kulara* ([The kangaroo sees the] two eyes [of the devil]) *ja ngunku* (It blows [because he is tired]) *ngunku* (It blows) *jamalu* (The kangaroo) *pulpa*

[50] Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., *Book of Common Prayer* (New York, 1929), "The Lord's Prayer."

[51] *Li Chi*, 8.2.11. [52] Browne, *Religio Medici*, 3.1.

[53] K. H. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens*, 10), Leipzig, [1928] (I Dynasty = 3000–2900 B.C.?)

Ceremony	*Myth*	*Song*
shakes his head in a comically thoughtful, almost philosophical manner and then does *alknantama* [ritual trembling] while turning slowly on all fours He turns to the right again and hops up squatting to Pana He hops round Pana, looks at him thoughtfully, squats behind his back, and embraces him Both do *alknantama* They turn round with violent jerky movements from left to right and hop to the goal They lie down on the ground exhausted.	blood stained bit of wood in Kanakana's mouth represents the kangaroo's spittle, for he had run very fast, but that in Pana's mouth represents the devil's red tongue.	(The grey [one]) *waniki* *jawarano* ([He] sets up a waninga [totemic object])
2 Minguri appears at the end of the 'course' in the position of a runner at the start. He does *alknantama* to right and left and moves his head jerkily from side to side. Maltaltji comes out of the bush. Minguri shakes him by the ear, that is, by the hair, and makes him whine like a dog. This is repeated twice, then they hop in, the 'kangaroo' driving the 'dog'	The kangaroo . . is now played by Minguri Tjuntur (White bitch) was chief of the pursuers, but Mataltji plays the black male hound.	*Kulurgnururunu* (Black back [i e, the name of the black male hound]) *kulurgnururunu* (Black back) *kantji* *ngaruku* *pirunkati* ([After biting] the kangaroo, they roll about [in the sand because they are tired])
3 Minguri, playing the same role, runs backward in the *ngallunga* [initiation ceremony] position. Pana runs	The hounds chased the kangaroo, who hit them with his tail	*Ngaueri* (All around) *takurpungu* (catch him)

Ceremony	*Myth*	*Song*
after him on all fours		*janankarankari* (run quickly)
Minguri leaps over his pursuer		*Takurpungu* (catch him)[54]

The next illustration is from the Episcopal communion in our own society, notice how the reciting of the tradition and the handling of the bread and wine are synchronized

[UNITED STATES] *"When the Priest, standing before the Holy Table, hath so ordered the Bread and Wine, that he may with more readiness and decency break the Bread before the People, and take the Cup into his hands, he shall say the Prayer of Consecration, as followeth*

"All glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou, of thy tender mercy, didst give thine only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Cross for our Redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy Gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death and sacrifice, until his coming again

For in the night in which he was betrayed, (*a*) he took Bread, and when he had given thanks, (*b*) he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, (*c*) this is my Body, which is given for you, Do this in remembrance of me Likewise, after supper, (*d*) he took the Cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for (*e*) this is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins, Do this, as oft as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me	(*a*) *Here the Priest is to take the Paten into his hands* (*b*) *And here to break the Bread* (*c*) *And here to lay his hand upon all the Bread* (*d*) *Here he is to take the Cup into his hands* (*e*) *And here he is to lay his hand upon every vessel in which there is any Wine to be consecrated*

"Then shall the Priest first receive the Holy Communion in both kinds himself, and proceed to deliver the same to the People all devoutly kneeling . . And when he delivereth the Bread, he shall say,

"The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life Take thee and eat this in remem-

[54] G Roheim, *The Riddle of the Sphinx*, tr R Money Kyrle (*International Psycho Analytical Library*, 25) (London, 1934), pp 96–97

brance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith, with thanksgiving

"*And the Minister who delivereth the Cup shall say,*

"The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life Drink this in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful "[55]

By symbolizing the high social value of the thing, and thus reinforcing its importance, ceremony acts as a social control

[CHINA] "Ceremonies afforded the defined expression for the affections of the people's minds "[56]

"Yen Yen asked, 'Are the rules of Propriety indeed of such urgent importance?' Confucius said, 'It was by those rules that the ancient kings sought to represent the ways of Heaven, and to regulate the feelings of men ' "[57]

Ceremony also reinforces the customs of which it is composed by insisting on rigid conformity with those customs

[KWAKIUTL] Errors in rhythm, turning the wrong way in a dance, smiling, and chewing gum are counted as mistakes The error must be atoned for by an initiation of the person who made the mistake When the members of the seal society observe a mistake, they jump from their seats and bite and scratch the person who made the mistake He drops down at once and pretends to faint, and while the excited dancers surround him he disappears This means that a spirit has taken him away in order to initiate him The members of the seal society sit on the platform of the house or stand during the dances, that they may be certain to discover mistakes. The seal society attack and maltreat throughout the ceremonial the quequtsa At the close of the winter ceremonial they must pay an indemnity for all the damage that they may have done

No greater misfortune, however, can happen than for one of the dancers who performs his ceremonial dance to fall In the course of the winter ceremonial quite a hole gradually develops at the two places where the dancers turn, and it is here that they are most likely to stumble and fall

When a hamatsa falls in his dance, he must lie down as though he was dead Then the master of ceremonies calls a man whose name is Ekistolis (sand in eyes, i e , a drowned person), whose office is hereditary He is a quequtsa, and as an officer he is called tsatsexilacnox (doing secretly) He carries a large staff (kelagaiu), which is split like a pair of tongs, and in the interior of which some blood is hidden With this staff he takes hold of the neck of the hamatsa and apparently blood is seen to flow from it Then all the heliga lift the hamatsa, put him on their mat, and carry him

[55] Protestant Episcopal Church, U S A , *Book of Common Prayer*, "Holy Communion "

[56] *Li Chi*, 17 1 14 [57] *Li Chi*, 7 1 4.

four times around the fire. After they have gone around the fire four times his whistle is heard in the woods. When the mat is put down, it is seen that he has disappeared and that only his blankets and ornaments are left behind.

He stays away for four days and his father must make a new festival for him. When the hamatsa falls, everybody puts his hand over his eyes and drops his head, crying ha. As the expense of such a festival is very great, the amount equaling the return of the marriage money, but few persons are able to afford a second initiation. While nowadays every effort is made to enable the hamatsa's father to give the new festival, it is said that in former times the unfortunate one was killed by the other hamatsa, the bear dancers, and the nulmal, often at the instance of his own father.[58]

This explains the conservativeness of ceremony (19).

Finally, ceremony is a means of relieving boredom. It is the antithesis of the commonplace, and therefore brings variety into the monotony of everyday routines. The high social value of the ceremonial object and the colorful ceremony associated with it, tend to make ceremonies the high points in our life.

[BLACKFOOT] ". . . the night that we liked best was the last night preceding the actual opening of the Sun Dance. The big camp would be a blaze of light. Every teepee would have a big crackling fire blazing inside it. To walk outside and look at the camp one would think that it was several hundred huge colored lanterns sitting out on the prairie. Much noise prevailed inside these teepees. Good cheer was everywhere. Everybody was happy. Just like the night before the white man's Christmas.

"Our father would come into the teepee and say something cheerful to our mother, and then, as he sat down to get his Sun Dance regalia fixed up for the morrow, he would look at us children and say 'Hah! Tomorrow is the big day . . . Nobody sleeps tonight in this camp. Hah-h-h. Big day, tomorrow!' Then, his face wreathed with good cheer, he would commence singing his medicine song as he went about the task of dressing, getting our mother to repair his regalia and whiten the buckskin with pumice stone.

"We youngsters would keep awake as long as we could, then we would drop off to sleep with the crackling music of the fire in our ears. Daylight would just be peeping into the teepee from above, when we would be awakened by what in those days was the sweetest music I had ever heard—my father softly chanting his medicine song. We would turn on our pallets and look over, half-dazed by sleep, to see what it was, and there, in front of a cheerful early-morning fire, would be our father still pulling at his ermine tails and porcupine quills, and smiling contentedly to himself. I used to lie and watch him from under the blanket for several minutes, but

[58] F. Boas, "The social organization and the secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the U. S. National Museum*, 1895, (pp. 311–738) pp. 433–34.

that smile never left his face—not even when he laid down his regalia and started to dress his long braids of hair. He was happy.

"Then something else would reach us, come to our senses this time. It would be the fragrant smell of venison being cooked over the fire by our mother." [59]

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . . the more anniversaries there are, the jollier it is." [60]

Ethnocentrism

Since custom is the means by which a group adjusts to its environment, the customs of any group depend upon the situations to which it has had to adjust during its history. To the extent that these situations are unlike, therefore, the customs of various groups differ. (20)

Another point to consider is that customs are followed because the group can adjust by means of them, and not because they are necessarily the most rational ways of acting. In fact, it is hard to think of any kind of action, no matter how unreasonable, that has not been followed by some group at some time. (21)

Nevertheless, a group judges behavior to be correct, i.e., fashionable, proper, or right, if it conforms to its customs, and incorrect if it violates them. (22) This is true irrespective of the relative applicability or rationality of the behavior and the standard by which it is judged. (23)

[SAUK] "We can only judge of what is proper and right by our standard of right and wrong, which differs widely from the whites, if I have been correctly informed. The whites may do bad all their lives, and then, if they are sorry for it when about to die, all is well! But with us it is different: we must continue throughout our lives to do what we conceive to be good. If we have corn and meat, and know of a family that have none, we divide with them. If we have more blankets than sufficient, and others have not enough, we must give to them that want." [61]

[UNITED STATES] At a psychopathic hospital, during a summer hot spell, I gave a diagnostic mental examination to a patient who had been brought to the hospital a few days before. His responses were normal until the following dialogue took place:

Q. How did you happen to come here?

A. I don't know. I was just minding my own business.

[59] Long Lance, *Long Lance* (New York, 1928), pp. 127–28.

[60] Anonymous, *A Young Girl's Diary*, tr. E. and C. Paul (London, 1921), p. 99.

[61] Black Hawk, *Life* [1833] (Iowa City, 1932), p. 69.

Q Who brought you here?
A The police
Q What had you been doing?
A Nothing Just minding my own business
Q What were you doing at the time?
A Just walking along the street
Q What street?
A [He gave the name of one of the busiest streets in the city.]
Q What had you done just before that?
A It was hot, so I took my clothes off.
Q All your clothes?
A No Not my shoes and stockings
Q. Why not those too?
A. The sidewalk was too hot

I submit that, in itself, his behavior was more rational than that of any other man on the street at that time, who sweltered in a suit However, as I have said, behavior is judged by its conformity to custom rather than by its intrinsic reasonableness On the basis of this and other data gathered during the rest of the examination I made a diagnosis of schizophrenia and the man was institutionalized

A group does not only use its customs as a standard by which to judge the correctness of the behavior of its own members, it also employs them as standards by which to determine the correctness of the customs used by other groups—and this in spite of the fact that we have just seen that the customs of different groups necessarily vary because of the diverse situations by which they are confronted This is the phenomenon of *ethnocentrism* Here too the basis for judgment is conformity to the customs of one's own group rather than the relative applicability or rationality of the different customs (24)

The irrationality of a familiar custom is often seen when it is compared with a corresponding custom from some other culture For example, the following discussion seems to occur almost every time I give a course on the material covered in this chapter.

I read the following passage on the Caribou Eskimo

"An under frock of short-haired skin with the hair inwards, is worn next to the body When the weather is warm enough, it is worn without any outer frock and is therefore usually ornamented in various ways " [62]

Then I begin the following dialogue with my women students
Q What do you think of wearing the fur side inside?
A It's peculiar

[62] Birket-Smith, *The Caribou Eskimos*, I, p 201

Q Why?
A It would make my flesh creep
Q Do any of you have fur coats?
A Yes
Q Why do you wear them?
A To keep warm
Q What part of the fur coat keeps you warm?
A The skin
Q Does the fur on the outside help keep you warm?
A No
Q Then why not wear a leather coat? It's cheaper
A [Laughter at the absurdity of the idea]
Q If you wore the fur side on the inside, would it keep you warmer?
A Yes
Q Then why don't you do it?
A [Again laughter]
Q If you buy a fur coat to keep you warm, and only the leather actually does so, but you insist on having fur on the outside, why not buy a cheap rabbit coat rather than one made of mink, let us say?
A [This time the laughter had a pitying ring to it, for it is obvious that only a professor who does not know much about life could ask such a quaint question]

I never had a student who gave me anything but a string of feeble rationalizations to support her preference for a mink over a leather coat

As far as keeping warm is concerned, the Eskimo's use of fur seems more rational than ours, but in the United States a fur coat is a symbol of social status, and a coat made of rabbit, muskrat, or mink symbolizes successively higher status [63]

Historical References

(1) Public manners are a path which successive generations find readily beaten before them along the journey of life Where there are no manners there is no road everyone is then obliged to make his own, and instead of reaching his goal, exhausts himself in searching for a route "—J Joubert (1754–1824), *Pensées*, 16 2, in *Oeuvres*, ed P de Raynal (Paris, 1874, 6th ed), II

(2) " there are habits which serve to fix the manners of men

"If this were not the case, human life would be a scene of inextricable confusion and uncertainty One person could not know whether another, in the transactions of life had any determinate rule of conduct, or whether a party, in any transaction, would abide by the sequel even of what he himself had proposed Were intelligent beings so anomalous in their dispo

[63] [UNITED STATES] "It was a swanky affair—that reception Minks sables, squirrels and Persian lambs were in abundance, revealing beneath them the latest creations of the modistes' art and topped by the eccentricities of the milliners"—*Pittsburgh Courier*, Feb 17, 1945, p 8

sition and conduct, the consequence would be no less perplexing, in the rational system, than the want of any uniform law, upon which to proceed, would be in the practice of mechanical arts, and would equally frustrate every exertion of prudence or foresight in the conduct of life"—A Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (Edinburgh, 1792), I, pp 232–33

(3) " man lives not except with formulas, with customs, *ways* of doing and living There are modes wherever there are men a kind of order rises up in all conditions of human existence, and wherever two or three are gathered together, there are formed modes of existing together, habitudes, observances, nay gracefulnesses, joys!"—T Carlyle, *The French Revolution* [1837], III, pp 68, 270, in *Works*, ed H D Traill (London, 1896–99), II–IV

(4) ". . an unprejudiced survey may lead us to judge how many of our ideas and customs exist rather by being old than by being good"—E B Tylor, *Primitive Culture* [1871] (New York, 1924, 7th ed), I, p 157, *vide ibid*, I, p 156

(5) "Following the natural course of all human things, intellectual principles and philosophic opinions, just as much as social customs and political institutions, necessarily subsist, in spite of their constant decline and their recognized inconvenience, when once they have taken real possession of minds, and only give place to increasingly serious inconsistencies until the fundamental development of human reason finally has been able to produce new principles of an equivalent generality and of superior rationality, for, in the intellectual order as well as in the material order, man above all experiences the indispensable need for some supreme direction capable of continuously sustaining his activity by firmly organizing his spontaneous efforts"—A Comte, *Cours de philosophie positive* [1830–42] (Paris, 1892–94, 5th ed), IV, pp. 266–67

(6) "What is called fashion is the tradition of the moment"—J W von Goethe, "Maximen und Reflexionen," p 55, in *Samtlichen Werke*, XLV, pp 37–102, tr T B Saunders (London, 1908)

(7) "The constant craving of fashion is for the new and wonderful"—C. R Leslie, *A Hand Book for Young Painters* (London, 1855), p 64

(8) "The change of styles in the higher social groups is essentially the result of social differentiation Fashion always moves from above downward A certain style is worn at first only in the highest stage of society, and thus serves as a mark of class or rank But for this very reason the lower ranks strive all the more earnestly to acquire the elegant dress, and in the course of time the dress of rank becomes the dress of the nation The higher classes, who are still desirous as they were before to distinguish themselves from the lower, then invent or adopt another special form of dress, and the game is begun anew"—E Grosse, *Die Anfange der Kunst* (Freiburg, 1894), p 109, tr F Starr (New York, 1897)

(9) "They have nothing, not the use of their senses, but by tradition"—B. Jonson (1573?–1637), *Epicoene*, 3 3 98–99, in *Works*, ed C H Herford and P Simpson (Oxford, 1925–), V, pp 139–272

(10) "The *value,* or *Worth* of a man, is as of all other things, his price; that is to say, so much as would be given for the use of his power and therefore is not absolute, but a thing dependent on the need and judgment of another An able conductor of soldiers, is of great price in time of war present, or imminent, but in peace not so A learned and uncorrupt judge, is much worth in time of peace, but not so much in war."—T Hobbes, *Leviathan* [1651], 1.10 (p 76), in *English Works,* ed W. Molesworth (London, 1839–45), III

(11) " . nations, in different circumstances, assume for principal topics of praise or blame, characters and actions which happen to be favourable or adverse to their own pursuits or manner of life In warlike nations or ages, valour is considered as the principal constituent of virtue, cowardice as the principal constituent of vice. Among traders, punctuality and fair dealing is the standard of estimation, and, in the cant language of merchants, a good man means a person that is solvent, and full able as well as willing to fulfil his engagements"—A Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science,* I, p 302, *vide ibid*, II, pp 328, 417–18

(12) " . . nature has set no end before itself, and . all final causes are nothing but human fictions"—B Spinoza, *Ethica,* 1 append, *cf ibid*, 4 pref

(13) "Different institutions of society engage their members in different pursuits Under some institutions, it is the prevailing object of passion to become rich, in others, to obtain precedence and titles, or to make a show of rank and fortune derived from ancestors In others, it is the prevailing passion to be distinguished in the classes of statesmen, of warriors, or orators"—Ferguson, *op cit*, II, p 328

(14) "There are some things, in which it is the Interest of the Society that Men should be biass'd . . Whilst Professions are lucrative, and have great Dignities belonging to them, there will always be Men that excell in them."—B Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees* [1705–29], ed F B Kaye (Oxford, 1924), II, pp 297, 341

(15) "We must not think but that there is some ground of reason even in nature, whereby it cometh to pass that no nation under heaven either doth or ever did suffer public actions which are of weight, whether they be civil and temporal or else spiritual and sacred, to pass without some visible solemnity the very strangeness whereof and difference from that which is common, doth cause popular eyes to observe and to mark the same"—R Hooker (1551?–1600), *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity,* 4 1 3, in *Works,* ed J Keble *et al* (Oxford, 1888, 7th ed)

(16) "Rites are mere arbitrary signs of the devotion they are used to express"—Ferguson, *op cit*, I, pp 145–46.

(17) "Religious rites In part, they are expressive and symbolic performances, the dramatic utterances of religious thought, the gesture language of theology"—Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* II, p. 362

(18) " , the drama was a part of heathen liturgy"—J G Hamann, *Funf Hirtenbriefe das Schuldrama betreffend* [1763], p. 437, in *Schriften,* ed. F Roth (Berlin, 1821–43), II, pp 413–50

(19) "Ceremony keeps up all things 'tis like a penny glasse to a rich spirit or some excellent water, without it the water were spilt, the spirit lost"—J Selden (1584–1654), *Table Talk,* ed F Pollock (London, 1927), p 24

(20) "There is nothing in which the world varies so much as in customs and laws Many a thing is abominable here that is commended elsewhere" —M de Montaigne, *Essais,* ed J Plattard (Paris, 1931–32), III, p 368, tr E J Trechmann (London, 1927) By permission of Oxford University Press, New York

(21) "Is there any opinion so fantastic . is there any too extravagant for her [i e, custom] to implant and establish by laws, in whatever regions she pleases? .

"I believe that no fancy, however crazy, can enter into the human imagination, of which we do not find an example in some popular usage" —*Ibid*, I 1, p 153

(22) " children have no other rule of good or evil manners, but the correction they receive from their parents and masters."—Hobbes, *op cit*, I 11 (p 91)

(23) "He who would rid himself of this violent prejudice of custom will find that many things are accepted with undoubting resolve, which have no support but in the hoary beard and wrinkles of the usage which attends them"—Montaigne, *op cit*, I 1, p 162

(24) "Barbarians are in no way more wonderful to us than we are to them, nor with more reason, as everyone would allow it, after going over those newly discovered examples [of customs] he would reflect upon his own and sanely compare them"—*Ibid*, I 1, p 154

IV

CULTURE

By definition, customs are categories of actions learned from others. Now, you learn from those with whom you interact socially, and, also by definition, those with whom you engage in social interaction tend to be members of your own society, therefore, the members of a society follow a more or less similar body of customs Again, it has been shown that in order to engage in effective social interaction the participants must anticipate each other's behavior, which in human beings means conforming to the same body of customs, and since those with whom you socially interact usually are members of your own society, we have one more reason why members of a society generally follow the same body of customs

A *culture* is the body of customs [1] found in a society, (1) and anyone who acts according to these customs is a *participant* in the culture From a biological viewpoint, its culture is the means by which a society adjusts to its environment

It is obviously impossible to study culture as a whole, and for purposes of analysis it is convenient to classify the customs of a society into *parts of culture,* the most general classes (*summa genera*) into which the customs of any culture can be put I find it useful to classify customs in the following way

I Approaches to the environment
A Naturalism

[1] It may be noticed that artifacts are not included in culture This is done because it seems more convenient to compare man with other animals in terms of their behavior rather than by means of the products of their behavior Animals usually modify their environment to some extent in the process of adjusting, and these modifications are the *products* of their behavior When this behavior is customary, the products are *artifacts* (adjective, *artificial*) For example, this book is an artifact, since it is made from different raw materials which have been put through certain customary processes I would therefore include in culture the behavior learned from others that goes into producing the book, and the ways in which the book is used, but not the book itself

B. Supernaturalism
C. Estheticism
D. Mysticism
II. Economy
III. Communication
IV. Social organization
V. Social control

Each of these parts of culture will be successively discussed in the following chapters

Cultural organization

A culture is the body of customs found in a society But these customs are not independent of each other, they interact and therefore influence one another (2) This is easily shown by observing the effects of a new custom upon the result of the culture.

[UNITED STATES]
EFFECTS OF THE RADIO TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE AND OF RADIO BROADCASTING

I ON UNIFORMITY AND DIFFUSION

1 Homogeneity of peoples increased because of like stimuli
2 Regional differences in cultures become less pronounced
3 The penetration of the musical and artistic city culture into villages and country
6. Isolated regions are brought into contact with world events

II ON RECREATION AND ENTERTAINMENT

14 The enjoyment of music popularized greatly
16 The manufacture of better phonograph music records encouraged .
18 Radio amplification lessens need for loud concert voices
19 Establishment of the melodramatic playlet with few characters and contrasted voices
22 Entertainment for invalids, blind, partly deaf, frontiersmen, etc .

III ON TRANSPORTATION

27 Radio beams, enabling aviators to remain on course
28 Directional receivers guide to port with speed and safety
29 Aid furnished to ships in distress at sea .
31 Chronometers are checked by time signals
32 Broadcast of special weather reports aids the aviator.
33 Brokerage offices on ships made possible .
36 Ships directed for better handling of cargoes

IV ON EDUCATION

37. Colleges broadcast classroom lectures

38 Broadcasting has aided adult education .
41 Grammar school instruction aided by broadcasting .
47 Many talks to mothers on domestic science, child care, etc. . . .
54 The creation of a class of radio amateurs

V ON THE DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION

55 Wider education of farmers on agricultural methods
56 Prevention of loss in crops by broadcasting weather reports . .
59 Important telephone messages between continents . .
61 News to newspapers by radio broadcasting
62 News dissemination in lieu of newspapers
64 Quicker detection of crime and criminals, through police automobile patrols equipped with radio. . .

VI ON RELIGION

68 Invalids and others unable to attend church enabled to hear religious service .

VII ON INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS

71 In industry, radio sales led to decline in phonograph business . .
73 Lowering of cable rates followed radio telegraph development . .
75 The business of the lyceum bureaus, etc, suffered greatly . .
79 A new form of advertising has been created. . .
83 Led to creation of new magazines
84 An increase in the consumption of electricity

VIII ON OCCUPATIONS

91 A new employment for singers, vaudeville artists, etc
92 New occupations announcer, engineer, advertising salesman. . . .

IX ON GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

94 In government, a new regulatory function necessitated .
96 Legal questions raised beginning with the right to the air
97. New specialization in law, four air law journals existing
98 New problems of copyright have arisen
99 New associations created, some active in lobbying
100 Executive pressure on legislatures, through radio appeals
101 A democratizing agency, since political programs and speeches are designed to reach wide varieties of persons at one time
102 Public sentiment aroused in cases of emergencies like drought
103 International affairs affected because of multiplication of national contacts
109 Political campaigners reach larger audiences.
110 The importance of the political mass meeting diminished
111 Presidential "barn storming" and front porch campaign changed.
112 Nature of campaign costs affected

X ON OTHER INVENTIONS

119 Development stimulated in other fields, as in military aviation
120 The vacuum tube, a radio invention, is used in many fields . . . A new science is being developed on the vacuum tube .

122 Developments in the use of the phonograph stimulated by radio . . .
125 Geophysical prospecting aided by radio

XI MISCELLANEOUS

133 A new type of public appearance for amateurs
142 Additions to language, as "A baby broadcasting all night"
143 Aids in locating persons wanted .
148 Home duties and isolation more pleasant
150 Creative outlet for youth in building sets [2]

If a culture consists of interacting customs, its unity depends upon the kinds of interaction that takes place between them Customs are *consistent* if the behavior which conforms to them help, or at least do not hinder, each other When behavior conforming to one custom nullifies the effect of behavior conforming to another custom, these customs are in *conflict*. Now, the extent to which the customs of a culture are unified is the degree of *organization* that exists in that culture A culture is *well organized* if its customs are consistent, and *poorly organized* if conflicting

By and large, the customs found in a society are fairly consistent, (3) they have to be so if the society is to persist

[WESTERN EUROPE] The Napoleonic age is felt, not only in the majestic language of the proclamations to the army under the Pyramids, or in the articles of the Legislative Code, but in the pattern of embroidery, the white tunics of the Empress and her smooth white curule chairs [3]

A society can only exist as long as it can adjust, and it adjusts by means of its culture Therefore, it can only adjust if its interdependent customs are consistent enough to permit it to complete its necessary activities, for in so far as interdependent customs conflict, they block the involved activities and produce maladjustment

Economic distribution in our society conflicts with the productive technology In most cases we use our technology to produce as many artifacts as possible, but at the same time the only people who can get these artifacts are the ones who have enough money to buy them Meanwhile, techno logical advances are constantly improving the efficiency of production Greater amounts of artifacts are produced by a small number of people—and a decrease in the number of workers swells the ranks of the unemployed Consequently, we produce more and more artifacts which fewer

[2] W F Ogburn and S C Gilfillan, "The influence of invention and discovery," pp 153–56, in President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends* (New York, 1933), Chap 3

[3] D Merejkovski, *Tolstoy as Man and Artist*, tr Anonymous (Westminster, 1902), p 190.

and fewer people have the money to buy The result is the periodic maladjustments we call "economic depressions"

Consequently, if a culture contains too many conflicting customs the society will become so maladjusted that it is no longer able to exist.

Cultural adequacy

Though a society adjusts by means of its culture, no society is ever completely adjusted, and cultures vary in the degree to which they provide for the society's adjustments A culture is *adequate* if its society is fairly well adjusted, and *inadequate* if maladjusted For example, the economic distribution in the United States is such that even at the peak of production in 1929 only about 10% of the population were able to afford the standard of living categorized as "the American way of life"

Were the consumptive wants of the people at the peak of prosperity in 1929 fully or reasonably well satisfied?

"In 1929 about 70 per cent of the families of the nation had incomes in the range from zero to $2,500 A family income of $2,500 was in 1929 a very moderate one It permits few of the luxuries of life, even for families of only two or three persons Accordingly, it should be of interest to indicate the increases in the amount and character of expenditures that would result if all families could be raised to a minimum of $2,500 We shall here assume no change in the incomes of those above this figure . If the increases in family incomes assumed . . above could somehow be realized, an output that would exceed the productive capacity of the nation in 1929 would be required

"It was not until an income of about $3,000 was reached that families spent enough on food to obtain the adequate diet at moderate cost, namely, $800, and it was only those with incomes in excess of $5,000 who spent enough on the average to obtain the quantity and character of food required for a liberal diet On the assumption that these estimates of food requirements and costs are reasonable, the following conclusions may be stated of the non-farm families as a whole, 16 million, or 74 per cent, did not have sufficient income in 1929 to provide an adequate diet at moderate cost Nineteen million families, or 90 per cent, were not in a position to enjoy a liberal diet Farm families in the same income groups naturally fare somewhat better as to food because of the lower costs involved

"It would seem a reasonable minimum aim of our national economy to provide the entire population with a 'liberal diet,' which would furnish adequate nutrition, a substantial margin of safety in respect to vitamins and minerals, and a satisfying variety of foods; and at the same time to permit the purchase of such necessities and comforts as are ordinarily associated with a 'liberal diet' To reach these standards would require an

increase in the production of all kinds of consumers' goods and services by something like 70 or 80 per cent

" . even if no family with an income of $5,000 . were to receive more than it then had, it would be necessary to increase the value of food production, at 1929 prices, by around 40 per cent " [4]

Two factors are involved in cultural adequacy cultural sufficiency and organization By *sufficiency* is meant the extent to which the customs effectively cover the situations by which the society is confronted. You will recall that in the section of categorization it was argued that a routinized adjustment depends upon an ability to categorize the situation and having a customary response which applies to that category Conversely, a culture is *deficient* in so far as it has no way of categorizing a situation which confronts its society, and/or has no customary response by which to respond effectively to the situation Now, since all routines are the product of adjustments to past situations, no culture can cover all the new situations that confront the society, and consequently all cultures are somewhat deficient (4) As for organization, the analysis of cultural organization given in the last section showed that conflicting customs block adjustive activities Now, culture is always changing to meet new situations—sometimes slowly, at other times rapidly And the interdependence of changing customs produces *culture lag*, i e , variations in the rate at which customs change in becoming consistent with one another when new customs have been adopted or old customs dropped. Culture lag in turn results in a certain amount of conflict between the relatively new customs and the relatively old Therefore no culture is ever completely organized

Thus, to the extent that a culture is fairly sufficient and organized, it is adequate to take care of the adjustments of the group

At first glance a culture may seem inadequate, but really not be so, a culture that is ostensibly insufficient often provides for customary violations and sublimations A *customary violation* is a customary way of not conforming to custom [5]—a paradoxical yet omnipresent state of affairs, for, since we learn most of our responses

[4] Maurice Leven, Harold G Moulton and Clark Warburton, *America's Capacity to Consume* (Brookings Institution, *Publications*, 56) (Washington, 1934), pp 117–24

[5] [UNITED STATES] "Vice goes a long way tow'rd makin' life bearable A little vice now an' thin is relished be th' best iv men " – F P Dunne (1867–1936), *Mr Dooley at His Best*, ed E. Ellis (New York, 1938), pp 120–21

from others, not only do we learn from others how to conform to custom, but also how to violate it.

[WESTERN EUROPE] In every part of Italy, almost in every province, there exists some village renowned for having furnished an unbroken series of special delinquents. Thus, in Liguria, Lerice is proverbial for swindlers, Campofreddo and Masson for homicides, Possolo for highway robbers. In the province of Lucca, Capannori is noted for its assassinations, and Carde in Piedmont for its field thefts.[6]

[TIKOPIA] . . . soon after the death of his brother the Ariki Tafua instituted a ban on fishing and on the consumption of coco-nuts in Faea . . . . The object of this *tapu* was primarily to enforce mourning obligations . . . [But] it was recognized that modifications of the *tapu* might be necessary. While it was being set up members of the party explained to me that on request the people of the district would be able to get permission from the chief to go fishing on the reef occasionally. If they saw a shoal of fish coming right in shore they could go to the chief and say, "We are going for a stroll in the reef waters." He would reply, "It is well." Such a practice is recognized by custom and there is a special term *asi* which applies to the temporary lifting of the *tapu*. It means a suspension for the single occasion and not the end of the restriction as a whole . . . .

When a person is in mourning, he is debarred from eating certain types of food. This restriction operates less to his disadvantage than might at first appear. Different members of his kinship group come from time to time according to their inclination, bringing with them creamed puddings or other food to "feed" the mourner. Strictly speaking this food is *tapu* to him, but on being pressed by the visitor he generally eats, so that the giver will not be ashamed—such being the official native explanation. In fact it is nothing but a conventional mechanism for lightening the mourning burdens.[7]

A *customary sublimation* is a customary indirect way of satisfying a motive. For the usual but incorrect goal it supplies a substitute and correct goal.

[UNITED STATES] The peculiar brand of ecstatic religion popularly known as the Holy Roller Faith which has been sweeping the South for the last fifteen years . . . is . . . a wild mixture of sex, exhibitionism, and hysteria . . . . The first complete example of their God's work was shown to me in a deep mountain gully under the dark, spotted shade of high and thick timber. A great gathering was there. Around the sides of the gully on outjutting edges of rock sat the half-convinced and the utterly sceptical. Down in its center were gathered the faithful, around a rough stand of

[6] C. Lombroso, *Le Crime* [1899] (Paris, 1907, 2nd ed.), p. 27, tr. H. P. Horton (Boston, 1911).

[7] R. Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy* (London, 1939), pp. 205–06, 216.

planks The worshippers left an open space before the stand, ten or twelve feet square My preacher and his guitar strumming brethren got on the stand and bowed their heads in silent prayer Out of the utter quiet of wordless worship, broken by no whisper, accentuated by the dark motionless canopy of green above, they rose suddenly, smiting their strings and bringing their feet down and their voices up in one mighty burst of roaring sound Their hymn, a fast two-four, evidently very familiar, was taken up by the crowd with almost the precision of trained performers The whole outfit sang and clapped their hands in a swiftly mounting crescendo. When the rhythmical din was at its height, a young girl in a simple white dress and a little cheap but stylish hat moved slowly into the clear space before the stand Her eyelids were half-closed She walked around, a sort of Appalachian Oread, tapping her feet to the music Her shoulders and hips began to move Two men stepped into the opening They shouted, "Amen Blessed be His name," and they took to dancing about the girl Others joined them Suddenly, the girl, with a piercing cry, "Jesus, sweet Jesus!" flopped on the ground and began to roll under the feet of the men, back and forth, throwing her arms and legs in every direction Then she stopped The hymn ended The girl lay on the ground, her hips rising and falling in the semblance of an orgiastic spasm She twitched Her breasts quivered Her breath came fast. Spit rolled down the chins of the men about her as they cried out "Holy be His name! Blessed be the will of God," and shook the treetops with their resonant "amens" [8]

From these seeming insufficiencies let us turn to apparent disorganization When viewed superficially some customs may seem to conflict, but actually do not because they periodically alternate with one another. The most important of these customs dominates most of the time while the less important are inhibited, and for short periods of time the condition is reversed to permit periodic license which produces the effects already discussed under relief from boredom.

[VITI LEVU] On the day appointed, the son of the chief is circumcised, and with him a number of other lads . . Then follows a great feast, which ushers in a period of indescribable revelry All distinctions of property are for the time being suspended Men and women array themselves in all manners of fantastic garbs, address one another in the most indecent phrases, and practice unmentionable abominations openly in the public square of the town The nearest relationships—even that of own brother and sister—seem to be no bar to the general licence, the extent of which may be indicated by the expressive phrase of an old Nandi chief, who said, "While it lasts, we are just like the pigs" This feasting and frolic may be kept up for several days, after which the ordinary restrictions recur once more The rights of property are again respected, the abandoned

[8] T H Benton, *An Artist in America* (New York, 1937), pp 97–99

revellers settle down into steadygoing married couples, and brothers and sisters may not so much as speak to one another.[9]

[WESTERN EUROPE] The fiesta was really started. It kept up day and night for seven days. The dancing kept up, the drinking kept up, the noise went on. The things that happened could only have happened during a fiesta. Everything became quite unreal finally and it seemed as though nothing could have any consequences. It seemed out of place to think of consequences during the fiesta. All during the fiesta you had the feeling, even when it was quiet, that you had to shout any remark to make it heard. It was the same feeling about any action. It was a fiesta and it went on for seven days.[10]

In every society this periodicity is regulated by means of a cyclical round of activities—daily, weekly, monthly, seasonal, annual, etc.[11] In this way a culture satisfies a wide range of motives with a minimum of conflict between customs at any one time. (5)

A good index of cultural inadequacy is the proportion and severity of maladjustments found among its participants. Since to a great extent individuals adjust by means of customs, those areas in which the culture is inadequate will tend to be reflected in the situations which produce individual maladjustment.

I have never seen any research on the matter, but I can at least point to the kind of thing I am driving at. Roughly speaking, in at least 80% of all the middle class, American born whites I have examined in the course of my psychiatric experience, the major factor in producing the neurosis or psychosis was sexual maladjustment; in the psychotics most of the delusions and hallucinations (which seem to be behavior to satisfy inhibited motives) had a sexual content. On the other hand, in about the same proportion of all lower class American born Negroes I have examined, the major factor was economic maladjustment; the delusions and hallucinations of the psychotics were usually concerned with jobs, money, or food. These differences might be expected. The customs of middle class American born whites do not include the direct satisfaction of sexual motives from puberty to marriage because of the Puritan tradition, and these habits are often carried over into marriage. Among lower class American born Negroes, by contrast, unemployment and low wages are situations to which

[9] L. Fison, "The Nanga or sacred stone enclosure, of Wainimala, Fiji," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 14 (1885), (pp. 14–31) p. 28; *vide ibid.*, p. 28, n. 2.

[10] E. Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* (New York, 1926), p. 159. For longer descriptions, *vide* Goethe, "Das romische Karnival," *Samtlichen Werke*, XLII, pp. 117–44; J. T. Farrell, *Studs Lonigan* (New York, 1936), II, pp. 35–40.

[11] [TROBRIANDS] *Vide* B. Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (London, 1935), I, pp. 50–51.

[UNITED STATES] *Vide* A. Blumenthal, "The Routine of Life," *Small-Town Stuff* (Chicago, 1932), Chap. 5.

they cannot adjust by means of the customs available to them, while sex is adequately covered by a body of customs which stem from the plantation tradition [12]

It follows from all this that the most adequate culture is that by which the participants can satisfy the widest range of motives most completely

[MARAVI] "People do not mind being reduced to husks of maize if they still have their freedom!" [13]

Cultural specialization

Since we have relatively few inherited behavior patterns, we can adjust in innumerable ways But most of our adjustments are habitual This means that we actually adjust by means of a limited number of behavior patterns which constitute our *repertory of behavior,* in other words, we specialize in some ways of acting and ignore other possible ones For instance, every infant produces innumerable vocalizations,[14] but as it grows up it learns to specialize in the phonemes of the group in which it is reared [15] And when, as an adult, the individual learns a new language, he finds it hard to produce sounds which are different from those for which he had previously developed habits, the influence of his vocal habits used in speaking his mother tongue, upon the production of the phonemes of the newly acquired language, produces the phenomenon of accent (6)

Now let us extend this analysis to groups Human societies adjust by means of a limited repertory of actions, i e , through its customs If we examine the customs that constitute any culture, we find that there are many customs in some parts of culture, and few in others (7) Our science and technology is the most complicated in the world, our economy consists of an elaborate body of customs, our religion and magic is limited to relatively few customs, and our kinship organization is the simplest in the world By contrast, the

[12] On this last point *vide* E F Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States,* Chicago, 1939

[13] S Y Ntara, *Man of Africa,* tr T C Young (London 1934), p 23

[14] B L Wellman *et al* , *Speech Sounds of Young Children* (*U of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare,* 5 2) (Iowa City, 1931)

[15] M M Shirley, *The First Two Years of Life* (U of Minnesota, Institute of Child Welfare, *Monograph Series,* 6–8) (Minneapolis, 1931–33), II, pp 49–51

Arunta kinship system is the most complicated in the world, their religion and magic consists of an elaborate body of customs, and their economy, science, and technology is limited to relatively few customs[16] In other words, we Americans specialize in naturalism and economy, while the Arunta specialize in supernaturalism and kinship organization From this you can see that it is ethnocentric to judge that a culture is "primitive" or "advanced" by comparing it with our own culture If the standard used is the complexity in our own cultural specializations, obviously we are "advanced" and the Arunta "primitive" But if the standard used is the specializations of the Arunta, they are "advanced" and we are "primitive." But specialization is not only a consequence of the number of customs that are found in the various parts of a culture, it also results from the amount of time and energy spent in behaving according to these customs.

A very large number of ceremonials are (or in the recent past have been) carried out by the Navaho[17] one is, I think, impressed by the elaboration of ceremonial knowledge in a culture which from other points of view—e g , the technological—is relatively undifferentiated

This impression is fortified by consideration of the number of individuals having direct ceremonial knowledge Twenty out of the sixty-nine adult men of the community conduct ceremonials In addition, nine women and seven men are diagnosticians. In short, thirty-six individuals are to some degree involved in this aspect of behavior.

I think I am safe in saying that adult men in the community tend, on the average (at least during this portion of the year [March 15th–September 15th]), to devote one-fourth to one-third of their productive time to ceremonials, adult women one-fifth to one-sixth The figure for men would probably have been higher in the not very distant past, for a larger number of younger men would almost certainly have been engaged in systematically learning the ceremonials At present only four men under late middle age are studying—and two of these very half heartedly

Besides approaching this problem from the point of view of time spent in ceremonial activities, it may also be approached from the point of view of proportion of family income (measured mainly, of course, on the basis of goods consumed) expended upon ceremonials . My figures here are necessarily but approximations, of course, but they suggest—for the six month period—a crude average of close to twenty per cent of the annual income Here also the figures would doubtless have been higher not many

[16] B Spencer and F J Gillen, *The Arunta* (London, 1927)

[17] L C Wyman and C Kluckhohn, *Navaho Classification of the Their Song Ceremonials* (American Anthropological Association, *Memoirs*, 50) (Menasha, 1938).

years ago because of the fees and "royalties" which learners pay to their teachers [18]

Ethos

By now we have found that customs vary in kind, number, and interdependence from one culture to another. As a result, each culture has its own configuration of customs, or *ethos.* (8) And since its culture is the means by which a society adjusts, the ethos of a culture is derived from the particular chain of situations to which the society has had to adjust during its history.

Though the concept of ethos has been popular for a long time, I myself do not find it very useful. The ethos of a culture can only be discovered by observing the configuration of its customs. Therefore, to reverse the procedure and say that the customs of a culture are the result of the ethos of that culture, (9) seems to me to be arguing in a circle (*petitio principii*) and really no explanation at all.

Social differentiation

Social differentiation provides for group adjustment, increases adjustive efficiency, and strengthens solidarity. These three points will be taken up in order.

If human beings cannot adjust by themselves, it means that no single individual can perform all the activities necessary for his adjustments. Therefore, all the actions by which a society adjusts are divided up among the members of the society, each individual performs some of the behavior, and through social interaction they help each other to adjust. (10)

> Even in such a primitive people as the Caribou Eskimo the family, and not the individual, is the smallest economic unit . . . What is more, the settlement in certain respects appears as a still bigger economic unit than the family . . . there are hunting methods which are in fact based upon the cooperation of several persons, for instance caribou hunting by means of deer fences [19]
>
> Between the sexes there is a natural division of labour, the important features of which appear as follows

Men	Women
Building of snow house	Filling chinks in snow house.
(Pitching tent)	Pitching tent

[18] C. Kluckhohn, "Participation in ceremonials in a Navaho community," *American Anthropologist,* 40 (1938), (pp. 359–69) pp. 360–61, 361, 367–68

[19] Birket-Smith, *The Caribou Eskimos,* I, p. 98

Men	Women
——	Tending fire and lamp.
Hunting	——
Fishing	(Fishing).
Collecting	Collecting
Flensing	Flensing
——	Cooking
Dog driving	——
Working in stone, metal and bone	——
(Skin preparing)	Skin preparing.
——	Sewing [20]
Thong making	——

In this way, not only is it possible for the group as a whole to adjust when their biological characteristics do not make it possible for the people to live in isolation, but their adjustive efficiency is increased because they tend to become more profficient in their behavior as a result of specialization [21]

This dividing up of the totality of adjustive actions among the members of a group is *social differentiation* The extent of social differentiation varies (11) In some societies each set of customs usually consists of many different activities, and often there is a lot of overlapping between the sets as well Such societies are *slightly differentiated*

[IFUGAO] Division of labor is not carried further than a mere beginning Some men are highly skilled blacksmiths Nearly all know something about blacksmithing Some are highly skilled wood carvers, but nearly all are wood carvers for all that Almost the only division of labor is between men and women [22]

Other societies differentiate into sets of customs in which each set is usually composed of a single activity. These societies are *moderately differentiated*

[KWAKIUTL] "The dish maker takes along his ax when he goes into the woods When he reaches a patch of alder trees, he picks out a good one that has no knots and that is not twisted, for he is careful that it is straight when it is split in two After he has found a good one, he chops it down

[20] *Ibid*, I, pp 257–58, *vide* N M Giffen, *The Roles of Men and Women in Eskimo Culture* (Chicago, 1930)

[21] E Haeckel, *Ueber Arbeitstheilung in Natur und Menschenleben*, Berlin, 1869

[22] R F Barton, *Ifugao Economics* (U of California, *Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 15 5) (Berkeley, 1922), p 423

It must be six spans in length and chops it off there After it has been cut off, he splits it in two straight through the heart of the wood After it has been split in two, he chops off the heart of the wood, so that the block is one span thick He chops it off carefully, so that it is level and that it has no twist, for the heart of the tree will be the bottom of the dish When this is done, he chops out the sides so that they are wide in the middle The dish is one span wide at each end, and it is one span and four fingers wide in the middle, for it bulges out The bottom part of the end is one short span long, and the height is one hand-width, including the thumb The bottom is one short span wide and three spans and four finger-widths long This is the size of the large feasting-dish when a feast is given to many tribes When the sides have been chopped, it is in this way Then he puts it right-side up and chops out the inside, so that it is hollow The bark is still on that part that will be the inner side Now he chops it off, and he only stops chopping it when it is two finger-widths thick all around and at both ends Then he carries it home on his shoulder and he puts it down in his house, takes his adze, and adzes the bottom so that it is level When this is done, he adzes the outside It is adzed well Then he also adzes the ends well on the outside, and when this is done, he adzes along the sides so as to make them thin He just feels the thickness After this has been done, he takes his small crooked knife and scoops out two groves on the outer side When this is done, he takes spawn of the dog-salmon, chews it, and spits it into his paint-dish He takes coal and rubs it in the place where is the salmon-spawn that has been spit out When it is really black, he takes his paint-brush, dips the end of the paint-brush into the black color, and paints all around the rim of the dish When this is done, he puts it away, so that it dries Then it is done "[23]

Finally there are societies in which most sets of customs consist of only a part of the behavior involved in an activity Such societies are *highly differentiated*.

[BAKITARA] The country of Kitara was rich in iron and for many generations its iron-workers were noted for their skill There were three stages in the work before the finished article was turned out, and each stage had its own workers, who did only that part and seldom had anything to do with the others except in buying and selling the products of their labours The first handling of the iron, that is, the quarrying and smelting, was done by the smelters (*Bajugusi*), and the rough molten iron was purchased from them by the pig-iron workers (*Omusami*), who worked it up into pieces of various sizes, roughly shaped for different purposes The smiths (*Mwesi*) bought this iron and made knives, spears, hoes, and other necessary articles[24]

[23] F Boas, "Ethnology of the Kwakiutl," *Annual Report of the U S Bureau of Ethnology*, 35 (1913–14), (pp 13–1481) pp 57–58

[24] J Roscoe, *The Bakitara* (Cambridge, 1923), p 217, *vide ibid*, pp 217–25

[UNITED STATES] There are 641 different occupations involved in the manufacture of all-welded ships [25]

A similar situation exists in professions, as is shown in the following story Two men met for the first time and began exchanging information about themselves.

"And what sort of work do you do?"

"I'm a physician"

"What, a general practitioner?"

"No, an ear-nose-and-throat man"

"What, all three?"

"No, a nose specialist."

"What, both nostrils?"

A little further on you will find that sets of customs are categorized into roles, and it has already been shown that such sets are the product of differentiation Therefore, the number of roles found in a society is an index of its degree of social differentiation However, no complete census of roles has been taken in any society, so that only fragmentary material can be cited to illustrate this point

[CARIBOU ESKIMO] Between the sexes there is a natural division of labour

Age difference is of no consequence in the composition of society beyond the purely natural importance it has There are no age classes, ceremonial initiation at puberty, etc .

there are neither chiefs, nobility nor slaves No clan system and no secret society [exist]. . . Originally, only the shamans have stood out from among the mass [26]

[UNITED STATES] "The [Occupational] Dictionary defines 17,452 separate jobs These are also known by 12,292 alternate titles, making a total of 29,714 titles defined It should be especially noted that the coverage of the Employment Service Dictionary, either occupational or industrial, is by no means complete" [27]

A standard of living is the sum of different kinds and amounts of behavior and objects customarily used in adjustment Now, if the individual cannot get these from others, he has to supply them himself. Therefore, two factors determine the degree of social differentiation found in a society the amount of surplus behavior and

[25] War Manpower Commission, U S Employment Service, Employment Service Division, Occupational Analysis Section, *Industrial Manning Table for Shipbuilding* (Washington, 1942)

[26] Birket Smith, *op cit*, I, pp 257–59

[27] U S Department of Labor, U S Employment Service, Division of Standards and Research, Job Analysis and Information Section, *Dictionary, of Occupational Titles* (Washington, 1939), I, p xvi

objects that the specialist produces for the use of others, (12) and the extent to which others will accept that surplus in exchange for the different kinds of behavior and objects that they produce (13) (*a*) If the specialist cannot provide enough for others, the latter have to produce the needed behavior and objects themselves, and therefore cannot spend too much time and effort on any one specialty

> . garden work is done in the Trobriands by everybody, man and woman, chief and commoner, chief's principal wife, chief's own sister, as well as the humblest spinster Nor is the garden magician excluded from work There is no specialisation in garden work, nor is the specialist exempt from it [28]

It is only when there is a surplus from which they can be provided with some of their needs, that they can devote themselves to specializing in the production of others

> [DAHOMEY] In Dahomey, a population numbering several hundred thousand persons supported the king and his court, the princes and their retinues, the priests and diviners, and provided for the elaborate ceremonials of state and of worship, as well . None of these were productive in the sense that farmers or iron-workers or cloth-workers are productive workers, but there was appropriated to them the social surplus derived from the labor of the great mass of Dahomeans, and, more particularly in the days before the European conquest, from the work of the masses of slaves [29]

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN MAJOR INDUSTRY GROUPS FOR THE UNITED STATES 1940

INDUSTRY	PERCENTAGE
Agriculture, forestry, and fishery	18 8
Mining	2 0
Construction	4 6
Manufacturing	23 1
Transport, commun , and other public utilities	6 9
Wholesale and retail trade	16 7
Finance, insurance, and real estate	3 2
Business and repair services	1 9
Personal services	8 9
Amusement, recreation and related services	0 9
Professional and related services	7 3
Government	3 9
Industry not reported	1 5 *

* U S Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States 1940*, Popul , III, Pt 1, p 11, Table 6

[28] B Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (London, 1935), I, pp 78–79

[29] M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey* (New York, 1938), I, pp 96–97

(*b*) If the specialist cannot find enough people to accept his surplus in exchange for other behavior and objects that make up his standard of living, he will have to spend his time producing the other necessities as well

> [CHINA] "How can the Muse of Poesy descend upon me
> With my bowels a core of vibrant thunder?"[30]

Therefore, only to the extent that he has a large and permanent clientele can he afford to devote himself steadily to his specialty

[MAORI] A point of interest is that specialization in primitive economy cannot occur so readily in the seasonal crafts A man who is skilled in the snaring of birds, for instance, may devote himself largely to this work, but it cannot be practiced all the year round, so he must find other occupations to support himself for the remainder of the time It is in the constant employment, for the product of which there is a continual and steady demand, that the most favourable opportunity offers for specialization Hence it is natural to find that among the Maori the persons who really did devote the major portion of their time to one craft were makers of stone adzes, wood-carvers, house and canoe builders, and above all, perhaps, tattooers[31]

[UNITED STATES] The appearance of any type of service or even of any variety depends chiefly upon the number of people who may use, or may be induced to use it, and to a lesser extent upon the amount of money they have to spend .

From the standpoint of merchandising three types of trade centers are developing in rural areas First there is the primary service center, a small town offering goods that are well standardized and frequently demanded These towns are usually under 1,000 in population Second there is the shopping center, a town which, in addition to convenience goods offers goods in specialty stores Such places may vary from 1,000 to 5,000 in population Finally there is the terminal trade center which is large enough to offer the most specialized kinds of services These centers are usually the larger cities in a state or other area .

[There is a] relationship between the size of a trade center and the types of retail services it may be expected to have. The figures indicating this relationship follow

Drug Stores	500
Furniture Stores	1,000
General Stores	no lower limit
Grocery Stores	1,000
Hardware Stores	no lower limit
Jewelry Stores	1,000

[30] Su Shih (1036–1101), *Prose Poetry*, tr C D L Clark (Shanghai, 1935), p 212.

[31] R Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (New York, 1929), p 207 Published by E P Dutton & Co Inc , New York

Men's Clothing Stores	1,000
Shoe Stores	2,500
Variety Stores	3,000
Women's Clothing Stores	3,000

Under ordinary conditions a bank can exist on an independent basis in a small town possibly with a population of only 500, but in times of financial stress like the present, these banks need more credit reserve than such a small community can provide

Research studies show that approximately 1,000 people can support a physician and that most rural towns of 500 or more in population do . . . In case of hospitals the influence of numbers of people is more important for it has been estimated that about 10,000 people are necessary in order to maintain a well-equipped hospital . The various specialists in medical services such as surgeons, and eye-ear-nose and throat specialists require about as many people for their support as a well-equipped hospital. In fact, they will usually locate in a town which has such a hospital . . the number of people necessary to support commercialized recreation appears to be quite definite In Michigan, for example, we find that over 50 per cent of the towns above 500 in population have motion picture shows Only a fourth of the towns smaller than this have them There is, however, a tendency especially on the part of the young people to favor the larger town, usually a terminal center, because the theatres are often more luxurious and there is some incentive in taking the trip out of the community for its own sake In the case of newspapers, too, there is a minimum limit in population for this service Towns much below 1,000 cannot effectively support this service The more feasible plan is to utilize some space in a newspaper published in a neighboring town which is usually a shopping center

In the case of churches the trend is not so definitely toward the larger center Certainly a church organization needs to be large enough to support a pastor, maintain a building, and to carry on a constructive program Probably 1,000 people per church is sufficient to accomplish this, but many churches smaller than this still exist [32]

Social differentiation also strengthens group solidarity (14) In so far as the members of a group depend upon each other's help, they are forced to engage in harmonious social interaction. Therefore, other things being equal, the amount of solidarity found in a group is proportional to its degree of social differentiation In a slightly differentiated society, small groups can perform customary adjustments by themselves for long periods of time, but in a highly differentiated society like our own this is impossible, if the standard of living is to be maintained

[32] C R Hoffer, "Services of rural trade centers," *Social Forces*, 10 (1931–32), (pp 66–71) pp. 66–70

[NETSILIK ESKIMO] Here, every family decamped and travelled as its own views or caprices dictated, all being as independent as they seemed, since each could soon construct its own habitation without the aid of others, and proceed to procure its own sustenance without the help of society [33]

[UNITED STATES] In 1910 six married couples—all bright young college graduates—left Chicago "to get away from it all" by sailing to the romantic South Sea Islands They planned to be away two years The hold of their ship was crammed with provisions—everything from canned corn to contraceptives The group managed to keep together until they reached Hawaii, when all left except the couple who owned the boat They couldn't stand their miserable existence any longer They didn't know how to navigate the ship and landed up in Alaska, where they almost froze to death, they didn't know how to cook, they couldn't take care of themselves when they took sick, etc.

Role

Now let us return to the sets of action that result from social differentiation The totality of the society's adjustments are divided upon among its members, and each takes over one or more of the resulting units. Every unit consists of a certain set of actions which are performed by an individual, and this set of actions is his *office* Since many individuals usually perform sets of actions which are more or less alike, they have similar offices A category of offices is a *role,* and each role involves a set of customs A role, then, is a categorized set of customs produced by social differentiation, it is a part one plays in society The contrast between the sets of action involved in roles from slightly and highly differentiated societies may be seen from the following examples

[AKAMBA] "The woman's work is to powder maize, grind flour, chop wood, fetch water, look for vegetables and cook them, cook food for her husband and to eat it herself (!) Her other duties are to milk the cows and churn butter, to dig 'the field,' sow and plant, gather in the maize, thrash the millet and Penicillaria and the *ndoko* beans, to cut and carry home grass for thatching, sweep the hut, shut the entrance to the craal and clean it after the cattle (this is seldom done, however), to plait bags and mend calabashes, feed children (a very important duty), suckle them, look after them and bring them up (there is, however, no education in our sense of the word)

"The man's work is to cut the *ngeti* (the framework of the hut), peel off bark to make cords of, build racks to keep maize on and other smaller ones to keep things on (they consist of shelves beneath the ceiling of the hut and wood for the sleeping-places) and to build the *we* (the compartment in

[33] J. Ross, *Narrative of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage* (London, 1835), p 11

the back part of the hut), to go to Ukamba and buy cattle, goats, and ivory to sell at the coast and then to buy clothes for his wife, to cut posts that shall be driven into the ground to strengthen the hedge round the craal, to make brooms to sweep the hut with, to make the sleeping skins for the beds and the wife's skin dress and to scrape the hair off this, to sew quivers, make bows and arrowshafts, arrowheads of iron and wood and to fix them on, to rub the arrow poison on and find small bits of goatskin, rub these very soft between the hands, bind them on the arrowheads and then fix the arrows in the quiver, to sew the ornaments of ostrich feathers on the quiver (*ketuku*), to cut clubs, make swords and sheaths for these, fix the hilts on and find a suitable strap to fasten to the sword, to make straps for his wife to fasten to bundles of wood and water calabashes with, to hollow out beehives and make the round lids to put on the ends, provide a wooden crook to hang them up with and go to hang them up, to hollow out honey jars and make lids of skin for them, to make chains, to look after the cattle (if he has no children), to cut out snuff-bottles and make the tweezers for pulling out the hair of the beard and eyelashes " [34]

[UNITED STATES] "STENOGRAPHER Takes dictation in shorthand of correspondence, reports, and other matter and transcribes dictated material, writing it out in longhand or using a typewriter May be required to be versed in the technical language and terms used in a particular profession May perform a variety of related clerical duties . . may take dictation on a stenotype machine or may transcribe information from a sound producing record " [35]

CARPENTER . Performs general carpentry work involved in the erecting of wooden building frames, installing exterior and interior trim, laying floors, building concrete forms, pouring chutes, wooden scaffolds, and similar work entailing the cutting, shaping, and fastening together of wood or material, such as fiberboard, that is treated and used the same as wood Usually workers specialize in one type of carpentry work performed, such as CARPENTER, DOCK, CARPENTER, FINISH, CARPENTER, HOUSE " [36]

Finally, roles vary in their complexity An *unskilled role* is one that needs little or no special training In such a role, the situations with which the individual must cope are very similar, and the customary responses to these situations do not involve much behavior that cannot be performed by the average member of the society

[KRAUATUNGA-LUNG] Stone tomahawks and axes were made either from waterworn pebbles or pieces split from larger blocks of stone

A Kurnai man having found a waterworn stone suitable for his purpose, first of all chipped or pounded the part intended for the cutting edge with a hard rounded pebble, then having brought it somewhat into shape, he

[34] G Lindblom, *The Akamba* (*Archives d'études orientales*, 17) (Upsala, 1920, 2nd ed), pp 543–45

[35] U S Department of Labor, *op cit*, I, p 886

[36] *Ibid*, I, p 141

rubbed it down on a suitable rock in the bed of a stream until he had produced a good edge. This process was much more expeditious than might be expected. Pieces of grinding-stone which abraded quickly were kept, and even carried from camp to camp for the purpose of sharpening the edge when necessary.[37]

[UNITED STATES] "ENGINE-LATHE OPERATOR . . . Shapes external and internal cylindrical surfaces of metal objects with a lathe on which the rotations of the work and the feeding of the tool may be accomplished mechanically: clamps or bolts work on spindle, using faceplate or chuck, or fastens work between centers, sharpens tools on a grinding lathe . . . and clamps them in place, shifts belts or moves levers to select appropriate speeds of rotation and tool feed; engages an accurately made lead screw and adjusts its rate of rotation to a definite ratio with that of the spindle when preparing to cut threads, turns on motor and starts machine; turns handwheels to bring tools into contact with work, engages automatic feed or continues to turn handwheels to feed tools into or along work. May be classified according to size of machine, as small, medium and large."[38]

A *skilled role* is one that demands a long period of training, because it involves a knowledge of different and/or complex situations and the ability to perform highly specialized behavior.

[BAGANDA] "The king's boats and some of the others were constructed by experts who were trained in the trade from childhood. Different parts required different experts, who knew what to do and what not to do. Special tools belonged to each of these.

"All the parts of the boat were separately done as perfectly as possible. Then the whole was put together. There was a great deal of skill necessary, for all the parts had to be carefully measured so that they would fit together. Cinders were generally used to mark the spots where the connections are going to be."[39]

[UNITED STATES] "THREAD ROLLER . . . Tends a screw-making machine in which thread is formed on screws by the action of hardened metal dies that reciprocate, rolling the screw shank between their surfaces and pressing the metal of the screw shank into thread form: loads magazine of machine with screw blanks, removes filled containers of screws, and starts and stops machine. May adjust and set up machine."[40]

Individuals are not the only ones to assume roles, groups do so as well. In such cases the members of the group have individual roles within the group role, and the sets of customs involved in the

[37] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 312.

[38] U. S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, I, p. 328.

[39] A. Kagwa, *The Customs of the Baganda*, tr. E. B. Kalibala, ed. M. M. Edel (*Columbia U. Contributions to Anthropology*, 22) (New York, 1934), pp. 151–52.

[40] U. S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, I, p. 938.

members' roles contribute to performing the set of customs involved in the group's role. (15)

[ZUNI] . the katcina [spirit] society ['s] membership comprises every adult male In exceptional cases females may be initiated ["to save their life" if they suffer from hallucinations, the mental sickness caused by supernatural beings] The initiation includes two separate ceremonies frequently separated by several years Until the rites are completed, at about the age of 10 or 12, boys are expected to be kept ignorant of the mysteries of the cult, and to believe the dancers are indeed supernatural visitors from the village of the gods At the first ceremony they are severely whipped by the katcina priests to inspire them with awe for these creatures There is another and more severe thrashing at the second ceremony .

The katcina society has a set of officers, the katcina chief . his pekwin [priest] . and two bow priests, who act as hosts when the gods come to dance They receive them, lead them into the plazas for their performances, sprinkling corn meal before them They are the arbiters in all matters pertaining to masked rituals The society is organized into six divisions . associated loosely with the six directions Each group has a house of special construction set aside for the use of the katcinas—the so-called kivas In early days these were men's clubhouses, but their use is now being abandoned, even in ceremonies, in favor of more modern and spacious dwelling houses Membership in one or another of these six groups is determined by the choice of a ceremonial father at a boy's birth or at the latest, at the time of the preliminary initiation His association is lifelong, unless he is expelled for sexual transgressions or severs his connection because of disagreement with the leaders In either case he will be received gladly into another group Each group has a number of officers—from two to six or more—who run its affairs They decide upon the dates for dances and the particular dance to be performed, they compose new songs, decorate the masks, assemble the costumes, and rehearse with the participants Upon them also falls the more vital task of performing the secret rituals that will insure success They prepare and plant prayer sticks and observe all the ritual requirements attendant thereon They consecrate new masks and bless all the dancers before they leave for the plaza .

Each kiva group is required to dance at least three times during the year—once in the winter, once in the summer, and once in the fall In addition to this they may dance at any other time they choose, except the 4 days following the close of the Ca'lako festival and the 10 days of the winter solstice [41]

[41] R L Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuni ceremonialism," *Annual Report of the U S Bureau of American Ethnology*, 47 (1929–30), (pp 467–544) pp 517–19.

[UNITED STATES]

OCCUPATIONAL COMPOSITION PATTERN, COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY

OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION	NUMBER OF DIFFERENT JOB TITLES [I.E., ROLES]	PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS
Professional and Managerial Occupations	13	0.5
Clerical and Kindred Occupations	19	1.1
Protective and Building Service Occupations	6	2.6
Skilled Occupations		25.9
Textile Weavers	7	13.3
Loom Fixers	4	4.6
Occupations in Manufacture of Textiles	7	1.9
Machinists	2	.4
Carpenters	4	.4
Painters	3	.2
Stationary Engineers	2	.1
Mechanics and Repairmen	6	2.3
Manufacturing Foremen	1	2.7
Semiskilled Occupations		38.2
Nonprocess Occupations in Manufacture of Textiles	11	1.6
Occupations in Manufacture of Textiles	71	35.7
Occupations in Fabrication of Textile Products	5	0.4
Truck Drivers	2	0.2
Stationary Engineers	1	0.3
Unskilled Occupations		27.9
Process Laborers	45	16.7
Nonprocess Laborers	44	11.2
Occupations Which May Occur in the Industry	68	3.5
Total	321	100.0 *

* Based on U. S. War Manpower Commission, Bureau of Manpower Utilization, Division of Occupational Analysis and Manning Tables, *Industry Manning Table for Cotton Textiles*, Washington, 1944, *vide* U. S. Department of Labor, U. S. Employment Service, Division of Standards and Research, Job Analysis and Information Section, *Job Descriptions for the Cotton Textile Industry*, Washington, 1939.

Roles can also be looked at from the viewpoint of the people who assume them. An individual finds himself in a role which involves a traditional set of actions, to which he is expected to conform.

[ASHUNTI] "When a poor man wears a silken robe, it is as if it decked a tree stump." [42]

[42] R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 633.

[WESTERN EUROPE] "*Butler* The whole of conduct lies in every man knowing his duty If you are a servant, behave like a servant, if you are a gentleman, behave like a gentleman, if you are a bishop, behave like a bishop Else any one may imagine I might say, for instance, 'No, I'm not a butler but a governor or somebody in the infantry' But, of course, any one would tell me, 'No, that's a lie, you're a butler, not a general'—so there! 'It's your duty to look after the house and the conduct of the servants'—so there! 'It's not for you to prattle *bonjour, comman voo fransay*, but to keep order and look after things'—so there! Yes " [43]

But sometimes the set includes customs which, because of culture lag, are in such conflict with the rest of the culture that they are rarely, if ever, performed, these are *ideals* of the role

In general there is great inconsistency between the theory and practise of Ojibwa institutions For example, visions vouchsafed a person are supposed to remain a secret possession, yet most people learn one another's visions even to the details Again, the war-party is supposed to be a close-knit group organized under the direction of one man and responsive to his every command, actually each man is his own captain, and the nominal leader can be displaced by a competent subordinate In contrast to these, marriage relations are strikingly consistent Marriage is theoretically the union of two people who like each other deeply, and in practise this is borne out Divorce is supposed to be a natural consequence of indifference, or of offense, and this also is normally the case.[44]

[UNITED STATES] One of the *Sayings of Jesus* seems to have been something to this effect "Resist not evil but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also " [45] However, in our individualistic society this prescribed behavior for Christians tends to be uncommon

Qualifications for roles

Who does what—in other words, who assumes each of the roles in a society—depends upon the culture The characteristics by virtue of which one assumes a role form the *qualifications* for that role.

[UNITED STATES] "HELP WANTED—MALE

Accountant, with cost, general ledger experience

Artist, advertising, imaginative, modern, fine art background, versatile

[43] N Gogol, *The Servants' Hall*, p 265, in *Collected Works*, tr C Garnett (New York, n d), pp 257–67

[44] R Landes, *The Ojibwa Woman* (*Columbia U Contributions to Anthropology*, 31) (New York, 1938), pp 119–20

[45] *Vide Novum Testamentum*, ed B F Westcott and F J A Hort (New York, 1925), *Matthew* [*ca* 80], 5 39, *Luke* [*ca* 90], 6 29, tr King James version, revised (New York, 1943)

Boy, over 16, for light delivery .
College graduate, to 25 "[16]

No individual finds all the roles in the society open to him, because no one has the characteristics which fit the qualifications for all these roles. Hence your characteristics limit the number of roles open to you, to put it the other way around, the kinds of roles open to you depend upon your characteristics. This limitation has three effects. First, it minimizes opposition in the society by reducing the number of people who compete or conflict for a role (16). Second, under ordinary conditions it provides that all the roles in the society are assumed by the members. This is necessary because if some of the roles are not assumed, the society becomes maladjusted in those areas for which it depends upon the sets of customs involved in the unassumed roles. Third, in so far as the qualifications include characteristics which are necessary for performing the role, it is a way of making sure that the one who assumes the role can adequately perform the behavior involved in the role.

Roles are either ascribed or achieved (17). An *ascribed role* is one which the group assigns to the individual on the basis of characteristics that he cannot change very easily. In our society, a husband and wife customarily give the role of "son" to their male offspring. An *achieved role* is one which the individual chooses himself. In the United States a man can either remain a "bachelor" or become a "husband"—and supposedly it is up to him to decide which he will be. Thus you can see that a member of a society has a more or less restricted set of potential roles open to him from which to take his actual roles. Some are assumed by him willy nilly, while in the case of others he has a certain leeway.

So far we have considered the normal situation, and the argument has been that people tend to assume the roles for which they are qualified. But actually people often assume roles for which they do not have all the qualifications. This occurs because the assumption of roles is based upon customary qualifications, and their importance in determining who is to assume a role depends upon the relative social value of the various factors that are involved in the situation. (We are excluding from this analysis the obvious fact that customary qualifications can be violated like any other customs.) And so we find a wretched actor becoming a movie idol be-

[16] *New York Times*, Feb 25, 1945, Sec. R, p 10

cause of his big brown eyes, or an incompetent administrator made vice president of a corporation because his father is its president

Indeed, any role can be assumed without having all the qualifications The most striking examples are those dealing with sexual and familial roles There is no necessary relation between biological sex and social sex, biological sexual characteristics are not invariable qualifications for the social roles of "man" or "woman" in any society

[MOHAVE] "A boy may begin to act strangely just as he is about to reach puberty At that time other boys try to act like grown-ups and imitate their elders They handle bows and arrows, ride horses and hunt, and make love to little girls These boys, however, will shun such tasks They pick up dolls and toy with metates just as girls do They refuse to play with the toys of their own sex Nor will they wear a breech-clout They ask for skirts instead They will watch a woman's gambling game which we call the Utah game—as though they were under a spell This game will fascinate them They will try to participate in this game whenever they see it .

"Girls will act just the opposite They like to chum with boys and adopt boys' ways They throw away their dolls and metates, and refuse to shred bark or perform other feminine tasks They turn away from the skirt and long for the breech-clout

"Their parents will eventually notice this strange behavior and comment upon it 'Well, he may be a boy, but he seems to be more interested in the ways of women ' Corresponding comments are made about boyish girls Parents and relatives will sometimes try to bully them into normal behavior—especially the girls, but they soon realize that nothing can be done about it 'If our child wishes to go that way, the only thing we can do is make it adopt the status of a transvestite' " [47]

[UNITED STATES] "My father use to be very humiliated in front of his men friends when they used to tell him how feminine I talk and act Mother too, notice that something was wrong with me for there was something very peculiar about me that only mothers can notice in their own child.—As I grew older it became very noticeable that mother was very much worried I had no boy friends so all my associates were girls Naturally I played all the games that they played and enjoyed them immensely When I was 6 years old I was enrolled in the public school At first I was very lonely but since my distant relatives were also in the same room my mind was greatly relieved At recess I played jump-rope and jacks or anything the girls played during that time I have also had great fear of boys and I just couldn't understand why they act so rough and why they also run around madly As time past by I graduated the grammar school and was finally admitted to Edison High School Well the days passed by and the vacation days was drawing near when I wore my sister's dress and

[47] G Devereux, "Institutionalized homosexuality of the Mohave Indians," *Human Biology*, 9 (1937), (pp 498–527) pp. 502–03

went to school. I don't know what made me do that but somehow almost over night I saw something in boys that I never knew before. I was strangely attracted to them and that I wanted to be made loved. It was a beautiful day in late May and there were music in the air. Even the garden and the skies seems so different from yesterday, why, I never felt so happy and so contented like this before. After my 2 sisters left the house I went to their room and took their dress, jewelrys, purse, etc. I powdered myself and rouged my lip and left the house in her Sunday dress. I even had a Japanese parsol for the sun was so bright. Mother was in the back porch doing the family's laundry so I said from the front, 'Mother I'm going to school now,' and left the house. . . . At last we arrived to the school ground so I naturally went where the girls were and there I met Gracy and she was so surprised that she was dumbfounded. I told Gracy that I wanted to urinate so she and I went to the girls lavatory and I urinate just like she did even to use the paper. . . . My mother began to notice that I was becoming more and more conspicuous than ever. She used to scold me for plucking my brows and powdering my face. . . . I met the most gorgeous boy in my whole life. The boy of my dreams, an answer to a maiden's prayer. He was 18 years old and had chestnut hair. He weighed around 115 and was 5 feet 9. My! he was so handsome that it made my heart flutter just to see him. . . . Everytime I see some nice boys I go daffy and can't control myself so mother was frantic with my difficulties. I just can't understand why I wasn't born a girl instead of being a boy—sometimes I have a strange feeling as if I don't belong in this world at all—that if I die that I will find happiness and contentment like the rest of the people. Several nights ago I went out in woman's clothes and I met the most handsome boy of 21, and he never suspected that I was a boy. He made such ardent love and kissed me so affectionately that it hurt my feelings to think that he wouldn't care for me if he knew that I was a boy. My mind use to be in constant darkness and I felt so dizzy as if I was going to faint or something. I wonder if there isn't anything in this medical world that they can do something to help me either to be a man or to be a female."—(About a month later it was reported to us that the patient had committed suicide.)[48]

And it is possible for a female to assume not only the role of "man," for instance, but also that of "husband" and "father."

[CHUKCHEE] The case of Gacikicheca, that is, of a woman transformed into a man, is still more remarkable than that of the "soft man." I obtained detailed information of only two or three instances. One was of a widow of middle age, who had three half-grown children of her own. She received at first an "inspiration" of a more usual kind, but later the "spirits" wanted to change her to a man. Then she cut her hair, donned the dress of a male, adopted the pronunciation of men, and even learned in a very short time

48 A. J. Rosanoff, *Manual of Psychiatry*, (New York, 1938, 7th ed.), pp. 534–42. Reprinted by permission. Published by John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

to handle the spear and to shoot with a rifle At last she wanted to marry, and easily found a quite young girl who consented to become her wife The transformed one provided herself with a gastrocnemius from the leg of a reindeer, fastened to a broad leather belt, and used it in the way of masculine private parts I have said before that the gastrocnemium of a reindeer is used by Chukchee women for the well-known unnatural vice After some time the transformed husband, desiring to have children by her young wife, entered into a bond of mutual marriage with a young neighbor, and in three years two sons were really born in her family According to the Chukchee interpretation of mutual marriage, they were considered her own lawful children Thus this person could have had in her youth children of her own body, and in later life other children from a wedded wife of hers Another case was that of a young girl who likewise assumed man's clothing, carried a spear, and even wanted to take part in a wrestling contest between young men While tending the herd, she tried to persuade one of the young herdswomen to take her for a husband On closer acquaintance, she tried to introduce the same implement made of a reindeer gastrocnemius tied to a belt, but then was rejected by the would-be bride This happened only a few years ago; the transformed woman is said to have found another bride whom she loves now in her country on the head waters of the Chann River [49]

[UNITED STATES] Some years ago I knew two lesbians in New York who fell in love with one another The dominant one of the pair dressed as, and passed for, a man They were married civilly and went to Florida for their honeymoon About a year later they decided it was time to have a child, but they did not want to adopt "someone else's child" as had other homosexual couples they knew Therefore the "wife" was artificially impregnated The last I heard, the "mother," "father," and "daughter" made up a happy family

The biological and social differences are just as marked in the less unusual cases of familial relations such as progenitor-offspring and parent-child (18) We say that an illegitimate child "has no father " Of course this means that the child has a biological progenitor but no social father—unless we believe that the child resulted from an immaculate conception A father may disown his son, or a son his father, and here the father-son relation is broken while the progenitor-offspring relation remains And the whole point of adoption is to institute a parent-child relation which is different from the progenitor-offspring Other cases vary from one society to another

[TODA] About the seventh month of pregnancy a ceremony is performed, which is called *pursutpimi*, "bow (and arrow) we touch" .

The ceremony of *pursutpimi* is of the greatest importance from the social point of view and the fatherhood of the child depends entirely

[49] W Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp 455–56

upon it The man who gives the bow and arrow is the father of the child for all social purposes, and is regarded as such even if he has had nothing to do with the woman before the ceremony

The ceremony must always be performed during the first pregnancy of a woman and it takes place in any succeeding pregnancy only when it is desired for any reason to alter the fatherhood of the children One of the most serious scandals in Toda society is the birth of a child when the mother has not been through this ceremony

When the wife of two or more husbands (not own brothers) becomes pregnant, it is arranged that one of the husbands shall perform the ceremony of giving the bow and arrow The husband who carries out this ceremony is the father of the child for all social purposes, the child belongs to the clan of this husband if the clans of the husbands differ and to the family of this husband if the families only differ When the wife again becomes pregnant, another husband may perform the *pursutpimi* ceremony, and if so, this husband becomes the father of the child, but more commonly the *pursutpimi* ceremony is not performed at all during the second pregnancy, and in this case the second child belongs to the first husband, i.e., to the husband who has already given the bow and arrow Usually it is arranged that the first two or three children shall belong to the first husband, and that at a succeeding pregnancy (third or fourth), another husband shall give the bow and arrow, and, in consequence, become the father not only of that child, but of all succeeding children till someone else gives the bow and arrow

The fatherhood of a child depends entirely on the *pursutpimi* ceremony, so much so that a dead man is regarded as the father of a child if no other man has performed the essential ceremony [50]

[UNITED STATES] A wife may have a child by a man other than her husband, but if the society is either unaware of the fact, or knows and accepts it, the woman's husband is its father

Symbols of roles

Categories are usually symbolized, and roles, which are categories of sets of customs, are therefore also symbolized

[MASAI] "The reason why women wear necklaces of iron and ear rings (called 'sirutya') is in order that it shall be known that they are married

"The Masai circumcise girls when they grow up, and these ornaments are worn to make a distinction between girls and women

"For if the women were left without the iron necklaces or the ear rings, it could not be ascertained whether they were women or girls

"A Masai girl who has been circumcised is not called girl but woman That is to say, she is called young woman until she gives birth to a child

"Even if she is very young, she is considered to be grown up as soon as she has been circumcised

50 W H Rivers, *The Todas* (London, 1906), pp 319, 322, 517–18

"A woman is recognizable by three things, the ear-rings, the iron-necklace, and the big garment, none of which girls possess

"Girls wear beads, small pieces of iron wire (called seengani), and other trifles round their necks, and a small cloth They also have chains in their ears, and armlets and anklets of iron

"They wear one garment and a belt round their waists similar to the warriors

"Women wear nothing round their waists except a broad belt with which they fasten their garments " [51]

[UNITED STATES] The role of a married woman is symbolized by the word "wife," the title of "Mrs ," assumption of her husband's family name, and the wearing of a ring in the form of a narrow band on the third finger of the left hand

The symbols of a role reinforce the rights and duties involved in the role The symbols of his role remind the individual of the customary behavior involved in the role, which increases his tendency to conform to those customs. As for other people, the symbols of the role are a means by which they categorize the individual and respond to him in the customary ways which apply to that role

[WESTERN EUROPE] "But now there is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparell in Ailgna [England], and such preposterous excesse thereof, as every one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparell he lust himselfe or can get by anie kind of meanes So that it is verie hard to knowe who is noble, who is worshipfull, who is a gentleman, who is not for you shall have those which are neither of the nobylitie, gentilitie, nor yeomanry, no, nor yet anie Magistrat, or Officer in the common welth, go daylie in silkes, velvets, satens, damasks, taffeties, and such like, notwithstanding that they be both base by byrthe, meane by estate, and servyle by calling. This is a great confusion, and a general disorder God be mercyfull unto us!" [52]

When social interaction is primary, people usually categorize each other on the basis of their knowledge of one another's life history But when social interaction is secondary, about the only practical way to categorize anyone is by means of the characteristics he exhibits at the time, particularly those which are taken as symbolic of a role

The tribes and even the clans of the Rwala [Bedouins] differ not only in their dialect, but also in their dress All Rwala wear the same dress, but of different colors, cut, and ornament If a Rwejli sights a troop of riders

[51] A C Hollis, *The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), pp 282–83

[52] P Stubbs, *The Anatomie of Abuses* [1583], ed F J Furnivall (New Shakespere Society, *Publications* [ser 6] 4, 6, 12) (London, 1877–82), I, p 34

in the distance, he can tell at once whether they are Rwala and of what clan He knows this from their saddles and decorations on their saddle-bags, the color of their kerchiefs, mantles, boots, the fashion in which they are dressed, their style of sitting in the saddle, etc He can distinguish from afar a Fregi from a Kwecbi, and these from a Murazi Still greater are the dissimilarities between the Rwala and the Sba'a or Skur A stranger needs months in which to learn the differences in the dress of the various Aneze tribes—and years before he is able to distinguish the members of the different clans of the same tribe [53]

[UNITED STATES] "To liken the world of cultivated society to a fraternity, with the avoidance of certain seemingly unimportant words as the sign of recognition, is not a fantastic simile People of the fashionable world invariably use certain expressions and instinctively avoid others, therefore when a stranger uses an 'avoided' one he proclaims that he 'does not belong,' exactly as a pretended Freemason proclaims himself an 'outsider' by giving the wrong 'grip'—or whatever it is by which Masons recognize one another

"Appearance, on the other hand, often passes muster For example, Miss Nobackground and Miss Oldlineage, standing side by side, are equally attractive to look at, equally graceful, and wear equally good clothes But the moment they speak the difference in their social backgrounds is made plain Let Miss Nobackground, for example, say 'Hully Gee,' or call out to her friend, 'Say, Murree, the new drapes in my home are dandy,' and what is her background then? On the other hand, Miss Oldlineage, in the vernacular of today, may very well say 'It looks swell,' answer 'Fine' when asked how she is, and speak of a 'boy-friend or girl-friend' and yet leave the impression of her background intact The reason why 'say,' 'drapes' and 'dandy' are still outcast, whereas 'swell,' 'boy-friend' and 'fine' have been allowed to climb the social ladder and be welcomed everywhere, is something which must merely be reported as a fact but which cannot be explained. Not all the dressmakers, milliners and beauty experts in the world, however, can camouflage the complete history of family origin made clear by speech " [54]

If he shows those characteristics he is categorized as having the role.

In an edition of the *Boston Herald* for December 15, 1924, were found nine portraits of persons represented in the day's news The reproductions were unusually clear and were uniformly about two by three inches in size They were placed without identification upon a sheet of paper and numbered from 1 to 9 The individuals pictured were as follows Edouard Herriot, at that time Premier of France, James Duncan, Vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, Leonid Krassin, first Ambassador of the Soviet Government at Paris, Joseph W McIntosh, Deputy Comptroller of the Currency, Martin H Glynn, former Governor of New York, Max

[53] A Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (American Geographical Society, *Oriental Explorations and Studies,* 6) (New York, 1928), p 134 [54] E Post, *Etiquette* (1940 ed), pp 85–86

Agel, arrested as a bootlegger, Charles M Schwab, of the United States Steel Corporation, Howard Heinz, manufacturer of food products, and Senator George Wharton Pepper, of Pennsylvania In the first aspect of the experiment, the subjects were informed that the sheet contained the pictures of a bootlegger, a European premier, a bolshevik, a United States Senator, a labor leader, an editor-politician, two manufacturers and a financier They were asked to identify these individuals by number .

In the case of Krassin, the Soviet Envoy, a wing collar, Van Dyke beard and a moustache contribute to an appearance that may be described as distinguished, and which no doubt led to 59 identifications as the United States Senator, in comparison with 9 as a bolshevik and none as a labor leader Senator Pepper received as many or more identifications as labor leader, bolshevik, financier, editor-politician, and manufacturer than he received in his own senatorial capacity The largest number of correct identifications was made in the case of the alleged bootlegger This individual alone among his associates in the gallery, is pictured in out-door costume He is shown in a heavy overcoat with turned-up collar, a cap, tortoise-shell glasses and cigar gripped firmly between his lips

The appearance of each of these men as portrayed could be described for one reason or another as striking, in comparison with the others In the case of each, it is safe to assert, one or more stereotypes, held in common among the judges, were evoked

The existence of common stereotypes concerning the appearance of various classes of persons (senators, bootleggers, etc) is clearly indicated . .

Estimates of intelligence and craftiness, presumably based upon the features portrayed, are in reality influenced by the supposed identity of the portrait, i e , by the stereotype of the supposed occupational or social status held in the mind of the examiner [55]

As a result, an individual can have himself categorized as having a role by showing the symbols of the role without possessing the most important qualifications for that role, this is *putting on a front* or *passing* (19)

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Hood an asse, with reverend purple,
So you can hide his two ambitious eares,
And, he shall passe for a cathedrall Doctor " [56]

From all this you can see that the symbols of a role are pretty important, especially in secondary groups Indeed, in the case of roles that have high social value, no one is allowed to use the symbols of the role unless he has actually assumed that role.

[55] S A Rice, "Stereotypes," *Journal of Personnel Research*, 5 (1926–27), (pp 267–76) pp 268–70, 272, 275

[56] B Jonson, *Volpone*, I 2 111–13, in *Works*, V, pp 1–137

I discovered that not only were Ashanti textile designs artistically beautiful, but that each design was standardized, and that they were not flights of colour-fancy run riot Each pattern has its name and in many cases also represents the clan, social status, or even sex of the wearer, or it may refer to some proverbial saying

In olden times the King of Ashanti appeared to hold the "copyright" of all new designs, and these he would either reserve for himself or allocate them to great men or women in the kingdom, these designs became their "tartan" [57]

[UNITED STATES] "It shall be unlawful for any person not an officer or enlisted man of the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, to wear the duly prescribed uniform of the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps, or any distinctive part of such uniform or a uniform any part of which is similar to a distinctive part of the duly prescribed uniform of the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps . .

"Any person who offends against these provisions . . shall, on conviction, be punished by a fine not exceeding $300, or by imprisonment not exceeding six months, or by both such fine and imprisonment" [58]

Related roles and their social interaction

If a society as a whole adjusts through the sets of customs involved in the roles of its members, and it does so through social interaction between its members, the most important aspect of the set of customs involved in any role is the ways in which the individual in that role socially interacts with those in other roles Every culture regulates this behavior by establishing customary relations between those roles upon whose interaction the society depends for certain adjustments, and determining the customary kinds of interaction that take place between them

The customary social interaction between related roles can be analyzed in terms of the reciprocal rights and duties which exist between them. (20) For example, it is the teacher's duty to his pupils to come to class after having studied the material and to instruct them in the subject of the course, it is the teacher's right to have the pupils come to class prepared for the instruction and to try to understand what they are being taught. You can see, therefore, that the duty of one role toward a second is the right of the second from the first, and *vice versa* It follows that the members of a society behave toward each other according to their respective roles And since each

[57] R S Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (Oxford, 1927), pp 234–35

[58] "An act for the national defense [1916]," *U S. Statutes at Large,* 39, Pt 1, (pp 166–217) Sec 125 (pp 216–17)

role involves a distinct set of customs, an individual in any one role acts differently toward people in so far as their roles vary Consider the difference in the behavior of a "gentleman" toward a "lady" in our society, and his behavior toward females in other roles "A gentleman always rises when a lady comes into a room" [59]—but not when the female has the role of "child," "maid," or "governess" The difference was even more striking during the period of medieval chivalry At that time an elaborate set of customs regulated the behavior between gentlemen and ladies [60] But then, as now, one of the qualifications for being a lady was having high social status As a result, not only were women of low status unable to assume the role, but the difference between a gentleman's behavior toward her and toward a lady was greater than it is today. A gentleman had an elaborate set of duties toward ladies with whom he might be in love, but he simply raped any lower class woman who took his fancy

" . the chief rules in love are these twelve that follow

I Thou shalt avoid avarice like the deadly pestilence and shalt embrace its opposite

II Thou shalt keep thyself chaste for the sake of her whom thou lovest

III Thou shalt not knowingly strive to break up a correct love affair that someone else is engaged in

IV Thou shalt not choose for thy love anyone whom a natural sense of shame forbids thee to marry

V Be mindful completely to avoid falsehood

VI Thou shalt not have many who know of thy love affair

VII Being obedient in all things to the commands of ladies, thou shalt ever strive to ally thyself to the service of Love

VIII In giving and receiving love's solaces let modesty be ever present

IX Thou shalt speak no evil

X Thou shalt not be a revealer of love affairs

XI Thou shalt be in all things polite and courteous

XII In practicing the solaces of love thou shalt not exceed the desires of thy lover" [61]

"But lest you should consider that what we have already said about the love of the middle classes [*plebeia*] applies also to farmers [*agricultores*], we will add a little about their love We say that it rarely happens that we find farmers serving in Love's court, but naturally, like a horse or a mule, they give themselves up to the work of Venus, as nature's urging teaches them to do . And if you should, by some chance, fall in love with

[59] Post, *op cit* (1st ed), p 22 [60] Andreas Capellanus, *De amore*.
[61] *Ibid*, 1 6 D (pp 105–06), *cf ibid*, 2 8 (pp 310–12)

some of their women, be careful to puff them up with lots of praise and then, when you find a convenient place, do not hesitate to take what you seek and to embrace them by force For you can hardly soften their outward inflexibility so far that they will grant you their embraces quietly or permit you to have the solaces you desire unless first you use a little compulsion as a convenient cure for their shyness We do not say these things, however, because we want to persuade you to love such women, but only so that, if through lack of caution you should be driven to love them, you may know, in brief compass, what to do." [62]

The customary social interaction between related roles tends to be based upon reciprocity and equivalence A role which involves duties toward another role usually has rights from it, (21) and, in most cases, these rights and duties are more or less equal in social value

[PALESTINE] An expression of the strict rule of recompense which prevails in their lives is the proverb "All is debt even the tear in the eye . . ." This means that even the customary exhibitions of sympathy with another in his sorrow creates a debt, if a woman weeps at the death of anyone, the latter's relatives must go and weep with her when one of her relatives dies Nothing is to be had for nothing, sorrow as well as joy, both are debts [63]

[UNITED STATES] "One good turn deserves another" [64]

One aspect of the interaction between related roles calls for special mention If the difference between these roles is socially unimportant, the interaction between them is informal, however, if the difference is socially important, the interaction is ceremonial Such ceremony, of course, serves to symbolize the high social value of the difference. There are two circumstances in which this occurs. One is when there is an important difference in the relative social value of these roles, the other, when the roles represent either one or more important segments of the society

[ANUAK] One of the first sights that strike a visitor to Anuak country is the crouching of the people when they approach or walk across the line of vision of their village headmen . . .

Commoners treat all nobles, not only the ruler of their village, with considerable respect and they have a special manner of greeting them A man who sees a noble frequently does not salute him any more than he daily salutes his fellow villagers, but when he is on a visit to a village he

[62] *Ibid*, 1 11 (pp 235–36)

[63] H Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, I, pp 130–31.

[64] W. G Smith, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1935), p 312

will greet any prince residing there if he goes to his court Commoners salute one another with the special salutation of their clans In greeting a noble nothing is spoken The commoner squats crossed-legged in front of him and slips the cloth he is wearing off his shoulders leaving his body bare from the waist upwards. If he is wearing beads across his breast he removes them He then rubs together the palms of his hands a few times, spits on them, and rubs them on his hair Meanwhile the noble, seeing that the man is about to salute him, places his hand, palm downwards, or sticks a leg out, sole downwards, on his mat After having rubbed his hands on his hair the commoner gently passes them over the hand or foot of the noble who pays no attention to what is going on and gives no kind of response If a noble calls a man he answers "c i b e r" It is not a greeting but an acknowledgment When greeting a man of noble birth who has not yet been invested with noble rank one uses the salutation of Jowatong lineages "n y i k e n." When approaching a noble a man bends almost double from the waist If he is passing a noble some way off he stoops slightly Women when approaching or passing any adult male crawl on hands and knees When a noble of any importance is passing along a path boys kneel, men step aside, place their spears on the ground, and stoop, while women enter the grass at the side of the path and kneel there When an old noble blesses a younger one the youth cups his hands and holds them out to the older man who spits in them A noble will not sit on the bare ground, but always waits for a skin to be spread as a seat Sons of nobles sit on the bare ground before they are invested with noble rank When one noble visits another his host salutes him by placing a skin at the entrance to his hut for him to sit on [65]

[UNITED STATES] "Salutes shall be exchanged between officers and between officers and enlisted men on every occasion of their meeting, passing near, or being addressed, except as indicated Juniors shall always salute first When several officers in company are saluted, all shall return the salute " [66]

[LEPCHA] When he is in his father-in-law's house the groom is under considerable restraint, he must be modest and circumspect in his language and behaviour and must be consistently respectful to his bride's parents and elder siblings [67]

[UNITED STATES] " a gentleman is always presented to a lady

"When a gentleman is introduced to a lady it is her place to offer her hand or not, as she chooses . .

" every gentleman stands for as long as his hostess or any other lady does .

"When a gentleman stops to speak to a lady of his acquaintance in the street, taking his hat and his glove off are customary

[65] E E Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo Egyptian Sudan* (London School of Economics, *Monographs on Social Anthropology*, 4) (London, 1940), pp 39, 62

[66] U S Navy Department, *Navy Regulations* (Washington, 1941), Art 266 1, *vide ibid*, Arts 254, 267–68, 1138

[67] G Gorer, *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938), p 325

"A gentleman always rises when a lady comes into a room

". . . modern rules of behavior approve of his walking on the curb side of the pavement or on the lady's left as he chooses, but not on her right and away from the curb at the same time

". it is always more polite that a gentleman seat a lady on his right " [68]

Next, one kind of ceremonial interaction needs further consideration, namely, *avoidance*, or limiting the amount and kind of social interaction which takes place between the related roles (22)

[THEMBU] . a daughter-in-law is required to "hlonipa" her father-in-law, and all her husband's male relations in the ascending line, that is, to be cut off from all intercourse with them She is not allowed to pronounce their names, even mentally, and whenever the emphatic syllable of either of their names occurs in any other word, she must avoid it, by either substituting an entirely new word, or at least, another syllable in its place Hence this custom has given rise to an almost distinct language among the women The emphatic syllable which she must not pronounce, is that which immediately follows the prefix of the proper name

She is not allowed to enjoy their company, nor to be in the same hut with them, nor is she supposed even to look at them She may however associate with her husband's relations in the collateral line of relationship .

This custom places the son in-law also under certain restrictions towards his mother-in-law He cannot enjoy her society, or remain in the same hut with her, nor can he pronounce her name

He may however pronounce other words, although they may contain the emphatic syllable of her name, nor does this custom require that the son-in-law should avoid the society of any of his mother-in-law's relations, even in the ascending line

The daughter-in-law must to a certain extent "hlonipa" her mother-in-law also, for instance, she cannot uncover her head, nor any other part of her body which is usually kept covered, in her presence

If a female *wilfully* commits breaches of this custom, she loses caste; and should any misfortunes befall the kraal on which she resides, and a priest be sent for, he would most probably fix upon her as the cause thereof, and she would then be punished as a witch The dread of this, together with their own superstitious fears of incurring the displeasure of the 'imishologu," are an effectual preventive to any *wilful* breaches of this custom I say *wilful* breaches, because, until practice has made them perfect, young married women often commit mistakes with regard to this custom, which are of course overlooked [69]

[UNITED STATES] Avoidance is customary between men and women, par-

[68] Post, *op cit* (1940 ed), pp 4, 11–12, 25, 36, 40

[69] J C Warner, "Notes," pp 95–96 in *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, ed J Maclean (Mount Coke, 1858), pp 57–109

ticularly when they are not kin, in those kinds of social interaction which have a sexual connotation At home they do not use the bathroom at the same time, while in public places they use separate toilets and washrooms They do not see each other in undress or without any clothes They do not buy one another "intimate" articles such as underwear, stockings, etc They do not tell obscene stories to each other, nor use obscene words in the other's presence They are circumspect in regard to the part of the other's body that they feel free to touch They do not give one another gifts that are "too expensive"

Avoidance reinforces the differences between roles more than any other kind of ceremonial interaction, because it tends to make social interaction secondary rather than primary This has three effects. (a) It reduces the opportunities for learning enough about each other so that the people respond to one another's basically human qualities, instead of to the superficial traits which characterize their different roles

[UNITED STATES] an incident . . occurred in Pottstown, Pa, some time before Pearl Harbor, when Willard Dorang got a letter from a Japanese on the West Coast saying that he had been a buddy of his son, Chuck Dorang, killed in the last war He wanted to visit the family of his old friend

Dorang consulted a Pennsylvania State policeman who had served with his son in France, but who assured him that there was no Jap in their outfit The policeman suggested that when the Jap arrived he would take great pleasure in pinching the phony

When the Jap did arrive, he began talking very intelligently with the Dorang family about his dead alleged comrade, when suddenly a motorcycle pulled up in front of the house and the cop came inside The family expected an immediate arrest

"Good Lord," yelled the cop, "It's Tokie!"

It was Tokie Slocum, a Japanese American [He is a full-blooded Japanese, the name "Slocum" is that of the couple who adopted him after he was orphaned]. . . .

"In France," explained the policeman afterwards, "we never considered Tokie a Jap He was just another American fighting side by side with his buddies" [70]

Thus the fundamental discriminations made by people in categorizing each other on the basis of their differing roles, is maintained (b) It prevents a sharing of experiences which would result in their developing a common body of customs instead of the differing sets of customs which they possess.

[70] *Washington Post*, June 11, 1943, p 6

[UNITED STATES] [A Christian woman married to a Jewish man stated] "I belong to the sisterhood of a synagogue and all sorts of Jewish organizations I was never formally converted—it came to me gradually over a period of years I go to [the Jewish] temple now, and it fills my needs—it fills my heart I have a *seder* [Passover ceremony] at home, because I like ceremonies We don't have any Christmas tree, it's pretty, but it's against our religion I don't believe in the stories about Jesus He's no deity, he was a fine man, but he had to have a father

"I'm a Jew I've built my life around it The Jews are my people I'm a Jew because I want to be—I've read and studied those old laws The other Jewish women are Jewish because they can't help themselves; I feel that I'm more Jewish than they are, sometimes

"I've learned quite a lot of Jewish [i e , Yiddish] I cook only in the Jewish style

"I don't like to hear remarks against the Jews Once in a P T A there was some discussion against the Jews, and I got up and said my little piece, at the end I told them that they were discriminating against me. They laughed and thought I was crazy, but then I told them that I was Jewish " (Of Scandinavian descent, she is Nordic-Alpine in physical type, with the former predominating) [71]

(*c*) When there is opposition between the related roles, the limitations on social interaction minimize the opposition in the society—we usually steer clear of those we dislike But this is not the way that avoidance and other forms of ceremonial interaction are rationalized Instead, we attribute to the people in the other roles, such qualities as would in themselves be sufficient grounds for acting toward them as we do.

The data regarding the relation of these affective reactions to the attempted identification of nationalities of the photos [of people] would suggest the hypothesis that the affective reaction occurs first and that the traits assigned to the persons are rationalized justifications for the reactions [72]

We do this by taking those characteristics which seem important to us in our categorization of ourselves, and then include the opposite characteristics in our categorization of the others.

When all the traits are considered together, it is found (*a*) that approved traits tend to be attributed to the citizens of preferred countries, regardless of whether these traits are attributed by the subjects to themselves, (*b*) that disapproved traits which the subjects do not believe to

[71] J S Slotkin, "Adjustment in Jewish-Gentile intermarriages," *Social Forces*, 21 (1942–43), (pp 226–30) pp 227–28.

[72] W S Gregory, "A study of stereotyped thinking," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 13 (1941), (pp 89–102) p 95

characterize themselves tend to be attributed to the people of non-preferred countries, (c) that disapproved traits which the subjects believe to characterize themselves show a slight tendency to be attributed to the people of preferred countries [73]

Which characteristics we choose depends upon the circumstances For example, if the others have higher social value than we do, we may be ignorant and they too intelligent to want to have anything to do with us, therefore we had better keep out of their way On the other hand, if their social value is lower than ours, perhaps we are cleanly, while they are so dirty that no respectable person would want to go near them.

Person

Up to now our analysis has been limited to single roles But members of a society usually have more than one role, and all the roles assumed by an individual constitute his *person* The person, then, is the repertory of parts one plays in society (23)

[UNITED STATES] "I am what is classed as a 'Freshman nit-wit,' and mostly everyone, especially the upper classmen, act to my role in a certain way They categorize me as a young, eager, silly, diligent sort of person the minute they see me, because Freshmen are always thought of in this way The way they categorize me is naturally the way they expect me to act, and therefore, I always do my best to live up to their expectations By this I mean, I use this role when I am here at the University, in classes and on the campus, however, when I go home for the week-end, I change my role entirely

"Take for instance the past week-end On my way home in the car, my mother and I gave several upper classmen from the University a ride They immediately knew I was a Freshman, so I in turn began to expect them to act toward me in a certain way They did I tried to show them how stupid I actually was, and I believe I succeeded Everyone was happy

"Just as soon as I drove up Main Street in M——, my mind seemed to click, and I said to myself, 'Now you'll have to take the role of a brilliant student from the University, because everyone will be expecting it' I certainly did not feel in any way brilliant, but nevertheless, I immediately dropped my role as a Freshman, and became the college student, wise in the ways of the world

"When I saw my father I again changed my role to that of a daughter No, I didn't change it I had been carrying two roles all the way home I had been an 'eager Freshman' and a daughter at the same time, because my mother was along, as well as the upper classmen My mother and father

[73] I L Child and L W Doob, "Factors determining national stereotypes,' *Journal of Social Psychology*, 17 (1943), (pp 203–19) p 219

asked me questions which I expected them to ask and they expected me to answer. There was naturally more love and respect in my actions toward them than I had possessed in my other roles.

"Later that afternoon one of my friends whom I had not seen in three months returned home unexpectedly. The minute she stepped into our house I dropped my other roles and took on the role I held last year as Senior in High School and one of 'the gang.' We used words that I had not spoken in months, and I giggled and whispered and thoroughly enjoyed myself. She expected me to act in this way, and it was my duty to her to do so. I, in turn, expected her to treat me as her friend, not as an old stuffy university student.

"When my friend left our little neighbor girl came into the room and I immediately took my role as a 'big sister.' I could not act silly or brilliant with her, and I knew every action I had to take in this role. I knew she watched every move I made, so I was careful in my every action.

"That night I held three roles at one time. I went swimming with my girl friend, my little neighbor girl, and a boy, better described by others as a sweetheart. When my little neighbor girl and the boy were swimming, I became very talkative and silly with my girl friend; when I was alone with the little girl I played the 'big sister' by teaching her how to swim; when I was alone with the boy I became a university student again, and I even changed my voice to fit this more 'grown up' role."

Thus how we act depends upon the role we are assuming at the time, and as our roles change, our actions must change with them if we are to conform to the different sets of customs involved in our various roles. (24)

[AZANDE] We must bear constantly in mind that a witch doctor only functions as such in ritual situations, namely, in his dual capacity of diviner and leech. In other situations, that is to say, for most of his life, he lives as an ordinary citizen and engages in the routine tasks and recreations of laymen, and his role in them is not different from the roles of men who are not witch-doctors. People do not treat him as a witch-doctor when he is not acting as one. When divining he says and does things that he would not say and do outside a seance, and in their ordinary social contacts Azande never fail to stand up to witch-doctors. They are not afraid of them merely because they have powers of divination and healing, for they only consider them as diviners and leeches on rare ritual occasions.[74]

[UNITED STATES] "I had to notice that the ethics of business and the ethics of politics are such different cultures that a business man in politics will commit sins appalling to the politician, and *vice versa*. Morals are matters of trade or profession and form the ethics they are supposed to be formed by.

"Ethics are professional; they differ in different occupations, and an

[74] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande* (Oxford, 1937), p. 253.

ethical practitioner, formed and fitted in one profession, trade, or business, is apt to be disqualified thereby for another occupation morally as well as technically

" no general ethical principle known to me held in practice, or could hold Only special, professional ethics limited the conduct of men, and these differed so fundamentally that a 'good merchant,' like Mayor Strong of New York, might be a 'bad politician' One reason for this was that, while a business man is trained to meet and deal with the temptations of business, he is a novice and weak before those of politics Another reason is that what is right in business may be wrong in politics Richard Croker, the Tammany boss, was not so 'bad' in business as Mayor Strong was 'bad' in politics Nay, Croker was not so 'bad' in business as he was as a politician When he confessed under public cross-examination that he 'worked for his own pocket all the time' he was denounced and politically doomed But W L Strong, as a merchant, had done that all his life, and he was not condemned for making a profit That was a matter of course in commerce As a successful profiteer, the rich merchant was promoted to be mayor of New York and failed as a reform official because his business ethics and training did not fit him for the job Revising my ethical teachings, therefore, I drew another, more interesting tentative moral theory, viz. that the ethics and the morals of politics are higher than those of business " [75]

The fact that people are persons, complicates social interaction It is relatively simple when we assume successive single roles with different people—to be a pupil while in your teacher's office and a son or daughter when at home with your parents.

[WESTERN EUROPE] " . the vulgar saying is that a man may be the serf of one person and the free man of another, to wit, when he is the serf of any one and holds of him in villenage, he may with the permission of his lord hold freely of another, and so be the free man of another, but no man can be partly a serf and partly a free man, but he is altogether a serf and altogether a free man, which he can be in different respects " [76]

It is even easy when we assume successive roles with the same person.

At times these shifts in role are swift When I was an art student, I was late to class one day My locker was behind the model's screen, and I was in such a hurry that I did not notice that she was not on the stand I dashed to my locker and bumped into the model who was undressing She screamed and covered up, while I mumbled an apology and retreated A minute later she was on the stand, nude, and I was painting her with as much concern as if she were a turnip

75 Steffens, *Autobiography*, pp 180, 328, 408.

76 H de Bracton (d 1268), *De legibus et consuetudinibus angliae*, ed G E Woodbine (*Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts*, 3) (New Haven, 1915–), 197b, tr T Twiss (London, 1878–83)

Usually, though, the shifts are slower A man and woman meet for the first time, and they behave toward each other as acquaintances Later they become friends and act accordingly They are engaged and their behavior changes to that of fiancé and fiancée After they marry they treat each other as husband and wife

The trouble comes when we take different roles simultaneously, either with different people or the same person We sometimes read of a policeman who captures a criminal, only to find that the latter is his own son, the father-son relation comes into conflict with the policeman-criminal

A good example is found in Greek tragedy When Agamemnon returned from the Trojan War he was killed by his wife Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus. The son, Orestes, then slew the murderers The problem is Should Orestes be rewarded for conforming to his duty to his father by avenging his death, or punished for violating his duty to his mother by killing her? Orestes says

"My crime is, I slew my mother, yet on another count this is no crime, being vengeance for my father . . . What ought I to have done? Set one thing against another" [77]

Here, as in other kinds of conflict between actions, the one which is more important is dominant, and the less important is inhibited To return to a previous illustration, in our society a gentleman avenges an insult, but a Christian turns the other cheek, I have often seen Christian gentlemen avenge insults, but I have never seen them turn the other cheek

Here too, we can go to Greek tragedy. Polyneices, brother of Eteocles, the king of Thebes, waged a war to capture the throne, but both brothers were slain in battle The new king, Creon, buried Eteocles, but decreed that Polyneices should be punished for his rebellion by having his corpse remain unburied (which meant that his soul could never go to Hades), anyone who violated the decree would be executed. Antigone, the sister of the dead brothers, had to choose between being a dutiful Theban by conforming to the decree, and being a dutiful sister by burying her brother She chose the latter The following dialogue reveals the relative values involved

"*Creon* Now, tell me thou—not in many words, but briefly—knewest thou that an edict had forbidden this?
Antigone I knew it could I help it? It was public
Cr And thou didst indeed dare to transgress that law?
An Yes, for it was not Zeus that had published me that edict; not such are the laws set among men by the Justice who dwells with the gods below, nor

[77] Euripides, *Orestes*, pp 546-51

deemed I that thy decrees were of such force, that a mortal could override the unwritten and unfailing statutes of heaven For their life is not of to-day or yesterday, but from all time, and no man knows when they were first put forth

"Not through dread of any human pride could I answer to the gods for breaking *these* Die I must

"So for me to meet this doom is trifling grief, but if I had suffered my mother's son to lie in death an unburied corpse, that would have grieved me, for this, I am not grieved " [78]

Status

Since some activities are more important to a group than others, the people are more interested in those roles by which they participate in activities considered to be important

[CARIBOU ESKIMO] . only the shamans have stood out from among the mass, but, be it noted, without actually enjoying any great respect for that reason A clever shaman may possess great power because he is clever and feared, not actually because he is a shaman And a poor shaman never attains the same level as regards respect as an ordinary skilful hunter [79]

As far as any one activity is concerned, roles vary in the extent to which they satisfy the motive for the sake of which the activity is undertaken (25) In our society the customary life goal is wealth, therefore it is better to be a rich banker than a poor scholar

[UNITED STATES] "Social theorists need be meek men, and should stand with head uncovered before the special gifts and services of the men of genius who are working the latter-day miracles of industry and commerce " [80]

[TIBET] "We consider the Church the highest vocation a man can follow, for the lama is following in the footsteps of the Buddha No respect more genuine than our people's for the priesthood, and no Tibetan so poor that he can spare nothing for the Church And every family wishes to have at least one of its sons a priest, many families have more than one son in the Church, the family which has none at all is sad

"It is one of the great differences between your civilization and ours, that you admire the man who achieves worldly success, who pushes his way to the top in any walk of life, while we admire the man who renounces the world, you, the successful man, we, the saint The Tibetan does not struggle for worldly success It would be of no use if he did, for he would get nowhere The top in the hierarchy is that state of incarnate Deity which

[78] Sophocles (496?–406 B C), *Antigone*, 446–68, in *Tragoediae*, ed R C Jebb (Cambridge, 1892–1900), III [79] Birket-Smith, *op cit*, I, p 259

[80] C R Henderson, "Business men and social theorists," *American Journal of Sociology*, I (1895–96), (pp 385–97) p 389

is of heaven . . It will come to you, if at all, through self-effacement, that being the quality we think the mark of a good man, priest or layman .

"Our lamas set the example of living to this ideal of selflessness They devote their lives to the people They live very simply They are abstemious in food and drink, they wear simple clothes, the flowing robes of their Order, they do not want fine houses, a roof over their heads or no roof, it is all the same to them " [81]

Now, if the analysis given in the section on evaluation is true—if the social value of things depends upon the importance of the motives they satisfy and the extent to which they satisfy, and both conditions apply to roles, it is easy to see what makes roles differ in their social value, as they do

[TONGA] The following will be the order in which the different professions will stand as to the respect they may command in society . .

canoe builders
cutters of whale-teeth ornaments
superintendents of funeral rites
stone-masons, or makers of stone coffins
net makers
. . fishermen.
. large house-builders
those who perform the tattoo.
club-carvers
barbers or shavers with shells
cooks
peasants [82]

[UNITED STATES] we had . 26 occupations ranked first by 20 college graduates and then by 20 unskilled and skilled laborers . .
The agreement of these two orders was extremely good . .

PRESTIGE RATING OF OCCUPATIONS

OCCUPATIONS	GRADUATE STUDENTS	LABORERS
Physicians	1	2
Banker, stock and loan broker	2	2
Superintendent of State institution	3	5
Captain in Army or Navy	4	4
Manager of business	5	1

[81] R L King, *The Tibetans* (London, 1926), pp 115–18.
[82] W Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands,* ed J Martin (London, 1817), II, p 96

PRESTIGE RATING OF OCCUPATIONS (*Continued*)

OCCUPATIONS	GRADUATE STUDENTS	LABORERS
Hotel keeper	6	7
Grade school teacher	7	10
Real estate and insurance agents	8	11
Retail trader	9	9
Commercial traveller	10	8
Bookkeepers, cashiers, and accountants	11	11
Foremen	12	6
Farm Proprietors	13	16
Clerks and stenographers	14	12
Policemen	15	13
Skilled factory workers	16	15
Salespeople and clerks	17	17
Train, bus, and streetcar drivers	18	18
Waiters and domestic servants	19	20
Janitors	20	19
Laundry workers	21	21
Unskilled factory workers	22	23
Farm laborers	23	21
Casual laborers	24	25
Coal miners	25	22
Unemployed	26	26[83]

Consequently every society arranges the roles of its members into a hierarchy of superiority and inferiority, which is its *status system* A person's *status* is his position in the status system and is based upon the social value of his index role All people with similar status have the same *standing,* and the *elite* of a society are those people who have the highest standing

[SAMOA] The population was divided into five classes, viz —*Alii, Taula-aitu, Tulafale, Faleupolu,* and *Tangata-nuu* Comprised in these classes are others, as—*Songa, Soa, Taumasina, Atamai-o-alii,* and *Salelelisi,* who were all attendants of chiefs, and privileged persons

The *Alii,* or chiefs, constitute the highest class, and are of various ranks and authority, but the latter is often slight

The *Taula aitu,* "anchors of the spirits," from *taula,* "an anchor," and *Aitu,* "spirit," formed the priesthood, and possessed great influence over the minds of the people They may be classed under four heads, viz Prophets or Sorcerers, Family Priests, Priests of the War Gods, and Keepers of the War Gods

The *Tulafale* were a very powerful and influential class, the real au-

[83] R B Cattell, "The concept of social status," *Journal of Social Psychology,* 15, 1942), (pp 293–308) p 301

thority and control of districts being frequently centered in them. They were the principal advisers of the chiefs, the orators were usually selected from their number, the *Ao*, or titles of districts, were always in their gift, and they had the power, which at times they did not scruple to use, of deposing and banishing an obnoxious chief. They were generally large land-holders, and, in some places, at Leulumoenga, or Upolu, and Matautu, on Savaii, they comprise the leading families, and have the entire control of the settlement. Sometimes they are brought under the power of the chief of the district or settlement, but, as a rule, they are a sturdy class, and do not scruple to speak out plainly to those above them when needed, often saying very unpalatable things, and acting in a determined manner, should the conduct of a chief be obnoxious to them. . . .

The *Fale Upolu* (house of Upolu) are the next in rank and importance. They are also considerable land-owners, and possess much influence. They supply the chiefs with food, receiving from them native property in return, which payment is called *Tonga*, and consists of mats, siapo, or canoes. Sometimes foreign property is given instead of native, when the payment is called *Oloa*. Individuals of this class sometimes take part in the discussions of their public assemblies, and in a variety of ways make their influence felt.

The class called *Tangata nu'u* (or men of the land) are a useful class, although in some sense looked down upon. Their employments are varied: bearing arms in time of war, or cultivating the soil, fishing and cooking, in time of peace. In the distant past their lot was often a hard one, and they smarted under the tyranny of their masters, but of late years things have changed, and their position has been greatly ameliorated. They often attached themselves to some particular chief, varying in numbers according to his influence.

I do not think that direct slavery can be said to have existed amongst the Samoans at any time, though perhaps at times the conditions of the *tangata nu'u*, and especially of the captives taken in war, *tangata taua*, was little if any better than slavery. These unfortunates were looked upon with great contempt by their masters, and many a haughty chief of the olden time would have thought much less of taking the life of one of this class than that of a favorite pigeon.[84]

[UNITED STATES] In Shellstone, the banker stands at the top of the economy and social hierarchy. Economically he is the lord of the community. He knows every one by name and financial standing. In time of financial stress or crisis he is appealed to for aid. The farmers ask his advice about renting a different farm, holding or selling their hogs, buying more land or making improvements on their farms. The merchants and townspeople seek his advice concerning new ventures and are backed by him financially. In case of disputes, legal or personal, he is usually appealed to and his decision is accepted by both parties. In questions involving points of law, his advice is sought. If a land deal is put through, it is usually closed in the bank in the presence of the banker, the latter drawing up the agree

[84] J. B. Stair, *Old Samoa* (London, 1897), pp. 65, 70, 71–75.

ment The authority of Shellstone's despot remains almost unchallenged by rivals or the people themselves

The prestige of the banking families does not rest alone on their occupation Their families were among the oldest settlers in the town and at once took an active part in the economic development of the town by operating one of the first stores Both generations have proven themselves to be stable, balanced and dependable citizens .

The business associates of the banker enjoy a prestige next to that of Barter, the president, whether they may be working in the bank as cashier, assistant cashier, bookkeeper or janitor Incidentally, they are not relatives of the banker, but young men who have been reared in the community and employed in the bank after graduation from high school They rank high in the functional classification of Shellstone The position not only brings them in close contact with the real power in the community, but it is a symbol of the recognition of merit To answer, "He works in the bank," is the equivalent of saying, "He is a good boy, he is honest, he works hard, he is the most intelligent young man in his age group and he is so good that his talents have been recognized by Barter "

Next in the hierarchy are what Shellstone calls "business men" This includes all men who own or operate some kind of a business establishment, regardless of whether he sells material commodities or his own skilled labor The important item is to have a regular place of business The blacksmith and barber are considered as much business men as are the merchants Shellstone places service and permanency of occupation on a par with business ownership As a rule, the employee who works in one store for a long period of time enjoys the same social position and respect as his employer, while the individual, whether entrepreneur or employee, who changes business or occupation frequently is denied the respect and prestige granted the former

The doctor and dentist are included in the business group The agent for one of the railroads at Shellstone for nearly fifty years was classified with the business men

The next class is landowners, including either active or retired farmers Like the business men, they are subject to the same general rules of permanency and stability This group is very close to the business group in prestige In fact, the retired farmers and the old members of the business group freely mingle together socially Formerly the partial isolation of the farmer kept the groups from becoming intimate, but since this barrier has been broken down many members of the two groups associate at the intimate level of social participation

The farm renters, as a group, rank somewhat below the landowners, although here again the factor of permanency and ability complicates the picture The individual who lives on the same rented farm for many years and is a successful farmer enjoys the same social recognition as the landowner On the other hand, the poor farmer who moves from one farm to another at frequent intervals ranks with the occasional or casual laborer .

. the occasional laborers are as indispensable as any other group, but socially they do not mingle with the other classes .

Among the occasional laborers are a number of individuals inclined toward stealing This is not a new group, but has been in existence since the beginning of the town They represent the very bottom of the occasional laboring class They work the least, live in the poorest houses, have the least amount of money and the most children, are shiftless and often dependent upon the community for support Their thefts are usually articles of little value [85]

The term *index role* needs explaining The last section brought out the fact that the members of a society usually have many roles, while we have just seen that the group focuses its attention on those roles having to do with the more important activities Therefore, that role of a person by virtue of which he participates in the group's most important activity is usually taken as the role by which his status is determined, and may therefore be called his *index role*

[CROW] Social standing and chieftainship were dependent on military prowess, and that was the only road to distinction Value was set on other qualities, such as liberality, aptness at story-telling, success as a doctor But the property a man distributed was largely the booty he gained in raids, and any accomplishments, prized as they might be, were merely decorative frills, not substitutes for the substance of a reputation, a man's record as a warrior [86]

[UNITED STATES] Social position is largely determined by the function which one fulfils in the economic process, and the subjective evaluation placed upon that function by the community

But the economic position of the individual is not the only factor in his classification It is modified by the concept of permanency of occupation and stability of character The individual who frequently changes occupations or employers is grouped with the lower classes, regardless of his occupation at the time being [87]

But not all members of the society have roles which permit them to participate directly in the important activities In that case their status depends upon the *key member* of their group, i e , the one whose index role determines the status of some group to which he belongs, and the index role of the others is their role as members of the group which gives them their status For instance, in our own society a wife and young children do not work customarily, and

[85] E H Bell, "Social stratification in a small community," *Scientific Monthly*, 38 (1934), (pp 157-64) pp 157-60

[86] R Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (New York, 1935), p 215

[87] Bell, "Social stratification," p 157

therefore have no roles which directly participate in economic activities, then status therefore usually depends upon the *status* of the husband and father as head of the family.

[UNITED STATES] The married women of the community enjoy the social standing earned by their husband's function in the economic process [88]

Status is either achieved or ascribed If the index role of the individual or group is achieved, the status system is a *class system* and people of the same standing are categorized as being of the same *class.*

[CROW] There were four normal types of creditable exploit leadership of a successful raid, capturing a horse picketed within a hostile camp, being first to touch an enemy , and snatching a foeman's bow or gun A man who had scored at least once on each of these counts ranked as a batsetse Such men formed a body of social leaders, on the other hand, to lack all these standardized points was to be a nobody
eminence rested on individual merit [89]

If the index role of the individual or group is ascribed, the status system is a *stratified system* and people of the same standing belong to the same *stratum*

Every Vedda belongs to a *waruge* or clan, as the term may be translated, and among a large number of the Vedda communities still existing, exogamy is the absolute rule Further, with exogamy is associated descent in the maternal line, so that the fundamentals of the social system of the Veddas may, perhaps, be summed up as a clan organization with female descent

. the *waruge* [are] . . .
Morane
Unapane .
Namadewa .
Uru
Aembala
Tala .

The members of the Morane and Unapane clans generally considered themselves superior to the Namadewa, Uru and Aembala *waruge* This feeling was so strong at Henebedda that much difficulty was at first experienced in collecting genealogies Representatives of the Morane, Unapane and Namadewa clans were for the time living at Bendiyagalge caves, and the difference in status between the Morane and Unapane on the one hand, and Namadewa on the other, was felt so strongly that the members of the last-mentioned *waruge* invariably denied their clan, while the

[88] Bell, *ibid*, p 162 [89] Lowie, *op cit*, pp 5–6

Morane and Unapane folk said the Namadewa were their servants. It seemed clear that in the old days Morane and Unapane folk never married into one of the servile clans, but two or three such marriages had taken place within recent years, and in every case these marriages were at first denied. The most striking proof of this feeling was evinced when we had came to know all the members of the community and pretence had been largely given up, Sita Wanniya and Poromala, our usual guides, both Morane men, led us one day to the Namadewa chena [cultivated plot]. The Namadewa men immediately began an angry protest. "These people," they said, meaning Poromala and Sita Wanniya, "call us Namadewa, it is not so, we are as good as they," and again on leaving they declared that even if they were not Morane folk they were certainly as good, for had not the eldest born of Kaira the patriarch of Dangala, a Morane man, married a woman from their family? This last statement was proved to be true by the genealogy. As neither we nor our guides said anything to provoke these remarks the intensity of the feeling cannot be doubted. At the Bandaraduwa there were only Morane and Unapane men, but they said that Uru *waruge* were their servants, and that some people of this clan lived near Uniche, Wannaku seen later was doubtless one of these. At the chena settlement at Rerenkadi one woman said the Uru *waruge* were "dirty" people. This was one of the first Vedda communities we visited, and the significance of the remark was not realised at the time. At Dambani the people professed to have forgotten their *waruge*, we therefore surmised that they might belong to one of the inferior clans, and later at Horaborawewa a Vedda boy said his mother was a Namadewa woman from Dambani. Additional evidence in support of this view was furnished by the statements of the Alutnuwara Arachi [headman].

The services that the inferior clans were said to render to other clans were as follows: when big game was shot and fish caught the Namadewa men must carry it, and they must make the creeper ladders for gathering rock honey. How much of this work was really done by Namadewa people is extremely difficult to say, it is scarcely credible that when living apart from the servile clans the Morane and Unapane men would send for them to carry a kill, but when Poromala of Henebedda (Morane) had killed a deer and cut it up on the *talawa* [jungle glade] near our camp, it was noticed that Kalua, a Namadewa boy who had not been hunting, came down from the cave and carried back the greater part of the meat.[90]

The status system is a means of social control. Since people act in order to reach their life goal as completely as possible, they try to assume a more highly valued index role whenever they can.

Striving for status is generally directed in the channel of the most valued status.[91]

[90] C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas* (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 30, 71–72, 78–79.

[91] H. H. Hyman, *The Psychology of Status* (*Archives of Psychology*, 269) (New York, 1942), p. 90.

Questionnaires were filled out by 273 employed men, ages 20 to 68 The major findings were as follows

1 Slightly over 60 per cent of the group were satisfied with their jobs

2 There is a significant, but not linear, relationship between occupational level and job satisfaction

3 Two occupational scales were found to exist one of white collar workers, the other of manual

5 Amount of change of occupational level had little, direction of change considerable, effect on job satisfaction

8 "Aspiration discrepancy," or size of the gap between present occupational level and the level aspired to, is negatively related to job satisfaction [92]

This in turn reinforces the value system which is reflected in the status system

Cultural complexity

The number of customs which constitute any culture have never been counted, not only because it has not seemed important to most students, but also because no one has ever been able to establish criteria by which a standard unit of customary behavior can be delimited Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to assume that there are more customs in some cultures than in others If that is so, a *simple culture* is one which consists of relatively few customs, while a *complex culture* is composed of many The monographs on the Arunta, for example, leave me with the impression that if an ethnographer stayed among them long enough he could learn all their customs On the other hand, our own culture consists of so many customs that it is humanly impossible for anyone to master them all

Cultural diversity

Though in our discussion so far we have assumed that the members of a society tend to conform to the same body of customs, this is actually found in few cases because of other modifying factors

When people have slightly differentiated roles, their culture is simple, and if their society is also simple, they do tend to conform to a common body of customs When this is so, the culture is *homogeneous*

[92] D E Super, "Occupational level and job satisfaction," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 23 (1939), (pp 547-64) pp 561-62

But the usual state of affairs is much more complicated. It is true that almost all the members of a society learn some of its customs, in our own society most people know enough about our monetary system to be able to give the right amount of money when they buy something, or to give change. However, the vast majority of societies are either moderately or highly differentiated, and often have a fair amount of cultural complexity as well.[93] In such cases the members are so specialized that they are most familiar with the customs involved in their own repertory of roles, know a little about the customs involved in some of the other roles, and remain pretty ignorant of the customs involved in many more.

[TIKOPIA] In some spheres there is little scope for the accumulation and use of differential knowledge. In agriculture the techniques employed are so simple and so few that knowledge of them is shared by all the people. It is significant here that there is no special term for a skilled agriculturalist, but merely a term for an industrious one (te mafi). On the ritual side differential knowledge is exercised by the chiefs and elders, they assume the direction of the major ritual of planting and harvest, and are credited with general powers of controlling rain, sunshine, and storms. But it is not so much a matter of the possession of special knowledge per se, as of the upkeep of this knowledge, because of the functions with which they have been endowed by the ritual system itself.

In fishing, especially deep-sea fishing, and in some other crafts, knowledge of the technical processes and of the associated ritual is unequally distributed. As could be expected, it is linked with special manual aptitude in them. Here are terms not for industrious persons as such, but for skilled, knowledgeable persons, such as *tufuna* (expert craftsman), *tautai* (sea-expert), and *tanata o atu* (Man of bonito) (see later). One effect of the possession of such knowledge lacking in others is the opportunity of enlarging one's resources. This is done by resort to fishing banks not commonly known, or use of a special technique at times when the fish refuse all others, or, in the case of a craftsman, by more prompt replacement of his implements, or by gaining goods in payment for his work for others, or to a small extent by the securing of a material return for the imparting of his knowledge to others. Important as an inducement to the acquisition of such personal knowledge, however, is the prestige that it obtains.

I did not obtain any accurate measure of the possession of economic lore by different sections of the population. But on the whole chiefs are more knowledgeable than commoners. This is due in the first place to their superior opportunities for receiving instruction. A young man who is regarded as the probable heir to the chieftainship is told by his father and

[93] Cultural complexity is not necessary for the development of esoteric customs, for societies with simple cultures may have *secret societies*, i.e., groups that do not communicate their customs to non members.

by other elders a great deal of ritual information which is not imparted to others not in the line of succession Again, the context of chieftainship itself tends to promote a more elaborate equipment of information because on so many occasions the chief must take the initiative and must recite the appropriate formulae Hence if he succeeds to the chieftainship without having received from his father a proper store of knowledge, he will apply to his father's brother, or even his father's sister or to another chief who is known to have been well instructed A basket of food is the appropriate introduction to such request On the whole, too, elderly men are more knowledgeable than younger men, if only for the reason that they have had many more opportunities of exchanging opinions, hearing traditional stories, correcting ideas and filling in the gaps Again, a younger man of rank will not normally know as much as his father because in native belief if a chief or elder imparts the last vestiges of his ritual knowledge to his son, then gods regard that as a sign that he is finished with the affairs of this world and will soon make him die Only when he is very old or ill does he divulge the information

The Ariki Kafika gave me a formula designed to bring about the punishment of men who cut coco-nut fronds for thatch in defiance of a *tapu* consequent upon the roofing of the Kafika temple He said that this formula was kept hidden by the chief from all but his eldest son, and that in his own case it was still concealed from his son Pa Fenuatara The reason he gave me was that it was one of the few items he was keeping back lest his gods should say among themselves, "Now indeed his things there have been made known completely to his son He there, is he dead?" He added that when he would be old and no longer able to walk about he would tell his son to come and pillow on his arm, would cover him with his own blanket and tell him all the formulae of the kava and his complete set of ritual knowledge Then he would say, "Now you speak to see if it is complete, that I may listen " His son would then repeat all he had learnt and he would correct him and make additions When he was satisfied he would say, "Now your things have become complete " He could then prepare himself for death This system obviously means that there is considerable possibility of a failure in the full transmission of lore

But it is recognized that there is considerable variation in the knowledge which individual men of rank possess Some, like the father of the present Ariki Taumako, were renowned for what they knew, and other people went to them to fill in gaps for use in their own ritual Others again are credited with having a great store of knowledge, but with being somewhat erratic Such is Pa Torokina A few others again are recognized as having had memories—*roto naronaro*, "losing insides" as the Tikopia put it Such a man was the elder, Pa Farekofe, who acknowledged to me that he could not remember the names of his ancestors properly and got them out of order in the kava invocations—he mixed them up thoroughly, though honestly, on the several occasions he told them to me The Ariki Taumako, a much younger man, told me in fact that before performing a kava ceremony, Pa Farekofe went to him to have the names of his ancestors recited to him so that he hold them in his mind for a brief space One further

factor which makes for differentiation in knowledge is the refusal by some men to acquire an elaborate store of ritual information, holding that this would be infringing upon the position of their relative, the chief. Such a man was Pa Tarikitona, the noted Taumako craftsman.

What has been said above refers primarily to the knowledge of ritual procedure, names of the gods and the like. To some extent the distribution of purely technical knowledge follows the same pattern, though here there is more tendency for younger men to acquire a fund of information which they can put to immediate practical use. But on the whole I found, naturally enough, that elderly men had a much greater range of knowledge and were much more conversant with precise details than the younger men. Moreover, there is no rigid separation between technical and ritual knowledge, and the recognition of certain men, either chiefs or commoners, as experts means that they are not only skilled above the average in actual performance of a craft, and know more about its technical details, but that they have a greater body of knowledge about the ritual which pertains to it.

I am able to say very little about the distribution of knowledge among women. Certain women are credited with special skill in crafts and can explain the technical details better than others. On the whole women in Tikopia know very much less about the ritual side of institutions than do men. But they have some definite ritual functions to perform. Again, although a woman is not the normal repository of the ritual lore of a kinship group there are occasions when she is made so. If a man who has no brothers is contemplating an extended sea voyage, and is leaving his young son behind, he may instruct his sister in the essentials of the family ritual. It will then be her duty to pass on this knowledge to the boy when he is of an age to retain it.[94]

[UNITED STATES] "The day has passed when a scientist could know all that is known in his own science, let alone all the sciences in the culture. As an anthropologist, I hope I know something about social anthropology, and I think I know a little about physical anthropology, archaeology, ethnography, and ethnology, but I am painfully aware of my ignorance of much information that has been gathered in all these branches."

Customs can therefore be divided into the exoteric and esoteric. They are *exoteric* when most participants in the culture are familiar with them, they are *esoteric* if known only to relatively few. The third factor to be considered is social complexity. To the extent that groups are socially distant from one another, the members of an isolated group do not have opportunities to learn how outsiders behave. And in so far as they have little direct social interaction with outsiders, there is no need for a member of the group to coordinate his own social acts with theirs. Thus social complexity is not a con-

[94] R. Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy*, pp. 102–05.

dition which produces conformity to a common body of customs. And when taken in conjunction with the results of social differentiation and cultural complexity, the effect is that sub-societies tend to develop sub-cultures of their own (26). When groups within a society act according to substantially different bodies of custom, the culture is *heterogeneous*.

> [WESTERN EUROPE] "Two nations, between whom there is no intercourse and no sympathy, who are as ignorant of each other's habits, thoughts, and feelings, as if they were dwellers in different zones, or inhabitants of different planets, who are formed by a different breeding, are fed by a different food, are ordered by different manners, and are not governed by the same laws . . . THE RICH AND THE POOR." [95]

A striking example of the real differences between the sub-cultures in our own heterogeneous culture seems [96] to be the existence of books of etiquette. Books of etiquette, or their analogues, seem to appear in complex societies during periods of social mobility. At that time people from one sub-society become members of another, and since each sub-society has its own sub-culture, the mobile individual does not know the customs of his new group. No one has to be tutored in the daily folkways of his own group, for he has learned them informally since infancy.

> [WESTERN EUROPE] "Manners are not taught in lessons," said Alice. "Lessons teach you to do sums, and things of that sort." [97]

But when he goes into another group—either in a different society or his own—where the customs vary, he must deliberately learn how to act. A tourist in a foreign country buys a travel guide, the social climber buys a book of etiquette.

> [UNITED STATES] "In the general picture of this modern day the smart and the near-smart, the distinguished and the merely conspicuous, the real and the sham, and the unknown general public are all mixed up together. The walls that used to enclose the world that was fashionable are all down. Even the car tracks that divided cities into smart and not-smart sections are torn up." [98]

[95] B. Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield, *Sybil* [1845], p. 77, in *Novels and Tales* (London, 1926–27), IX.

[96] I say "seems" because the thesis of this paragraph is an unverified hypothesis of mine.

[97] C. L. Dodgson, *Through the Looking Glass* [1872], p. 252, in *Complete Works of Lewis Carroll* (New York, n.d.), pp. 133–372.

[98] Post, *op. cit.*, (1910 ed.), pp. x–xi.

Folk culture and civilization

We have examined a number of separate characteristics of culture But some of these are usually found together, and therefore it is convenient to classify cultures into folk cultures and civilizations A *folk culture* is simple and homogeneous, a *civilization* is complex and heterogeneous.

Historical References

(1) "Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society"—E B Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, p 1

(2) " a government is a structure of various parts so closely joined together, that it is impossible to shake one part without the whole body feeling the concussion"—M de Montaigne, *Essais*, I 1, p 165

(3) "It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit, and those things which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves, whereas new things piece not so well but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity"—F Bacon, *Essays*, "Of innovations"

(4) "The social structures are adaptations to past conditions, and so can never be completely in accord with the new circumstances The nature of the novel situations to which adaptation of the instinctive and customary activities must be made varies from the everyday difficulties to the most dangerous crises"—E Mumford, "The origins of leadership," *American Journal of Sociology*, 12 (1906–07), (pp 216–40, 269–97, 500–31) p 233

(5) " at the feasts celebrated in honor of the gods, the strictly forbidden incest could recur as holy orgy

"This recurrence of the prohibited is no simple regression, which allows the antisocial to revive again, but for its accomplishment, the way is over conditions of phantasy ideas, and if leaving the domain of the purely mental, they finally culminate in actions, then, these actions are carried out entirely with phantastic symbolic elements For the facilitation of this compromise between phantasy and reality, the cultic performance in reference to time and place is taken from the everyday affairs and elevated above them In this way, the encroachment on customary social relations is prevented, so that in spite of the carrying out of the unallowed, no friction with the cultural demands threatens

"All these religious practices, as compromise products, have a double face *their effect consists in the facilitation of the renunciation of the gratification of socially hostile instincts, their essence lies in their allowing, partly, merely in the myth creating phantasy, partly, by cultistic and ritualistic practice, the forbidden acts represented in this phantasy.*

"With the increasing demands of the repression, the limited festal manner of celebration is felt as improper and no longer permitted in undisguised form In its place appears a series of ritualistic acts in symbolic circumlocution "—O Rank and H Sachs, *Die Bedeutung der Psychoanalyse fur die Geisteswissenschaften* (*Grenzfragen des Nervenund Seelenlebens*, 93) (Wiesbaden, 1913), p 61, tr C R Payne (New York, 1916)

(6) "In proportion as habit makes us execute them with more ease and promptitude, it restrains our faculties and hinders them from being extended outside of the same circle

"It is well known with what difficulty (particularly at a certain age) the words of a foreign language are articulated, it may be contrasted only with the automatic facility with which the mother tongue is spoken "—P Maine de Biran, *Influence de l'habitude sur la faculté de penser* [1803], pp 189–90, in *Oeuvres*, ed P Tisserand (Paris, 1920–), II, tr M D Boehm (Baltimore, 1929)

(7) "All ages and countries have given a preference, not seldom unjustly, to some particular science, while they permitted others to languish and sink into a contempt equally unreasonable Thus Logic and Metaphysics under the successors of Alexander, Polity and Elocution during the Roman republic, History and Poetry in the Augustan age, Grammar and Jurisprudence in that of the Lower Empire, the Scholastic Philosophy in the thirteenth century, and the Belles Lettres, till within the times of our fathers, have all in their turns shared the admiration and contempt of mankind

"Natural Philosophy and the Mathematics are now in possession of the throne "—E Gibbon, *Essai sur l'étude de la littérature* [1761], 2, in *Miscellaneous Works*, ed J Holroyd (London, 1814, new ed), IV, pp 1–93, tr Anonymous (London, 1764)

(8) For every age of the world has a certaine Genius, which over-ruleth the mindes of men, and turneth them to some desires Some ages breath nothing but martiall discipline, and within few yeares, all are againe composed to peace and quietnesse, Sometimes Common-wealths, and sometimes Monarchies are affected by the people, Some Nations, that seemed (as it were) to be borne to barbarisme, in process of time, are brought to perfect civility and in some few ages, are perverted againe to their old barbarisme So the world in generall, did oft flourish with great abilities, and after a while, industry slackening, hath been covered (as it were) with a cloud, and lost "—J Barclay, *Icon animorum* [1616], p 376, in *Euphormionis lusinini* (Oxford, 1634), pp 358–553, tr T May (London, 1633)

(9) "Nor can this change proceede from anything but the Genius, as it were, of this age Whose excellency, when after an appoynted time it shall expire, will give up the world, as it may be feared, unto another, and ruder Genius, and after the expiration of certaine yeares, returne again "—*Ibid*, p 379

(10) " in society, there is a distribution of parts, and a co operation of many, to some common purpose or end "—A Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science*, I, p 21

(11) "This separation is generally carried furthest in those countries which enjoy the highest degree of industry and improvement, what is the work of one man in a rude state of society, being generally that of several in an improved one"—A Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* [1776], ed E Cannan (New York, 1937), p 5

(12) "Of all the results which are produced among a people by their climate, food and soil, the accumulation of wealth is the earliest, and in many respects the most important For although the progress of knowledge eventually accelerates the increase of wealth, it is nevertheless certain that, in the first formation of society, the wealth must accumulate before the knowledge can begin As long as every man is engaged in collecting the materials necessary for his own subsistence, there will be neither leisure nor taste for higher pursuits, no science can possibly be created, and the utmost that can be effected will be an attempt to economize labor by the contrivance of such rude and imperfect instruments as even the most barbarous people are able to invent

"In a state of society like this, the accumulation of wealth is the first great step that can be taken, because without wealth there can be no leisure, and without leisure there can be no knowledge If what a people consume is always exactly equal to what they possess, there will be no residue, and therefore, no capital being accumulated, there will be no means by which the unemployed classes may be maintained But if the produce is greater than the consumption, an overplus arises, which, according to well-known principles, increases itself, and eventually becomes a fund out of which, immediately or remotely, everyone is supported who does not create the wealth upon which he lives And now it is that the existence of an intellectual class first becomes possible, because for the first time there exists a previous accumulation, by means of which men can use what they did not produce, and are thus enabled to devote themselves to subjects for which at an earlier period the pressure of their daily wants would have left them no time"—H T Buckle, *History of Civilization in England* [1857–61] (New York, n d), I, pp. 30–31

(13) "As it is the power of exchanging that gives occasion to the division of labour, so the extent of this division must always be limited by the extent of that power, or, in other words, by the extent of the market When the market is very small, no person can have any encouragement to dedicate himself entirely to one employment, for want of the power to exchange all that surplus part of the produce of his own labour, which is over and above his own consumption, for such parts of the produce of other men's labour as he has occasion for"—Smith, *op cit*, p 17

(14) "Men are endowed with various talents and propensities, which naturally dispose and fit them for different occupations, and are under a necessity of betaking themselves to particular arts and employments, from their inability of otherwise acquiring all the necessaries they want, with ease and comfort This creates a dependance of one man upon another, and naturally unites men into societies"—J Harris, *An Essay upon Money and Coins* (London, 1757–58), I, p 15

(15) "The structure of such organs [as groups] is the result of sociological division of labor The reciprocity between individuals in which all socialization consists, and the special form of which determines the character of the group as such, goes on at first immediately between the separate members of the society as such "—G Simmel, *Soziologie* (Leipzig, 1908), p 537, tr A Small (Chicago, 1897–99)

(16) "It is not without cause or reason that this distinction of rank has been found among men from the very beginning, it is so that every man will stay within the bounds of his own class and be content with all things therein and never presume to arrogate to himself the things that were naturally set aside as belonging to a higher class, but will leave them severely alone "—Andreas Capellanus, *De amore* [*ca* 1185], ed E Trojel (Copenhagen, 1892), p 41, tr J J Parry (New York, 1911)

(17) "[There are] two types of statuses, the *ascribed* and the *achieved* *Ascribed* statuses are those which are assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities . . The *achieved* statuses . are left open to be filled through competition and individual effort " —R Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p 115 Copyright, 1936, by D Appleton-Century Company, Inc

(18) "When necessary, savages define particularly, using such terms as 'he whom I have begotten,' 'he whom I have borne,' according as the father or mother is speaking But the habit of mankind in ordinary talk is for parents to use the same word, as with us both say 'my son,' 'my daughter,' or for both sexes 'my child ' The importance of this practice seems to have been overlooked from its obviousnesses, but it has much significance, showing as it does that father and mother recognize the relation between them and their children are so similar that they habitually use the same word for it Thus the thought of physical kinship passes into what may be called social kinship, referring not to the physical tie, but to the position in the family"—E B Tylor, "The matriarchal family system," *Nineteenth Century*, 40 (1896), (pp 81–96) p 83

(19) " . handsome Apparel is a main Point, fine Feathers make fine Birds, and People, where they are not known, are generally honour'd according to their Clothes and other Accoutrements they have about them, from the richness of them we judge of their Wealth, and by their ordering of them we guess at their Understanding It is this which encourages every Body, who is conscious of his little Merit, if he is any ways able, to wear Clothes above his Rank, especially in large and populous Cities, where obscure Men may hourly meet with fifty Strangers to one Acquaintance, and consequently have the Pleasure of being esteem'd by a vast Majority, not as what they are, but what they appear to be which is a greater Temptation than most People want to be vain "—B Mandeville, *Fable of the Bees*, I, pp 127–28

(20) " . . something proper is due to each person in respect of his particular person "—Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica* [*ca* 1265–73], 2 2 57 4, in *Opera omnia* (Rome 1882– , Leonine ed), IV–XII, tr L Shapcote (London, 1920–25, 2nd ed)

(21) "Though every right implies a corresponding duty, every duty does not imply a corresponding right I therefore distinguish duties into relative and absolute A relative duty is implied by a right to which that duty answers An absolute duty does not answer, or is not implied by, an answering right"—J. Austin, *Lectures on Jurisprudence* [1832], ed R Campbell (London, 1873, 4th ed), I, p 34, *cf. ibid*, I, p 413

(22) "Our theory of avoidance [is that it acts] as a means of establishing status"—E C Parsons, "Avoidance in Melanesia," *Journal of American Folklore*, 29 (1916), (pp 282–92) p 291

(23) "All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts,
His acts being seven ages"
—W Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, 2 7 139–43

(24) "Every honor is originally a standard of a station in life, i e, an appropriate life-form of smaller circles contained within a larger whole By the demands upon its members contained in the group standard of honor the group preserves its unified character and its distinctness from the other groups within the same inclusive association That which we think of as honor in a larger sense than this, as human honor in general, or, otherwise expressed, as purely individual honor, is an abstract idea made possible by effacing the boundaries of the station It is, indeed, impossible to name any single procedure which assails human honor as such, i e, every human being's sense of honor without exception It is a matter of honor with the ascetic to let himself be spit upon, with the girls of a certain African tribe to have as many sexual relations as possible Accordingly the essential thing is the specific idea of honor in narrow groups—family honor, officers' honor, mercantile honor, yes, even the "honor among thieves" Since the individual belongs to various groups, the individual may, at the same time, be under the demands of several sorts of honor which are independent of each other . One may preserve his mercantile honor, or his scientific honor as an investigator, who has forfeited his family honor, and *vice versa*, the robber may strictly observe the requirements of thieves' honor after he has violated every other, a woman may have lost her womanly honor and in every other respect be most honorable, etc"—G Simmel, *Soziologie*, pp 534–35, tr A Small (Chicago, 1897–99)

(25) "Show me the man you honour, I know by that symptom, better than by any other, what kind of man you yourself are For you show me there what your ideal of manhood is, what kind of man you long inexpressibly to be, and would thank the gods, with your whole soul, for being if you could"—T Carlyle, *Latter-Day Pamphlets* [1850], p 255, in *Works*, XX

(26) " set down sound and true distributions and descriptions of the several characters and tempers of men's natures and dispositions .

"[There] are those impressions of nature which are caused by extern fortune, as *sovereignty, nobility, obscure birth, riches, want, magis-*

tracy, privateness, prosperity, adversity, constant fortune, rising per saltum, per gradus, and the like And therefore we see that Plautus maketh it a wonder to see an old man beneficent . . . St. Paul concludeth that severity of discipline was to be used to the Cretans . . . upon the disposition of their country . Sallust noteth that it is usual with Kings to desire contradictories, [etc]"—Bacon, *Advancement of Learning* [1605], pp 434, 436, in *Works*, III, pp 253-491

V

APPROACHES TO THE ENVIRONMENT

In Chapter I we saw that the basic proposition in biology is that a species persists when it adjusts to its environment This means that the organism and its environment[1] must be suited to each other

> Darwinian fitness is compounded of a mutual relationship between the organism and the environment Of this, fitness of environment is quite as essential a component as the fitness which arises in the process of organic evolution
>
> The fitness of the environment is one part of a reciprocal relationship of which the fitness of the organism is the other This relationship is completely and perfectly reciprocal, the one fitness is not less important than the other, nor less invariably a constituent of a particular case of biological fitness[2]

Therefore, not only must the organism modify its behavior to fit in with its environment, but to a large extent it must also modify its environment so as to make it more suitable for it (the organism) (1) These results are produced by the organism's actions

The search for order

We usually act as we do because we believe that certain consequences will follow, i.e., we anticipate the kinds of situations in which we will find ourselves and the effects of our responses upon them (2) If we are in doubt, we do not know how to act. Therefore, if the need for action is great enough, we will construct the beliefs necessary on very little evidence indeed

[1] The *environment* of an organism consists of those characteristics of the external world which have an appreciable effect upon it The environment varies from one locality to another for the same species, and from one species to another in the same locality

[2] L J Henderson, *The Fitness of the Environment* (New York, 1913), pp V, 271–72

[UNITED STATES] "A drowning man will catch at a straw."[3]

If you stop to pay attention to what you are experiencing right now—your immediate experiences—you will discover that you are directly aware of a mass of multifarious and fluctuating patterns of motives, sensations, affects, etc. (3) Thus, all that we are immediately aware of is a body of varied and changing experiences. (4)

Now, we have to act if we are to adjust. And we have just seen that in so far as action is based on belief, we must be able to anticipate situations and the effects of our behavior upon them. But to the extent that we are confronted by ever shifting experiences, no such anticipation is possible and we are at a loss how to act. Therefore, we try to find some order in our experiences—we search for unity and regularity. Unity is needed to discriminate between a situation which requires a response, and the rest of the environment,[4] regularity is necessary in order to anticipate circumstances that do not confront us as yet.

[GREECE] " . . . all critical symptoms follow a norm, as do those that help, those that harm and those that kill. They must be known, that the bad may be shunned and averted, and that the good may be invited, encouraged and welcomed."[5]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Since the human race is exposed to countless dangers respecting the future, it is very necessary that it have the means of learning the future."[6]

To a large extent, the order we find in our experiences is a product of inference. These inferences are the foundation for the beliefs upon which we act. (5)

Since our inferences are the basis for our actions, they are developed in reference to the situations we adjust to. Therefore, in so far as groups are confronted by different situations, they develop sets of inferences about different parts of their environment. Besides, in the section on categorization given in the last chapter, we saw that each cultural group has its own world view and set, so that even when confronted by similar situations, the various groups ex-

[3] W. G. Smith, *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, p. 8.

[4] E. Rubin, *Synsoplevede Figurer* (Copenhagen, 1915–).

[5] [Hippocrates], *De humoribus* [3rd cent. B.C.?], 5, in *Opera*, ed. E. Littré (Paris, 1839–61), V, pp. 470–503; tr. W. H. S. Jones and E. T. Withington (London, 1923–31). Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harvard University Press.

[6] Roger Bacon, *Opus maius* [1266–67], ed. J. H. Bridges (Oxford and London, 1897–1900), 4 Geogr. (I, p. 286); tr. R. B. Burke (Philadelphia, 1928).

perience these situations differently Consequently, the participants in each culture tend to develop inferences which differ from those of other cultures in reference to similar situations It follows that every culture has a set of inferences in reference to those situations which are considered important by its participants, and that they deal with them from their own particular frame of reference

[MAORI] Te-tao-nui and his brother both wished to be informed whence our knowledge of the state of the separate spirits was derived, and because we had not seen the fire of hell with our bodily eyes, he laughed at our belief of it Te tao-nui said, "You Missionaries are a set of old women. When a spirit comes from the invisible world to the Horeke or Mangungu, and tells us that he has seen the things of which you speak, then we will believe him, but all the accounts we have received as yet have been directly opposite to yours . " I then talked on the resurrection of the dead, when the following remarks were made —"How many persons have been already raised from the dead? Did you see them?" Being answered in the negative, they laughed heartily, saying, "Oh? indeed, you only *heard* of it from some one else " I asked Te-tao-nui what plea he would have to make to Jehovah for his unbelief, he asked me, "How could he speak when he should have no mouth " In consequence of the death of a slave, whom we blistered some months ago, they said we had no skill to heal the sick Kari said, a native had been lately cured by the New Zealand Karakia [7]

[UNITED STATES] "What can we—scientists, historians, philosophers of the twentieth century—make of the theology-history, the philosophy-science, the dialectic methodology of the thirteenth century? We can—must, indeed, since that it is our habit—peruse with infinite attention and indifference the serried, weighty folios of the *Summa* and such works now carefully preserved in libraries We can perhaps wonder a little—although, since nothing is alien to us, we are rarely caught wondering—at the unfailing zest, the infinite patience, the extraordinary ingenuity and acumen therein displayed We can even understand what is therein recorded well enough to translate it clumsily into modern terms The one thing we cannot do with the *Summa* of St Thomas is to meet its arguments on their own ground We can neither assent to them nor refute them It does not even occur to us to make the effort, since we instinctively feel that in the climate of opinion which sustains such arguments we could only gasp for breath Its conclusions seem to us neither true nor false, but only irrelevant, and they seem irrelevant because the world pattern into which they are so dexterously woven is no longer capable of eliciting from us either an emotional or an aesthetic response " [8]

[7] J. Stack "Journal," [*Wesleyan*] *Missionary Notices*, (old ser) 6 (1829–31), (pp 164–70) pp 167–68

[8] C L Becker, *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers* (New Haven, 1932), pp 11–12

Validity of inference

Not all inferences result in adequate adjustment. You see a person down the street and hail him as a friend, only to find as you draw nearer that it is a stranger, and you apologize for your mistake. Those inferences which do result in adequate adjustment are *valid*, while those which do not are *invalid*. In other words, a useful inference is one that successfully predicts future events, a useless one does not. *Validity*, therefore, is the usefulness of an inference.

Throughout our lifetime we find that many inferences do not remain valid indefinitely. (6) In fact, all our inferences are more or less provisional, (7) and in order to adjust we modify our inferences to fit our experiences, revising some, getting a few new ones, and discarding others.

> [GREECE] "Life is short, the Art long, opportunity fleeting, experience treacherous, judgment difficult." [9]

This testing of our inferences is the process of *validation*.

In the great majority of cases we validate our inferences by means of the *pragmatic method*, i.e., we use the inference in the ordinary course of experience, and if our adjustments are adequate, we accept the inference as valid.

> [GREECE] "Whenever many men are attacked by one disease at the same time, the cause should be assigned to that which is most common, and which we all use most. This it is which we breathe in. For it is clear that the regimen of each of us is not the cause, since the disease attacks all in turn, both younger and older, men as much as women, those who drink wine as much as teetotallers, those who eat barley cake as much as those who live on bread, those who take much exercise as well as those who take little. For regimen could not be the cause, when no matter what regimen they have followed all men are attacked by the same disease. But when diseases of all sorts occur at one and the same time, it is clear that in each case the particular regimen is the cause. . . . But when an epidemic of one disease is prevalent, it is plain that the cause is not regimen but what we breathe, and that this is charged with some unhealthy exhalation." [10]

But the pragmatic method has serious difficulties. It lays us open to the fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* (one thing follows after an-

[9] [Hippocrates], *Sententiae* [3rd cent. B.C.?], 1.1, in *Opera*, ed. Littré, IV, pp. 396–609.

[10] [Hippocrates], *De natura hominis* [3rd cent. B.C.?], 9, in *Opera*, ed. Littré, VI, pp. 29–69, tr. Jones and Withington.

other, therefore it occurs because of the other). Also if we test the inference in our actual adjustments, we run the risk of becoming maladjusted if the inference turns out to be invalid Therefore man has developed methods of validation by which he tries to overcome these difficulties He attempts to isolate the factors involved in the situation by observing which vary concomitantly, and he subjects his inference to a preliminary testing before using it in his adjustments

[GREECE] " it is necessary to inquire into the cause why such symptoms come to these men

"We must surely consider the cause of each complaint to be those things the presence of which of necessity produces a complaint of a specific kind which ceases when they change into another combination .

"It is not sufficient to learn simply that cheese is a bad food, as it gives a pain to one who eats a surfeit of it, we must know what the pain is, the reasons for it, and which constituent of man is harmfully affected For there are many other bad foods and bad drinks, which affect a man in different ways I would therefore have the point put thus —'Undiluted wine, drunk in large quantity, produces a certain effect upon a man' " [11]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " the Method of Concomitant Variations . is regulated by the following canon . .

"Whatever phenomenon varies in any manner whenever another phenomenon varies in some particular manner, is either a cause or an effect of that phenomenon, or is connected with it through some fact of causation " [12]

This is accomplished by means of the experimental and comparative methods In the *experimental method* the situation is artificially manipulated in order to isolate the factors which produce it, and to test the inference

[GREECE] "[This is an experiment to prove that] liquid can enter the bladder through the ureters, but is unable to go back again the same way .

"Now the method of demonstration is as follows One has to divide the peritoneum in front of the ureters, then secure these with ligatures, and next, having bandaged up the animal, let him go (for he will not continue to urinate) After this one loosens the external bandages and shows the bladder empty and the ureters quite full and distended—in fact almost on the point of rupturing, on removing the ligature from them, one then plainly sees the bladder becoming filled with urine

[11] [Hippocrates], *De prisca medicina* [5th cent B C], 11, 19–20, in *Opera*, ed. I L Heiberg *et al* (*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, 1) (Leipzig, 1927–), I Pt 1, pp 36–55, tr Jones and Withington

[12] J S Mill, *A System of Logic* [1843] (New York, 1893, 8th ed), 3 8 6

"When this has been made quite clear, then, before the animal urinates, one has to tie a ligature round his penis and then to squeeze the bladder all over, still nothing goes back through the ureters to the kidneys Here, then, it becomes obvious that not only in a dead animal, but in one which is still living, the ureters are prevented from receiving back the urine from the bladder These observations having been made, one now loosens the ligature from the animal's penis and allows him to urinate, then again ligatures one of the ureters and leaves the other to discharge into the bladder Allowing, then, some time to elapse, one now demonstrates that the ureter which was ligatured is obviously full and distended on the side next to the kidneys, while the other one—that from which the ligature had been taken—is itself flaccid, but has filled the bladder with urine Then, again, one must divide the full ureter, and demonstrate how the urine spurts out of it, like blood in the operation of venesection, and after this one cuts through the other also, and both being thus divided, one bandages up the animal externally Then when enough time seems to have elapsed, one takes off the bandages, the bladder will now be found empty, and the whole region between the intestines and the peritoneum full of urine, as if the animal were suffering from dropsy " [13]

In the *comparative method* the situation is observed in a variety of natural circumstances in order to isolate the factors and test the inference

[GREECE] " anatomists who have narrowly inspected bodies of living men reduced to extreme attenuation have arrived at conclusions regarding the origin of the veins from the manifestations visible externally." [14]

Approaches to the environment

Though cultures differ in their inferences about the environment, these sets of inferences are amenable to a general analysis The set of inferences of a group about its environment can be broken down into four general classes, or *approaches to the environment,* naturalism, supernaturalism, estheticism, and mysticism Each approach can, in turn, be subdivided For action is based on beliefs concerning the kinds of situations which will confront us and the kinds of responses that will permit us to adjust to them (8) There-

[13] Galen (131–201 A D), *De naturalibus facultatibus,* I 13 35–38, in *Scripta minora,* ed J Marquardt *et al* (Leipzig, 1881–93), III, pp 101–257, tr A J Brock (London, 1916) Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harvard University Press

[14] Aristotle, *Historia animalium* 511b 20–23, in *Opera,* ed I Bekker *et al* (Berlin, 1831–70), tr ed W D Ross (Oxford, 1908–31) By permission of Oxford University Press, New York

fore, the inferences that make up any approach to the environment are of two kinds customary *theories,* which are inferences as to how situations occur, and customary *practices,* inferences concerning the kinds of behavior by which to adjust to these situations

[ISLAM] ". . every science has both a speculative and a practical aspect . .

"When, in regard to medicine, we say that practice proceeds from theory, we do not mean that there is one division of medicine by which we know, and another, distinct therefrom, by which we act We mean that these two aspects belong together—one deals with the basic principles of knowledge, the other with the mode of operation of these principles (within the body) The former is theory, the latter is applied knowledge

" 'Theory' of medicine is that which, when mastered, gives us a certain kind of knowledge, apart from any question of treatment Thus we say that 'there are three forms of fever and nine constitutions '

" 'Practice' of medicine is not the work which the physician carries out, but is that branch of medical knowledge which, when acquired, enables one to form an opinion upon which to base the proper plan of treatment Thus it is said 'for inflammatory foci, the first agents to employ are infrigidants, inspissants, and repellants, then we temper these with mollificants, and, finally, when the process is subsiding, resolvent mollificants will accomplish the rest But if the diseased focus contains matter which depends for its expulsion on the integrity of the principal members, treatment is not applicable ' Here the theory guides to an opinion, and the opinion is the basis of treatment " [15]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "The art and science of falconry are further divided into *theory* (the general mental survey and understanding of the principles of our subject without reference to its practical application) and *practice* (the knowledge of how to put into operation the rules that we shall expound)

"When a man without either theoretical knowledge (which must ever be a preliminary consideration) or practical experience undertakes to pursue the art of falconry, although he may secure good results in his hunting (just as in the gymnasium the inexperienced boxer may strike a good blow, or the unskilled archer may even hit the mark), we may well say of him that he is merely testing his luck and not his skill " [16]

The resulting classification and its differentia are summarized in the following outline.

I Naturalism

A Theory The environment can be ordered by learning how

[15] Avicenna (980?–1037), *The Canon of Medicine,* tr O C Gruner (London, 1930), 1 1 1 1

[16] Friedrich II, *De arte venandi cum avibus* [ca 1248], tr C A Wood and F M Fyfe (Stanford University, 1943), 2, pref

its material parts interact so as to produce the situation.

B. Practice Alter the material parts of the environment so that their interaction produces the kind of situation to which you can adjust

II. Supernaturalism

A Theory The environment can be ordered by understanding how immaterial forces (mana) operate which produce that environment

B Practice Take symbols which stand for the immaterial forces, and manipulate them in a way that represents the kind of situation to which you can adjust

III Estheticism

A. Theory There are some situations which are themselves ordered

B Practice Place yourself in some kind of situation (either natural or artificial) to which your responses themselves provide adjustment

IV Mysticism

A Theory The environment can be ordered by ordering one's own experiences

B. Practice Change your experiences to the kind that are adjustive

As I see it, the essential difference between these approaches lies in their postulates, once the assumptions are granted, the consequences of any one approach are as reasonable as those of any other Since this proposition conflicts with the point of view that is commonly taken, I will give the evidence upon which it is based Perhaps the easiest way to tackle the problem is to compare naturalism and supernaturalism, and more specifically, to take the common argument of science versus religion Inasmuch as I am a scientist writing for those interested in science, I will not spend any time describing the scientific approach which we accept, instead, I will be the devil's advocate and present the arguments which seem to me to show that the only difference between the two is in their postulates.

It is often said that science deals with the real causes of things, while religion does not Both think they deal with the basic causes of phenomena, on what logical grounds can the scientific approach

be considered more fundamental than the religious? Here is what a Christian scientist had to say on the subject

" this shadow, related to me, might in some particulars be no unfit one of the universe in reference to God and indeed, perhaps the world may without much extravagance be termed the shadow of him . . and the resemblance may thus far be advanced that as though it represents the shape and out-lines of my body, which projects it, yet it represents but them, and consequently this shadow in reference to it is but a superficial and worthless thing so the world, though it be not destitute of several impresses, as it were lineaments or features of the divine wisdom and power, yet, for all this, its representations of the divine Author of it are but very imperfect, superficial, and dark, and the excellency of the adorable author of things keeps him infinitely above all the works, that he has made But though this shadow have some kind of resemblance to that, whose shadow it is, yet the picture is but very superficial and obscure, and if we suppose, the fishes, that inhabit this stream, to be endued with reason, they could even from *Lindamor's* shadow but collect, that the original is a man, but not a brute, but they could not hence make any discovery of what manner a man he is, nor know anything of his virtues, or his thoughts, or his intention, nor consequently have that notion of him, that I do harbour and cherish. Thus, where I formerly ventured to call the world God's shadow, I did not forget, how imperfect a shadow is wont to be and though this dark representation, that God has vouchsafed men of himself in the universe, be sufficient to convince us, that it was not made by chance, but produced by a powerful and intelligent being, the eternal power and God head of the great author of nature, as the scripture seems to teach us, being manifested to attentive and rational considerers, in the visible productions of his power and wisdom, yet how short and dim a knowledge must they have of him, that have no other than these corporal instructors? How many of his glorious attributes are there, for whose knowledge we must be beholden, rather to his written, than his created word? and how little will human intellects, without, discover of that manifold wisdom of God, which the scripture teaches us, *That even to the angels it must be made known by the church* [*Ephesians*, 3 10] " [17]

Another difference between science and religion is supposed to be that of fact versus faith, people insist upon knowing the facts before they accept scientific statements, but take religious dogmas on faith True enough, a Christian may not have seen God, and yet believes in his existence, what scientist has ever seen an atom? The reply may be made that there is indirect empirical evidence for the

[17] R Boyle, *Occasional Reflections upon Several Subjects* [1665] 4 6 (pp 402, 404), in *Works*, ed T Birch (London, 1772), II, pp 323–460

existence of atoms, by the same token people have given indirect empirical evidence for the existence of spirits

[GREECE] Cleanthes gave four reasons to account for the formation in men's minds of their ideas of the gods He put first the one arising from our foreknowledge of future events, second, the one drawn from the magnitude of the benefits which we derive from our temperate climate, from the earth's fertility, and from a vast abundance of other blessings, third, the awe inspired by lightning, storms, rain, [etc] all of which alarming portents have suggested to mankind the idea of the existence of some celestial and divine power And the fourth and most potent cause of the belief he said was the uniform motion and revolution of the heavens, and the varied groupings and ordered beauty of the sun, moon and stars, the very sight of which was in itself enough to prove that these things are not the mere effect of chance [18]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "But who is there so dull of mind that he will hesitate to attribute to divine power and divine government whatever there is of order in corporeal operations, apart from human arrangement and will? Unless perhaps, by some play of nonsense we shall have the hardihood to hold (one of three hypotheses) (1) that the most accurately measured and fitted organic parts of the smallest animals are the result of chance, (2) that what one admits to be not the work of chance, can in any way not be the effect of design; or (3) that what we find marvelous in every single thing throughout the universe, arranged in a manner surpassing the utmost efficiency of human power, belongs not to the hidden control of divine majesty " [19]

Now, obviously most of us do not even know the evidence which makes the physicist believe in the existence of atoms—we believe that atoms exist because we were told so, how is that different from the way most Christians come to believe in the existence of God? Almost all of what we believe we take on faith rather than as a result of studying the facts, (9) so that this is no ground upon which to differentiate between science and religion

In the course I give on the material covered in this chapter, I have never had a student who does not believe that the Earth is round, yet at the same time not a single one has been able to give a valid proof to support the belief Such a state of affairs was remarked upon a long time ago

[WESTERN EUROPE] " the modern system of astronomy is now so much received by all enquirers, and has become so essential a part even of

[18] Cleanthes (3rd cent B C), fr 528, in *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed H. F A von Arnim (Leipzig, 1903–21), I, pp 103–39, tr H Rackham (London, 1933)

[19] Augustine, *De ordine*, I 1 2

our earliest education, that we are not commonly very scrupulous in examining the reasons upon which it is founded" [20]

Parenthetically, it might also be pointed out that it is easy to argue that those religious inferences which are taken on faith are intrinsically more valid than any scientific inferences based on fact can ever be

[WESTERN EUROPE] " this science [of "sacred doctrine"] surpasses other speculative sciences . . in point of greater certitude, because other sciences derive their certitude from the natural light of human reason, which can err, whereas this derives its certitude from the light of the divine knowledge, which cannot err" [21]

Indeed, when facts contradict a strongly held belief—which we have just seen is usually based on faith—we tend to reject the fact and hold fast to our belief [22] This is as true of science as of religion Take the controversy about the existence of the phenomenon called "mental telepathy" or "extra-sensory perception." The facts stick in our craws, not because the investigations are less "scientific" than those dealing with other facts, but because the findings seem to contradict some of our postulates

"The facts of ESP [extra-sensory perception] come into direct conflict with the prevailing scientific assumptions of centuries and this incompatibility in mode of thought, rather than any inadequacy of evidence, has made acceptance of ESP especially difficult for the psychologist" [23]

Yet, after all, what right have we to be sure that our postulates are absolutely valid?

> There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
> Than are dreamt of in your philosophy [24]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "For who will prescribe bounds to the Wits of men? Who will assert that all that is sensible and knowable in the World is already discovered and known? Will not they that in other points disagree with us, confess this (and it is a great truth) that those Truths which we know, are very few, in comparison of those which we know not? . One ought not, as I conceive, to stop the way to free Philosophating, touching the things of the World, and of Nature, as if that they were already certainly found, and all manifest nor ought it to be counted rashness, if one do not sit down satisfied with the opinions now become as it were

[20] D Hume, *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* [1779], ed N K Smith (Oxford, 1935), p 186

[21] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, 1 1 5

[22] F H Lund, "The Psychology of Belief," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 20 (1925–26), pp 63–81, 174–96

[23] D H Pope and J G Pratt, "The ESP controversy," *Journal of Parapsychology*, 6 (1912), (pp 174–89) p 177

[24] W Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 1 5 166–67

commune, nor ought any persons to be displeased, if others do not hold, in natural Disputes to that opinion which best pleaseth them, and especially touching Problems that have, for thousands of years been controverted amongst the greatest Philosophers " [25]

It is true that "extra-sensory perception" seems to contradict the postulates on which our whole science is based But scientists are just as dogmatic about any of their pet inferences Here is a recent example

In the thirteenth century the Frenchman, Peter de Maricourt de-scribed some experiments with magnets He cut a loadstone in two and noted with astonishment that each part became a complete magnet with two poles When he placed the parts together they became a single magnet again He decided that if magnetism could be thus cut up it must be something stationary Physicists have held the same view ever since

Professor Felix Ehrenhaft denies this and more For some years he has been performing experiments which convince him that magnetism and electricity "represent an indivisible pair" and that magnetism flows just as electricity does

To prove his point Ehrenhaft magnetizes a bar of soft iron in acidulated water That bubbles of hydrogen should be given off we expect, simply because of the action of the acid on the iron But oxygen is given off too, which means that the water has been electrolytically decomposed and that magnetism therefore acts on water precisely as a current of electricity does More oxygen comes off the north pole than from the south From this Ehrenhaft concludes that the oxygen bears a magnetic charge and that there must be what he calls "magnetic ions," just as there are electric ions When he left a permanent magnet overnight in the acidulated water, he says that it lost about 10 per cent of its strength

The controversy that has arisen over these findings reflects no great credit on our skeptical physicists Probably the physicists are right Nevertheless it is their business to prove that Ehrenhaft is wrong instead of arguing in terms of dogma

The only physicist who has taken the trouble to repeat some of Ehrenhaft's experiments is the English engineer, James T Kendall, who reported on his results in the British scientific weekly *Nature*, and who there gave an interpretation of the oxygen and hydrogen bubbles quite at variance with Ehrenhaft's Ehrenhaft replies that Kendall did not have all the facts before him and that he did not adhere to the proper conditions American physicists can hardly plead that they are too busy with war work to bother about Ehrenhaft .

We have discussed this matter with a distinguished physicist of open mind, who, like us, sees no reason to question the correctness of the current

[25] G Galilei, "Lettera a Madama Cristina di Lorena [1615]," pp 320–21, in *Opere*, ed A Favaro (Florence, 1890–1909), V, pp 306–48, tr T. Salusbury (London, 1661)

views on magnetism He suggests a single experiment with two identical magnets Let one magnet do nothing, let the other do some electrolytic work If the strength of the second magnet falls 10 per cent in a day, as Ehrenhaft maintains it will, and if the other shows no change, we have a positive result about which there can be no question, but which calls for more investigation

It is further suggested by our physicist that this experiment be performed by a scientific committee which would be appointed by the American Institute of Physics and on which at least one competent newspaper man would be found In less than a week the validity of at least one of Ehrenhaft's contentions would be settled If it turns out that Ehrenhaft is wrong we can forget about magnetic currents If he is right, physicists have something to follow up [26]

Finally, it should not be hard to show that in our society few people are more hidebound than the average professional scientist

"I—and my kind, the intellectuals . know too much We know that there is no absolute knowledge, that there are only theories, but we forget this The better educated we are, the harder we believe in axioms I asked *Einstein in Berlin once how he, a trained, drilled, teaching scientist of* the worst sort, a mathematician, physicist, astronomer, had been able to make his great discoveries 'How did you ever do it?' I exclaimed, and he, understanding and smiling, gave the answer.

"'By challenging an axiom'" [27]

A third supposed difference between science and religion is that the former tests its statements, while the latter does not Earlier in this chapter it was argued that every approach to the environment tests its inferences, and this is as true of supernaturalism as it is of naturalism It was then shown that there are three methods of validation, and none of them are the exclusive property of any environmental approach. Consequently, not only is the pragmatic method used in supernaturalism, but also the comparative and experimental methods

[CROW] As a member of the Tobacco society he [Little-rump] used to dream about his chapter's eponym, heard the Tobacco sing, and learned the songs "Some of them," said he, "I consider sacred When I hear a song and have good luck immediately after that, then I consider the song sacred" . typical is Little-rump's pragmatic attitude toward such experiences The supreme test for both the dreamer and his tribe was whether a revela-

[26] W Kaempffert, "Ehrenhaft's theory of a magnetic current is a challenge to physical scientists," *New York Times*, Apr 23, 1944, Sec 4, p 9

[27] L Steffens, *Autobiography*, p 816

tion "worked." Hard-headed empiricists, the Crow knew that not every one who claimed supernatural blessings could be signally successful. There were several explanations: either the visitant was not strong enough, or his protégé flouted his commands, or a being might maliciously deceive the god-seeker. "Sometimes everything told in a vision is false, perhaps some animal plays the part of another." There was no way of detecting such trickery before-hand. "They only find out from what happens later." .

In every generation . . there were men with outstanding powers,—the medicine-men . . . but their fame rested on *proofs* of their worth. Dapic was a great doctor because he had cured patients on the brink of death. Plenty-fingers . . . loomed in memory not because he claimed a bear revelation, but because he worked miracles by it. In midwinter he would produce turnips and sarvis-berries, he could transform bark into dry meat, bullet-proof, he merely spat on his hands when shot, and immediately recovered. Again, Gray-bull believed in Wants-to-live because of ocular demonstration. One night the two wanted to smoke but lacked the wherewithal, but Wants-to-live asked for some bark, shook it in the air, and produced some tobacco, which Gray-bull smoked. On another occasion, the same wonder-worker rolled mud into four balls, which turned into beads for Gray-bull to wear in his necklace.[28]

[THONGA] The mondjo is a plant of the Solaneae family which possesses intoxicating properties. With it a special magician prepares a beverage which must act as a means of revelation. It can be resorted to by any individual accused of witchcraft, or of any other crime. A woman accused of adultery, for instance may say: "Let us go and drink the mondjo." The mondjo magician will give both the accused and the plaintiff a little of his drug, and the one who becomes intoxicated, or unconscious, after having taken the magic beverage will be convicted of guilt. But the mondjo ordeal can also be ordered by the chiefs. . . .

. . . it is at Shihahu that the recipe is known for the preparation of this magic philter. This is very complicated and intricate . . . To make sure of the efficacy of the drink, the Shihahu folk experiment upon a certain individual named Mudlayi. This man is considered the very chief, the "bull" of all the wizards of the country. . . . He is more powerful than all the others in casting spells. If, therefore, the decoction produces in him the characteristic intoxicating effect, by which . . . spell casters are discovered, it is certain that the brewing has been a success. If, by any chance, Mudlayi should not have been intoxicated, word will be sent to the chief that the decoction has failed . . and another brew will be made, until the mondjo has attained the strength required.[29]

[IGLULIK ESKIMO] During the fall the natives turned pagan again. They had been Christian for more than a year and it had done them no good—the dogs had come down with distemper just the same. The Eskimos had even gone so far as to hang tiny crosses about the dogs' necks, but it had

[28] Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, pp. 238–39.

[29] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (Neuchatel, 1912–13), II, pp. 483–84.

not helped. Then a young woman remembered that once as a child she had cured a dog by binding pagan amulets around its neck. She was a cautious, clever girl, so now she fastened both a cross and a round piece of wood to several dogs' necks, and the animals recovered. Then, by a scientific system of trial and elimination, they set about to determine which had been responsible for the cure. Half the remaining sick animals were treated with crosses, the rest with wooden amulets. The dogs wearing the pagan wood recovered. Whereupon the natives returned to the ways of their forefathers, and doubtless remained satisfied until another problem arose.[30]

I know that no scientist will accept this experiment, yet I defy him to show that it is methodologically different from a scientific experiment. Unless he can do so, his refusal to accept the Iglulik Eskimo inference as valid is a result of his prejudices against the supernaturalistic postulates and in favor of the naturalistic postulates. The problem can be posed more sharply by reducing it to its metaphysical essentials, as the sceptics have done.

[HINDU] "The step which the mind takes from the knowledge of smoke, etc., to the knowledge of fire, etc., can be accounted for by its being based on a former perception or by its being an error, and that in some cases this step is justified by the result, is accidental just like the coincidence of effects observed in the employment of gems, charms, drugs, etc." [31]

A fourth difference that is commonly given is that in science, if a predicted result does not occur, the generalization is changed to fit the contradictory fact, but in religion this is not so. How true is this, actually? Few generalizations always fit the facts, and whenever possible we explain away contradictory facts in science as well as in religion. Every scientist finds that his procedures do not always give the expected results, and *after* the contradictory facts appear he says that he must have made a "mistake" so that "accidental factors" nullified the expected result; he dignifies this by calling it "experimental error." In other words, he keeps his generalization and explains away the contradictory fact by assuming that he made a mistake. In supernaturalism the same thing is done, though, of course, in terms of a different set of postulates. If a prayer is not granted, the spirits did not choose to fulfil the request for reasons best known to themselves.

[UNITED STATES] "I prayed and prayed that my wife would recover, but she finally died. God in his infinite wisdom knows best."

30 P. Freuchen, *Arctic Adventure* (New York, 1935), pp. 422–3.

31 Carvaka school, summarized by Madhava Vidyaranya (d. 1386), *Sarvadarsanasamgraha*, tr. E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough (London, 1882), p. 9.

If magic does not work, some mistake was made in the ritual, or someone's counter-magic nullified the expected result.

[HINDU] "The so-called untruth in the Veda comes from some defect in the act, operator or materials of sacrifice." [32]

[WINNEBAGO] "I heard that this former wife of mine, before going away, had used some magical medicine on me. A medicine feast was immediately given me and my scalp treated to counteract the evil effect of what she had used. It was said that she had taken one of my hairs and dipped it into her medicine bundle. This she did in order to prevent me from ever leaving her. If then I left her I would suffer from a headache and perhaps even die. Such was the belief. Fortunately the matter was discovered, my scalp treated and the hair she had taken recovered and washed with medicine. Nothing therefore happened to me." [33]

What is the logical difference between these scientific and supernatural explanations of contradictory facts?

[CHINA] "When things turn out as they ought, who shall say that the agency is not supernatural? When things turn out otherwise, who shall say that it is?" [34]

Lastly, those who believe in our scientific medicine, for instance, complain that a "superstitious" invalid goes to a shaman for a cure, and if the shaman fails to help him, the benighted invalid does not have sense enough to come to a physician. Now, all too often we go to a physician to be cured of an ailment, only to find that he does not help us. Do we then throw medicine aside and try a shaman, or do we go to a "better" physician instead? And how is the "superstitious" invalid less rational when he goes to a "better" shaman after the first has failed?

[AZANDE] "If one witch-doctor fails to cure a Zande he goes to another in the same way as we go to another doctor if we are dissatisfied with the treatment of the first one whom we have consulted. Thus Kamanga, before he was initiated into the craft himself, was ill for some weeks. He first went to a witch doctor who extracted all sorts of little objects without making him any better because, so Kamanga said, he had inefficiently left some of these shafts of witchcraft still embedded in his body. He appears to have visited other specialists before consulting Badobo, who told him that he

[32] Gotama Aksapada (4th cent. B.C.?), *Nyayasutra*, tr. S. C. Vidyabhusana (*Sacred Books of the Hindus*, 8) (Allahabad, 1913), 2.1.59.

[33] Crashing Thunder, *Autobiography*, ed. P. Radin (New York, 1926), p. 133. Copyright, 1926, by D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.

[34] *Chuang-tzŭ* [3rd cent. B.C.], tr. H. A. Giles (London, 1926, 2nd ed.), 27 (p. 367).

was very ill and, if not treated at once, he would die The other witch doctors whom he had previously consulted had diagnosed his illness as pneumonia and a variety of other ills, whereas Badobo said that it was *ima wangu,* and he gave him *mbiro* medicine to eat and massaged him, and produced two bones out of his body, and sent him home to lie down and get some sleep Kamanga, however, became worse and worse and suffered considerable pain. He had heard in the past that a woman witch-doctor who lived nearby had a reputation for honesty and skill, so he decided to pay her a visit the same evening She said that she would help him, and when he had given her half a piastre she prepared a *kpoyo* poultice and felt his belly 'Good gracious,' she said, 'you are troubled with worms' She proceeded to extract them by first placing the poultice on his belly and then, after it had rested there for a short while, by sucking his belly with her mouth She sucked from his body seven worms, and Kamanga went home feeling much better His belly was cooler, and the pain had left him In three days time he was quite well again " [35]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "We have no longer faith in miracles and relics, and therefore with the same fury run after recipes and physicians " [36]

The point was well put by a Bechuana shaman to a Western European physician

[BECHUANA] "I use my medicines, and you employ yours, we are both doctors, and doctors are not deceivers You give a patient medicine Sometimes God is pleased to heal him by means of your medicine sometimes not —he dies When he is cured, you take the credit of what God does I do the same Sometimes God grants us rain, sometimes not. When He does, we take the credit of the charm When a patient dies, you don't give up your trust in your medicine, neither do I when rain fails If you wish me to leave off my medicines, why continue your own?" [37]

It was facts such as the above which led me to state that the divergence of environmental approaches lay in their postulates Now that an attempt has been made to show how the approaches differ, the next few chapters will be devoted to examining these approaches in some detail

Historical References

(1) " the action and reaction between humanity and the material world around it "—G P Marsh, *The Earth as Modified by Human Action* [1864] (New York, 1874, 2nd ed), p 614

[35] E E Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande,* p 233

[36] M W Montagu, "Letter to W Montague, Apr 24, 1748," *Letters and Works,* ed W M Thomas (London, 1887, rev ed), II, pp 169–70

[37] D Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* [1857] (London n d), p 21

(2) "In every action that is done for an end, there must be a belief of its tendency to that end So large a share has belief in our intellectual operations, in our active principles, and in our actions themselves, that, as faith in things divine is represented as the main spring in the life of a Christian, so belief in general is the main spring in the life of a man"—T Reid, *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* [1785], pp 327b–328a, in *Works*, ed. W Hamilton (Edinburgh, 1863, 6th ed), pp 213–508

(3) D Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* [1739–40] ed L A Selby-Bigge (Oxford, 1896, 2nd ed), 1 4 6.

(4) " . what the world has today, it did not have yesterday and it will not have it tomorrow In fact, not even for the course of an hour during this very day has it had the sun in the same position And so, since nothing in it is permanent, it does not have anything in the same way for even the shortest interval of time"—Augustine, *De ordine* [A D 386], ed P Knoll, 2 19 50, in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1866–), LXIII, pp 119–87, tr R P Russell (New York, 1942)

(5) "The end of knowledge is power, and the scope of all speculation is the performance of some action, or thing to be done"—T Hobbes, *Elements of Philosophy* [1655–56], 1 16, in *English Works*, I

(6) "The uncertainty and ignorance of Things to come makes the World new unto us by unexpected Emergences, whereby we pass not our days in the trite road of affairs affording no Novity"—T Browne, *Christian Morals*, 1 25, in *Works*, I, pp 99–162

(7) " probability is the very guide of life"—J Butler, *The Analogy of Religion* [1736], intr 3, in *Works*, ed J H Bernard (London, 1900), II

(8) "Human knowledge and human power meet in one, for where the cause is not known the effect cannot be produced Nature to be commanded must be obeyed, and that which in contemplation is as the cause is in operation as the rule"—F Bacon, *Novum Organum* [1620], 1 3, in *Works*, I, pp 70–365

(9) " the balance of human judgment is by nature inclined to the side of belief, and turns to that side of itself, when there is nothing put into the opposite scale If it was not so, no proposition that is uttered in discourse would be believed, until it was examined and tried by reason, and most men would be unable to find reasons for believing the thousandth part of what is told them"—T Reid, *An Inquiry into the Human Mind* [1764], p 197a, in *Works*, pp 93–211

VI

THE NATURALISTIC WORLD VIEW

Naturalism is the environmental approach which achieves adjustment by altering some part of the environment itself, so as to change the interaction between the material factors which produce phenomena. Every society, no matter how "primitive," has a body of naturalistic customs by which it adjusts to its environment. (1) Those customs which form the society's naturalist theory are its science, while the customary naturalistic practices are its technology.

SCIENCE

Nature of science

Science is naturalistic theory; it is the body of customs by which a society explains phenomena as the result of the interaction of matter or its properties.

[GREECE] Thales says that the principle [i.e., the matter of which everything is composed] is water.[1]

[GREECE] "I am about to discuss the disease called "sacred" [i.e., *epilepsy*]. It is not, in my opinion, any more divine or more sacred than other diseases, but has a natural cause, and its supposed divine origin is due to men's inexperience, and to their wonder at its peculiar character. Now while men continue to believe in its divine origin because they are at a loss to understand it, they really disprove its divinity by the facile method of healing which they adopt, consisting as it does of purifications and incantations. But if it is to be considered divine just because it is wonderful, there will be not one sacred disease but many, for I will show that other diseases are no less wonderful and portentous, and yet nobody considers them sacred.

"Thus this disease is born and grows from the things that come to the

[1] Thales (610?–546 B.C.), A, 12, in *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ed. H. Diels, rev. W. Kranz (Berlin, 1934–37, 5th ed.)

body and leave it, is no more troublesome to understand and cure than are others, and is no more divine than others are. .

"This disease styled sacred comes from the same causes as others, from the things that come to and go from the body, from cold, sun, and from the changing restlessness of winds These things are divine So that there is no need to put the disease in a special class and to consider it more divine than the others, they are all divine and all human Each has a nature and power of its own, none is hopeless or incapable of treatment" [2]

Chapter V maintained that every environmental approach looks for order in experience, science does this by discovering regularity in the relations between the material factors which produce a phenomenon (2)

Azande are often skilled in the detection of early symptoms, and our own doctors have told me that they seldom err in diagnosing early leprosy. They are naturally much less sure in diagnosing diseases affecting internal organs such as the intestines, the liver, and the spleen They know beforehand the normal course of a disease as soon as its symptoms are pronounced They often know what the later symptoms will be, and whether the patient is likely to live or die, and how long he is likely to live Likewise they know what infirmities are permanent Besides their ability to give a prognosis, they can also tell you the aetiology of disease, and though their notions of causes are generally far from objective reality they recognize different causes as participating with witchcraft to produce different illnesses [3]

The scientific search for order is usually based upon two beliefs, causality and the uniformity of nature *Causality* is the belief that every phenomenon (effect) is produced by some other phenomenon (cause)

[ASHANTI] "When a dog is found up on top of the store rack, and could not have climbed up himself, then some one must have lifted and put him there"

"A horse does not turn to the side without a cause (That is, it is answering to the rein)" [4]

The *uniformity of nature* is the belief that similar causes produce similar effects

[ASHANTI] "The lizard does not eat pepper and sweat break out on the frog"

[2] [Hippocrates], *De morbo sacro* [5th cent. B C], 1, 16, 21, in *Opera*, ed Littré, VI, pp 350–97, tr Jones and Withington

[3] E E Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, p. 495 [4] R S Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 259, 286

"A sheep does not give birth to a goat"
"Whatever is above must come down to the earth"
"No tree ever bore fruit without first having flowers" [5]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " there are such things in nature as parallel cases, what happens once, will, under a sufficient degree of similarity of circumstances, happen again, and not only again, but as often as the same circumstances occur" [6]

The order found by science is used in predicting and altering phenomena.

[CARIBOU ESKIMO] "The caribou winter down in the great forests behind Kugjuaq (Churchill) Towards the middle of April a great unrest seizes them, and they come wandering in the direction of Hidoligjuaq and Baker Lake, and from there scatter down towards the coast as soon as the sun begins to get really warm so that the snow melts Often their departure is premature, and sometimes it happens that sudden snow storms force them to return and again seek shelter in the forests These impatient forerunners are rarely many in number, but the next time the animals get on the move, they are more numerous and now trot carefully forward along their old paths They know they have enemies where they least expect them, and therefore, even when they make a halt to rest and eat, there are always vigilant sentinels

"The advance guard of the great spring migrations are the cows with young, whose ranks are closed by 'the virgins,' all young cows After them come the young bulls, many of them still being calves When they have got past the villages on their wanderings, which about Hidoligjuaq means at the end of April and during May, with a few late comers in June, there is a pause of about a month during which there is hardly an animal in the country Not until well into August do the full-grown bulls come They trudge along in great flocks, sometimes so many that it seems as if they covered all the ground, they graze their way slowly forward, for they are not anxious to fall in with the cows before mating time arrives They have not yet quite changed their coat and are white on neck and back When one sees them, it is as if living snowdrifts laid themselves over the brown earth, the white part of their coat being very prominent

" . The great hunt takes place in autumn, when the animals are returning to the forests, fat and newly moulted, with shiny, soft hair Then they came in tremendous herds, all together, the cows with the new calves and the young cows that have had no calves, and then the bulls These herds were sometimes so immense that they were driven forward as if in a throng down towards the forests At times they covered the whole landscape, and even if men came close to them, it was almost as if there was no room for them to flee, it was also as if the great number made them

[5] Rattray, *op cit*, 164, 269, 754, 765
[6] J S Mill, *Logic*, 3 3 1

trustful, with the result that one could kill them in multitudes But it was best to take them at the crossing places "[7]

[DALE-BURA] A woman, bitten by a snake, called to her husband, who upon seeing the reptile got a cord and tied it above the knee, twisting it tighter with a stick He then picked up a quartz pebble, cracked it in two, and with the sharp edge cut a circle right round the leg, severing the skin Blood oozed out, and though the woman became drowsy and ill, she eventually recovered The blackfellow was asked if he would cut the arm in the same way if the bite were on the wrist, and his answer was "Baal, me stupid fellow, too much blood run away!" The blacks have a thorough knowledge of what snakes are venomous and what harmless, but in either case when hunting always smash the head to a pulp before hanging the body round the neck to carry it[8]

In Chapter V we saw that our inferences are related to the situations to which we adjust Therefore, scientists do not study everything in their environment indiscriminately, but rather limit themselves to those situations which are important to their group

[WESTERN EUROPE] "*Salviati* The constant activity which you Venetians display in your famous arsenal suggests to the studious mind a large field for investigation, especially that part of the work which involves mechanics, for in this department all types of instruments and machines are constantly being constructed by many artisans, among whom there must be some who, partly by inherited experience and partly by their own observations, have become highly expert and clever in explanation

Sagredo You are quite right "[9]

Also, in spite of the fact that all parts of the universe interact, and therefore influence each other to some extent, the scientist concerns himself only with those aspects of the environment which have some practical effect upon the situation he studies

[ROME] ". nothing is due to one cause alone, but that which is taken to be the cause is that which seems to have had the most influence "[10]

Indeed, any effective piece of scientific research starts with some specific question that is asked about the problem situation, and then

[7] K Rasmussen, *Observations on the Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos*, tr W E Calvert (*Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, 7 2) (Copenhagen, 1930), pp 41–42

[8] A W Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp 385–86

[9] G Galilei, *Le nuove scienze* [1638], p 49, in *Opere* (Florence, 1890–1909), VIII, pp 9–448, tr H Crew and A de Salvo (New York, 1914)

[10] Celsus (1st cent A D) *De medicina*, ed F Marx (*Corpus Medicorum Latinorum*, 1) (Leipzig, 1915), prooem, 57, tr W G Spencer (London, 1935–38) Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harvard University Press

the scientist proceeds to gather the data which will help him to answer his question

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Every experiment is a question put to a body, the answer to which we receive through a phenomenon, that is, through a change which we observe, sometimes by the sight or smell, sometimes by the other senses" [11]

The question has to be sufficiently specific so that he deals with no more factors than he can apprehend, otherwise he cannot handle them.

[GREECE] "The following were the circumstances attending the diseases, from which I framed my judgements, learning from the common nature of all and the particular nature of the individual, from the disease, the patient, the regimen prescribed and the prescriber—for these make a diagnosis more favourable or less, from the constitution, both as a whole and with respect to the parts, of the weather and of each region, from the custom, mode of life, practices and ages of each patient, from talk, manner, silence, thoughts, sleep or absence of sleep, the nature and time of dreams, pluckings, scratchings, tears, from the exacerbations, stools, urine, sputa, vomit, the antecedents and consequents of each member in the successions of diseases, and the abscessions to a fatal issue or a crisis, sweat, rigor, chill, cough, sneezes, hiccoughs, breathing, belchings, flatulence, silent or noisy, hemorrhages, and hemorrhoids From these things must we consider what their consequents also will be" [12]

[CHINA] "The common people say that in investigating things one should follow Hui (the philosopher Chu), but where is there anyone who has been able to carry out his teachings in practice? I myself have tried to do so In former years I discussed this with my friend Ch'ien saying, 'If to be a sage or a virtuous man one must investigate everything under heaven how can at present anyone acquire such tremendous strength?' Pointing to some bamboos in front of the pavilion, I asked him to investigate them and see Both day and night Ch'ien entered into an investigation of the principles of the bamboo For three days he exhausted his mind and thought, until his mental energy was tired out and he took sick At first I said it was because his energy and strength were insufficient Therefore I myself undertook to carry on the investigation Day and night I was unable to understand the principles of the bamboo, until after seven days I also became ill because of having wearied and burdened my thoughts In consequence we mutually sighed and said, 'We cannot be either sages or

[11] J A Stockhardt, *Die Schule der Chemie* [1846] (Braunschweig, 1855, 8th ed), 1 6, tr C H Pierce (Cambridge, Mass, 1851)

[12] [Hippocrates], *Epidemica I* [ca 5th cent B C] 10, in *Opera*, ed Littre, II, pp 530-717

virtuous men, for we lack the great strength required to carry on the investigation of things' "[13]

To sum up, the scientist's research is influenced by his questions, his questions deal with the important aspects of important phenomena, and his judgments as to what is important depend upon the social values of his group Therefore, a science's concern with limited aspects of the universe tends to reinforce the value system of the group

Data

A science is composed of data, a taxonomy, and generalizations, which will be treated in that order

Though science deals with phenomena, we must make a distinction between facts and data A *fact* is the whole of a phenomenon—all its characteristics. It is a fact that the paper upon which this is written is white, smooth, flexible, etc However, we saw that the scientist is interested only in those aspects of his environment which affect his adjustments in a specific kind of situation, as a result he deals with a *datum* which is some aspect of the phenomenon, namely, those characteristics which fit into his particular frame of reference. To a physicist in our culture this paper is an organized set of electrons and protons, to a chemist it is composed of certain organic compounds, to a biologist it has a characteristic cell structure, and to an anthropologist it is an artifact

Data are either solely qualitative, or both qualitative and quantitative If the data only include the kinds of characteristics found in phenomena, they are *qualitative*

[EGYPT]

"Title

"Instructions concerning a gaping wound in his head, penetrating to the bone, smashing his skull, and rending open the brain of his skull

"Examination

"If thou examinest a man having a gaping wound in his head, penetrating to the bone, smashing his skull, and rending open the brain of his skull, thou shouldst palpate the wound Shouldst thou find that smash which is in his skull like those corrugations which form in molten copper, and something therein throbbing and fluttering under thy fingers, like

[13] Wang Shou-Jên (1472–1528), *Philosophy,* tr F G Henke (Chicago, 1916), pp 177–78

the weak place of an infant's crown before it becomes whole—when it has happened that there is no throbbing and fluttering under thy fingers until the brain of his (the patient's) skull is rent open—and he discharges blood from both his nostrils, and he suffers with stiffness in his neck,

"Diagnosis

"Thou shouldst say concerning him 'An ailment not to be treated'

"Treatment

"Thou shouldst anoint that wound with grease Thou shalt not bind it, thou shalt not apply two strips [of adhesive tape] upon it until thou knowest that he has reached a decisive point" [14]

If the data also contain information on how much there is of the different kinds of characteristics, they are *quantitative* as well [15]

[EGYPT] "'Thou examinest a man' means counting any one . [*lacuna*] . in whom an ailment is counted, like measuring the ailment of a man, in order to know the action of the heart There are canals (or vessels) in it (the heart) to every member Now if the priests of Sekhmet or any physician put his hands or his fingers upon the head, upon the back of the head, upon the two hands, upon the pulse, upon the two feet, he measures to the heart, because its vessels are in the back of the head and in the pulse, and because its pulsation is in every vessel of every member He says 'measure' regarding his wound because of the vessels to his head and to the back of his head and to his two feet . . [*lacuna*] his heart in order to recognize the indications which have arisen therein, meaning to measure it in order to know what is befalling therein" [16]

The data are gathered by observation One way of classifying observation is into *unskilled* and *skilled*, depending upon the amount of training necessary to make the observations Another is into *direct* and *indirect*, in the former the phenomenon itself is observed, in the latter its effect upon something else is observed

[AKAMBA] the Akamba show that they have a quick sense of observation for animal life and a good acquaintance with the habits of animals, especially in the case of such as can be hunted But even quite insignificant animals, such as small insects, from which, at least as far as one can see, they get neither good nor harm, come within the scope of their observation, and they have pondered over and tried to explain this and that, a distinguishing feature of a certain insect, often a little detail

[14] *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus*, ed J H Breasted (U of Chicago, Oriental Institute, *Publications*, 3) (Chicago, 1930), cols 2–3 (XVIII Dynasty = 1580–1350 B C)

[15] Data can never be purely quantitative because quantities are amounts of qualities Therefore no science can be based on measurement alone

[16] *Ibid*, col 1, gloss

only perceived with difficulty Their stories and riddles show this especially [17]

[MARQUESAS] we were lighted by several of the native tapers, held in the hands of young girls These tapers are most ingeniously made There is a nut abounding in the valley, called by the Typees "armor," closely resembling our common horse-chestnut The shell is broken, and the contents extracted whole Any number of these are strung at pleasure upon the long elastic fibre that traverses the branches of the cocoa-nut tree Some of these tapers are eight or ten feet in length, but being perfectly flexible, one end is held in a coil, while the other is lighted The nut burns with a fitful bluish flame, and the oil that it contains is exhausted in about ten minutes As one burns down, the next becomes ignited, and the ashes of the former are knocked into a cocoa-nut shell kept for the purpose. This primitive candle requires continual attention, and must be constantly held in the hand The person so employed marks the lapse of time by the number of nuts consumed, which is easily learned by counting the bits of tappa distributed at regular intervals along the string [18]

Quantitative data imply counting, which in turn depends upon a number system A society's number system and its naturalism seem to be interdependent. Rudimentary number systems are found in societies whose naturalism is simple, and elaborate number systems in those with a complex science and technology

[ARUNTA] At Alice Springs they occasionally count, sometimes using their fingers in doing so, up to five, but frequently anything beyond four is indicated by the word *oknirra,* meaning much or great One is *ninta,* two *terama* or *tera,* three *tera-ma-ninta,* four *tera-ma-tera,* five *tera ma-tera-ninta* A small mob of men is *atua nummina,* a bigger mob is *atua inkerinyiga,* a very large one is *atua injana oknirra* [19]

A good index of the extent to which a number system has developed is the presence of zero. In Babylonia an internal zero is found represented by a hyphen, but does not occur terminally [20] The first known use of the complete zero is in India [21] The Maya independently invented the zero, its earliest appearance is on the date 6 16 0 0 0 [22]

Precise naturalistic knowledge is often based on counting

[17] G. Lindblom, *The Akamba,* p 325

[18] H Melville, *Typee* [1846], pp 280–81, in *Works* (London, 1922–24), I

[19] B Spencer and F J Gillen, *The Arunta,* I, p 21

[20] O Neugebauer, *Mathematische Keilschrift-Texte* (*Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik,* [ser A] 3) (Berlin, 1935–37), I, pp 193–219, II, pls 39–40 (I Babylonian Dynasty = 1800–1700 B C ?)

[21] Pingala (3rd cent B C ?), *Chandahsutra,* ed V Sastri (*Bibliotheca Indica,* [new ser] 230, 258, 307), Calcutta, 1871–74

[22] S G Morley, *The Inscriptions of Peten* (Carnegie Institution of Washington, *Publications,* 437) (Washington, 1938), I, pp 16–65, V, Pt 1, pls 1, 54

[GREECE] " . . . it is necessary to aim at some measure But no measure, neither number nor weight, by reference to which [medical] knowledge can be made exact, can be found except bodily feeling Wherefore it is laborious to make knowledge so exact that only small mistakes are made here and there And that physician who makes only small mistakes would win my hearty praise Perfectly exact truth is but rarely to be seen " [23]

Civilizations are constantly using an elaborate number system, and this leads to the development of mathematics, the study of the relations between classes of quantities. A Sumerian arithmetic table is the earliest example of mathematical studies known.[24] Qualitative data are gathered by enumeration and measurement *Enumeration* is counting an amount of discrete units

[HOPI] "I learned to count up to twenty with my fingers and toes That was as high as we went If, for example, we wanted to indicate forty-four, we would say 'two twenties and four'!" [25]

Measurement is counting continuous quantities by comparing the continuum with a standard unit of quantity

[HOPI] "In measurement we said 'one finger wide' for about one inch, 'from the reach of the thumb to the middle finger' for about six inches, and 'one foot' for the length from heel to toe For long distances we counted in steps " [26]

Taxonomy

A *taxonomy* is the scientific categorization of data It follows from the discussion of the effects of categorization given in Chapter III that such classification is necessary if naturalistic customs are to be used in adjustment, in addition, taxonomy is the basis for generalization.

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I should like a method which would unite all such groups [of plants] as are naturally cognate and have many points in common and would not disjoin any kindred species, and which would reduce to classes and groups the species that are not really akin but can be con

[23] [Hippocrates], *De prisca medicina* [5th cent B C], 9, in *Opera*, ed Heiberg, I, Pt 1, pp 36–55, tr Jones and Withington

[24] F. Thureau-Dangin *et al*, *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée Impérial Ottoman* (Paris, 1910–21), IV, pl 14 [III Ur Dynasty], *vide* L Delaporte, "Document mathématique de l'époque des rois d'Our," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 8 (1911), pp 131–33

[25] L Simmons, *Sun Chief* (New Haven, 1942), p 61

[26] *Idem*

veniently classified by the shape of the flower or the divisions of the fruit "[27]

[THONGA] Plants, *psimili* or *psa kumila,* things which grow (*ku mila*), are distinguished from animals, called *psibandjana,* or *psihari,* which are said to *kula,* become great, and not *mila* [28]

Natives have the notion of the genus . . . Under the same name they unite forms which are sometimes widely different, but belong to the same genus . . . *Tsuna* means fern and applies to the Acrostichum tenuifolium . . . as well as to the . . . other kinds of Filicea.

The notion of the *genus* is so really present that Thonga distinguish various kinds in the same genus . . .

Cognate kinds found in various regions are . . . distinguished by the mention of their habitant . . . There is . . . the Hibiscus genus Its name is *Ntjhesi,* there are the Ntjhesi of the hill (Hibiscus surratensis, etc), the Ntjhensi of the nyaka [black earth], another kind found in Morakwen in the black earth, and there is the *shitjhesinyana sha ntlhaba,* double diminutive of ntjhesi, the Sida cordifolia, a nice little Malvacea, a near relative of the Hibiscus

However there is, of course, no anatomical study at the base of this classification so their ideas of genus are not always scientifically speaking, correct. They call *Phakama* any parasite of whatever form it may be

No wonder the notion of genus, though existing, has not been always correctly and universally applied Thonga have no idea of the anatomy of the plants they never analysed a flower, and are totally ignorant of the presence of male and female elements in it They however know that these sexual differences exist They have noticed, for instance, amongst the nkanye stems, which are a dioecious kind, that some are male and some female, and they carefully preserve some of the male stems in order to fecundate the female ones, but they believe that this fecundation takes place through the roots of the trees! [29]

The notion of *genus* [among animals] is not so marked as amongst plants It is, however, not absent The different kinds of duck are called *sekwa,* sekwa nyari, sekwa-mhala, the word sekwa being a true genus name We may even find the notion of *order* in the classification of mammalia made by Mankhelu when he said "Women eat only flesh of animals having *hoofs,* and not that of animals having paws " [30]

Taxonomies differ in their generality In some, the classes are limited in their usefulness ("artificial"), few or no other common characteristics can be found among the members of a class besides those which are the criteria of the category

[27] J Ray, *Synopsis methodica stirpium Britannicarum* [1690] (London, 1696, 2nd ed), "De variis plantarium methodis dissertatio," praef (p [x]), tr C E Raven (Cambridge, 1912)

[28] H. A Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe,* II, p 311

[29] *Ibid* , II, pp 306–09, *vide ibid* , II, pp 305–10, 518–49

[30] *Ibid* , II, pp 321–22, *vide ibid* , II, pp 311–32

[ILA] The Ba-ila name a great many trees, plant, and grasses Trees have the generic name *masamo,* bushes are *shivhuna,* grass is *mani,* leaves eaten as vegetables are *shishu* [31]

In others the classes are extended ("natural"), i e , many other common characteristics can be found among the members of a class beside those which are used as criteria

[ILA] This is their classification [of animals]
Banyama quadrupeds
Bapuka creeping things, reptiles
Tupuka insects.
Bazune birds
Inswi fish
The *Banyama* are divided roughly into hoofed animals, *obadi nfumba,* and *bachele,* soft footed animals with *shitula* ("noiseless feet") But lions, leopards, and cheetahs are not included in the latter sub-class [32]

Taxonomies also vary in their inclusiveness A *partial taxonomy* does not cover all the phenomena in the field dealt with by a science, an *exhaustive taxonomy* does

[GREECE] Aristotle used the following partial zoological taxonomy

- I *Anaima,* bloodless
  - A *malakia,* soft animals (cephalopod molluscs)
  - B *malakostraka,* soft shelled (crustaceans)
  - C *ostrakaderma,* hard shelled (testaceans)
  - D *entoma,* insects
- II *Enaima,* blooded
  - A *kete,* cetaceans
  - B *ichthyes,* fishes
  - C animals provided with feet
    - 1. oviparous
    - 2 viviparous
      - a quadrupeds
      - b biped (man) [33]

Generalization

A *generalization* is a relation established between classes of data [34]

[31] E W Smith and A M Dale, *The Ila Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia,* II, p 229 [32] *Ibid ,* II, p 224

[33] *Vide* Aristotle, *Historia animalium,* 490b, 523b, 534b, 539a, *De partibus animalium,* 657a–b For an exhaustive zoological taxonomy, *vide* C von Linné, *Systema naturae* [1735] (Stockholm, 1766–68, 12th ed)

[34] A *law* is a tested and valid generalization, an *hypothesis,* an untested generalization

> [GREECE] " . . . the origin of all other motions is that which moves itself . . . And we must grasp this not only generally in theory, but also in reference to individuals in the world of sense, for with these in view we seek general theories, and with these we believe that general theories ought to harmonize."[35]

We have already seen how generalizations are used to predict and alter phenomena.

Generalizations are either implicit or explicit. *Implicit* generalizations are common, for technological customs are often found to be based upon relationships which never have been enunciated. Thus the Caribou Eskimo use the principles of the pulley, centrifugal force and friction without ever explicitly having stated the laws involved, so far as I know.

> As among other Eskimos, an "ice-tackle" is used for hauling [seal and walrus], two holes being cut in the ice, converging towards each other, whilst two cuts are made in the thick skin on the back of the walrus' neck. A thick seal thong is made fast to the "bridge" between the two holes in the ice, through the cuts in the animal's skin, back to the bridge and again back to the animal, leaving a free end.[36]
>
> A bola is . . . used at the coast . . . [among] the Hauneqtormiut . . . The sling . . . is also used by the boys against the birds in those cases where it is not simply a plaything . . . The bull-roarer is also known.[37] . . . a tire of ice [is used on sleds].[38]

By contrast, *explicit generalizations* are clearly formulated.

> They not only observe but they correlate the results of their observation. The Didinga, for instance, have made a close study of the soils (each of which has a different name) and the natural vegetation which different soils carry. They use this knowledge gained by accumulated observation in selecting land for cultivation, and they have gradually worked up a very comprehensive theory of agriculture, all of which may not be accurate, but which does at any rate argue a capacity for scientific thinking and abstract judgment. They have, moreover, discovered for themselves the part played by bees in agriculture. One year when, deceived by exceptionally heavy rains, I conjectured that there would be a good harvest, they had no hesitation in prophesying the reverse, on the grounds that the heavy rains had drowned the young bees, on which they relied for the fertilisation of their crops. I should add that they proved right and I was wrong.[39]

[35] Aristotle, *De motu animalium*, 698a 12–15.
[36] K. Birket-Smith, *The Caribou Eskimos*, I, p. 129.
[37] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 116, 290.
[38] *Ibid.*, I, p. 177.
[39] J. H. Driberg, *The Savage as He Really Is* (London, 1929), pp. 21–22.

Generalizations vary in their degree of generality, i e , the related classes may contain relatively few kinds of phenomena, or many A classic example is that concerning laws of barometric pressure, Galileo's restricted law is that a column of water rises 28 feet.

> "I once saw a cistern which had been provided with a pump under the mistaken impression that the water might thus be drawn with less effort or in greater quantity than by means of an ordinary bucket The stock of the pump carried its sucker and valve in the upper part so that the water was lifted by attraction and not by a push as is the case with pumps in which the sucker is placed lower down. This pump worked perfectly so long as the water in the cistern stood above a certain level, but below this level the pump failed to work . . . this fixed elevation of eighteen cubits is true for any quantity of water whatever, be the pump large or small or even as fine as a straw " [40]

Torricelli's law, of higher generality, is that the height of a column of any liquid depends upon air pressure and the specific gravity of the liquid

> "I . [have tried] to make an instrument which would show the changes in the air, which is at times heavier and thicker and at times lighter and more rarefied We live submerged at the bottom of an ocean of the element air, which by unquestioned experiments is known to have weight, and so much, indeed, that near the surface of the earth where it is most dense, it weighs volume for volume about the four-hundredth part of the weight of water . . The force which holds up that quicksilver [in a barometer] against its nature to fall down again, is external . On the surface of the liquid which is in the basin, there gravitates a mass of air fifty miles high, is it therefore to be wondered at if in the glass . . where the mercury is not attracted nor indeed repelled, since there is nothing there, it enters and rises to such an extent as to come to equilibrium with the weight of this outside air which presses upon it? Water also, in a similar but much longer vessel, will rise up to almost eighteen cubits, that is, as much further than the quicksilver rises as quicksilver is heavier than water, in order to come to equilibrium with the same force, which presses alike the one and the other " [41]

Sciences, when taken as a whole, differ in their number of generalizations and the relations between them Regarding the first point, some sciences consist of few generalizations, while others have many. For example, compare the number of empirical generalizations found in any scientific treatise by Aristotle, with the number

[40] Galilei, *op cit*, pp 63–64

[41] F Torricelli, 'Letter to M Ricci, June 11, 1644," *Opere*, ed G Loria and G Vassura (Faenza, 1919), III, pp 186–88, tr V Cioffari, New York, 1937

found in any of our own works in the same science As to the second point, in most cases a science is composed of a miscellaneous collection of independent generalizations,[42] in very few instances does a science have an organized body of connected generalizations[43]

TECHNOLOGY

Nature of technology

Every organism alters its environment to some extent in the process of adjustment Some of these changes, e g , the nest made by a bird, make the environment more suitable for it Man has done more in this respect than any other animal, (3) indeed, he alone of all organisms can live anywhere in the world because of his ability to make his environment suitable for him (4)

[TROBRIANDS] You would realise at first sight that the soil is valued . . highly, that it is mapped out very definitely and used . effectively . Even during a casual visit to the Trobriand Islands, the ethnographer would be struck by the density of the population, by the extent of the gardens, by their variety and thoroughness of cultivation He would also find that relatively little of that territory is left to nature and its spontaneous growth In the villages again it would be easy to see that more than half of the buildings are storehouses, and that produce is accumulated, stored and handled in a manner which makes it evident that man here in no way leads a hand-to-mouth existence, but that he depends on what he has achieved and has made into a solid foundation of wealth[44]

Man achieves these results by means of his *technology*, the body of customs by which a society alters its environment In other words, technology is naturalistic practice

[ROME] " . . in digging wells we must not make light of science The methods of nature must be considered closely in the light of intelligence and experience "[45]

His belief is that since phenomena are produced by the interaction of matter, altering the matter will modify the environment

[42] The earliest example known is the *Kahun Medical Papyrus* in F L Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1897–98), pp 5–11, pls 5–6 [XII–XIII Dynasties = 2000–1700 B C ?]

[43] I do not know any earlier than the physical treatises of Archimedes (287?–212 B C), *Opera omnia*, ed J L Heiberg (Leipzig, 1910–13)

[44] B Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*, I, p 1

[45] Vitruvius (1st cent B C), *De architectura*, ed F Granger (London, 1931–34), 8 6 12 Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harvard University Press

A society alters its environment to make it more suitable, and other things being equal, the more a society's technology is developed, the greater is its control over that environment. (5) If the environment is unfavorable and the technology simple, the society is usually dominated by its environment

[CARIBOU ESKIMO] In very few places in the world will the observer receive such a vivid and immediate impression of the fundamental importance of the means of subsistence to culture as among the Eskimos and, as all know, means of subsistence in this instance means hunting and fishing It is as if the endless struggle to wrest the daily bread from a barren and merciless country has concentrated every thought upon food and how it is to be procured to a degree only equalled by the hard struggle against the cold If the conversation of the Eskimos does not turn upon new winter clothing, it is usually about the hunt and the contents of meat caches[46]

But even under the most adverse circumstances, remarkable alterations of the environment are sometimes made

[IFUGAO] Among the wet rice folk, rice terraces are the principal form of productive property These climb the mountains, tier after tier, to heights of 1,800 metres The terrace walls are usually of stone, either natural or built up The average height is probably 4 or 5 metres, but there are natural stone sides 20 or more metres high and others having built walls 10 or more metres high If these terraces could be straightened and placed end to end, they would reach about half-way around the equator Here is a modification by man of the earth's surface on a scale unparalleled elsewhere—a massive modification beside which the Suez and Panama canals are quantitatively insignificant, though qualitatively, as necessitating a vastly higher technology, social organization, and mobilization of resources, they, of course, stand far ahead of the Ifugao terraces, built little by little through many hundreds, perhaps many thousands, of years by means of wooden stakes, sometimes iron shod, and wooden paddles—"spades" by courtesy—as the working tools[47]

On the other hand, societies with complex technologies dominate their environment to a great extent

[GREECE] "Wonders are many, and none is more wonderful than man, the power that crosses the white sea, driven by the stormy south-wind, making a path under surges that threaten to engulf him, and Earth, the eldest of the gods, the immortal, the unwearied, doth he wear, turning the soil with the offspring of horses, as the ploughs go to and fro from year to year

[46] Birket Smith, *op cit*, I, p 95

[47] R F Barton, *Philippine Pagans* (London, 1938), p 3, *vide* Barton, *Ifugao Law* (U of California, *Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 15 1) (Berkeley, 1919), pl 20

"And the light-hearted race of birds, and the tribes of savage beasts, and the sea-brood of the deep, he snares in the meshes of his woven toils, he leads captive, man excellent in wit And he masters by his arts the beast whose lair is in the wilds, who roams the hills, he tames the horse of shaggy mane, he puts the yoke upon its neck, he tames the tireless mountain bull

"And speech, and wind-swift thought, and all the moods that mould a state, hath he taught himself, and how to flee the arrows of the frost, when 'tis hard lodging under the clear sky, and the arrows of the rushing rain, yea, he hath resource for all, without resource he meets nothing that must come only against Death shall he call for aid in vain, but from baffling maladies he hath devised escapes " [48]

[UNITED STATES] " we have put many stages of artifice and device, of manufacture and alteration, between ourselves and the rest of nature The ordinary city dweller knows nothing of the earth's productivity, he does not know the sunrise and rarely notices when the sun sets, ask him in what phase the moon is, or when the tide in the harbor is high, or even how high the average tide runs, and likely as not he cannot answer you Seed-time and harvest are nothing to him If he has never witnessed an earthquake, a great flood, or a hurricane, he probably does not feel the power of nature as a reality surrounding his life at all His realities are the motors that run elevators, subway trains, and cars, the steady feed of water and gas through the mains and of electricity over the wires, the crates of food-stuff that arrive by night and are spread for his inspection before his day begins, the concrete and brick, bright steel and dingy woodwork that take the place of earth and waterside and sheltering roof for him His 'house' is an apartment in the great man-made city, so far as he is concerned, it has only an interior, no exterior of its own It could not collapse, let in rain, or blow away If it leaks the fault is with a pipe or with the people upstairs, not with heaven His parks are 'landscaped,' and fit into his world of pavements and walls, his pleasure resorts are 'developments' in which a wild field looks unformed, unreal, even his animals (dogs and cats are all he knows as creatures, horses are parts of milk-wagons) are fantastic 'breeds' made by his tampering " [49]

Instruments

Many vertebrates use objects, i e , anything not belonging to the same species, to help them reach their goals, and these are *implements* Inheritance seems to determine the kinds of implements that other animals use, and the way they use them, but primates [50] can learn to develop new implements In turn man, more than any of the other primates, uses artificial implements, or *instruments*

[48] Sophocles, *Antigone*, 332–64

[49] S K Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key* (Cambridge, Mass , 1942), pp 278–79. Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harvard University Press

[50] W Kohler, *Intelligenzprufungen an Menschenaffen* (Berlin, 1921, 2nd ed)

[HAUSA] "And these are the smith's tools, bellows, anvil, tongs, hammer, file, also a fire-place and charcoal

"Every one of these has its uses The anvil is the thing on which metal is placed when it has been taken out of the fire, the metal is then beaten with a hammer until it is forged as one wishes Charcoal is used as fuel for the fire, and the bellows for fanning it The tongs are used for picking the iron out of the fire when it is red-hot " [51]

Obviously the simplest kind of implement is a natural object Consequently, it seems reasonable to presume that the earliest hominids used such implements almost exclusively, such an hypothetical culture is called *eolithic* (Greek. *eos,* dawn, *lithos,* stone) I say "hypothetical" because no one has ever proved the existence of such a culture, however, some natural implements are found in every society

[YAGHAN] On old camp-sites numerous smooth, water-worn stones can be picked up They were used as hammers to break open various shellfish, and also they served as anvils for cracking hot marrow-bones . . . Yaghan . use . a shell cup . . this is nothing more elaborate than a simple shell, its shape in no way modified Such a receptacle could be used to dip water from a bark bucket.[52]

Instruments are divided into *tools* and *machines.* In the former the motive power applied to the instrument itself executes the operation for which it is used in an activity; the oldest tools known may date from the end of the Pliocene [53] Knives, which are common to many cultures, may serve as an example

[ANDAMANS] . *knives* . . . are narrow pieces [of bamboo] hardened over a fire, and sharpened by means of a *Cyrena* shell [54]

[UNITED STATES] Household kitchen knives and pocket knives consist of steel blades and usually wooden, bone, or plastic handles, they are sharpened on carborundum whetstones.

Machines are instruments in which the motive power is first transformed into executing power, which in turn carries out the opera-

[51] F W Taylor and A G G Webb, *Customs of the Hausas* (London, 1932), p 209

[52] S K Lothrop, *The Indians of Tierra del Fuego* (Museum of the American Indian, *Contributions,* 10) (New York, 1928), pp 131–32

[53] J R Moir, "East Anglia of 500,000 years ago," *The Antiquity of Man in East Anglia* (Cambridge, 1927), Chap 4, *idem,* "The culture of Pliocene man," *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society,* 7 (1932–34), pp 1–17

[54] E H Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* (London, [1883]), pp 157–58

tion The earliest machine that we know about is the spear thrower, dating from Upper Pleistocene 3.[55]

[KUURN] The spear-thrower is a piece of wood about two feet and a half long, and three-quarters of an inch thick It is two or three inches broad in the middle, and tapers off into a handle at one end and a hook at the other. Its object is to lengthen the arm, as it were, and at the same time balance the spear by bringing the hand nearest its centre The hook of the spear-thrower is put into the hole in the end of the hunting-spear, and the other end is grasped with the hand, which also holds the spear above it with the finger and thumb With this instrument a spear is sent to a much greater distance than without it [56]

Another point to consider is the number of instruments used in a technology It is surprising how few are used in some societies, the Seligmanns tried to make a complete inventory of the instruments found among the Vedda, and even when non-technological ones are included the total is only 23.

[The following is an attempted complete inventory of Vedda implements]

[1] Bows and ordinary arrows with [traded] iron heads of different sizes
[2] . ceremonial arrows . .
[3] Simple sharpened wood arrows
[4] Boy's bow with wooden arrows, being an exact facsimile of the iron tipped arrows.
[5] Axes [traded,] made of iron.
[6] Digging sticks
[7] Drill for producing fire.
[8] Apron made of the bast of *Antiaris toxicaria* (*riti* bark).
[9] Tortoise shell from the Danigala used as a dish.
[10] Disc of wax from wild bees (trading asset)
[11] Ball of bast-cord for bow strings
[12] Fire lighting appliances with hollowed areca nut for keeping tinder [traded]
[13] Earthenware pot hanging in a bast net.
[14] Pouch made of squirrel skin
[15] Kilt made of leaves
[16] . . *riti* bark bag
[17] . . message stick . . .
[18] . . clay figures and marbles . . .
[19] . . . dried deer skins .

[55] E Lartet and H Christy, *Reliquiae Aquitanicae*, ed T. R. Jones (London, 1865–75), pl B 19–20, #1

[56] J Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (Melbourne, 1881), p 87

[20] . a stout stick about 2¼ metres long with four prongs at one end, which the Vedda carries hanging by a loop from his forearm and which he uses to detach the comb

[21] the vessel called a *maludema* in which the honey is collected made of deer's hide

[22] The ladder with the help of which *bambara* honey is collected consists of a greatly elongated loop of cane, apparently derived from a species of *Calamus*, across which rungs of creeper are stretched

[23] [Traded] beads [57]

Contrast this with the enormous number of instruments used in our society [58]

Third, there is the number of different uses to which an instrument is put. An instrument is *generalized* if it is used for many purposes, but *specialized* if used for some particular purpose

[ANDAMANS] they always carry with them, or keep ready for use, one or more *Cyrena* shells as these serve them in a great variety of ways for example, in *dressing* and *preparing* the wooden portion of their arrows, in *sharpening* their bamboo and cane knives, and the inner edge of the boar's tusk, in order to adapt it for use as a plane, as a *spoon*, in eating gravy, etc.; as a *knife*, in cutting thatching leaves, etc, and in severing the joints of meat, and as a *scraper* in separating the pulp from the fibre of the plants from which they manufacture their various descriptions of string and cord, these shells are likewise employed in making the ornamental incisions in their weapons, implements, leaf-ornaments, etc, in preparing the peculiar *uj* appendage (worn when dancing), and they are also frequently used for planing purposes . the *Cyrena* is also used in opening other bivalves [e g , those used as food] [59]

The generalized use of the hairpin by women is the subject of customary jokes in the United States

[KUURN] The spear is the chief and most formidable weapon amongst the aborigines There are seven kinds of spears, each of which is used for a special purpose The longest and heaviest are the war spears, which are about nine feet long, and made of ironbark saplings reduced to a uniform thickness They are variously named from the way in which they are pointed The "tuulowarn" has a smooth point The "tungung'gil" is barbed on one side for six inches from the point The "wurokugil" is jagged for six inches on each side of the point, with sharp splinters of flint or volcanic glass, fixed in grooves with the same kind of cement which is employed to fix the handles of stone axes. The hunting spear, "narmall," is about seven feet long, and is made of a peeled ti-tree sapling, with a smooth, sharp point, to balance the weapon it has a fixed buttpiece formed

[57] C G and B Z Seligmann, *The Veddas*, pp 119, 328–29

[58] E g , *vide Thomas' Register of American Manufacturers* (New York, 1945, 35th ed) [59] Man, *op cit*, p 156

of the stalk of the grass tree, about two feet long, and with a hole in the pith in its end to receive the hook of the spear-thrower, but, as the hook of the spear-thrower would soon destroy the light grass tree, a piece of hard wood is inserted in the end, and secured with a lashing of kangaroo sinew Although the narmall is chiefly used for killing game, it is the first spear thrown in fighting, as it can be sent to a greater distance than the heavy war spears, which are only used in close quarters

The "gniriin" spear is made of a strong reed, about five feet long, with a sharp point of ironbark wood, and is used only for throwing at criminals

The eel spear is formed of a peeled ti-tree sapling, of the thickness of a little finger and about seven feet long, pointed with the leg bone of the emu, or with the small bone of the hind leg of the large kangaroo ground to a long, sharp point, and lashed to the shaft with the tail sinews of the kangaroo The spear called "bundit"—which name means "bite"—is made of a very rare, heavy wood from the Cape Otway mountains, and is so valuable that it is never used in fighting or hunting, but only as an ornament It is given as a present in token of friendship, or exchanged for fancy maleen spears from the interior [60]

Fourth is the material of which an instrument is made The earliest implements which have been found are made of *raw materials,* i e, materials which are chemically unaltered, [61] and the same is true of many instruments used today The most common raw materials are non-metals such as stone, wood, shell, bone, etc, but metals in their natural state were used in the past [62] and are still employed

In casting the eye over a map of Lake Superior, a remarkable projection, in the form of an immense horn, will be observed jutting out from the south shore, and curving to the northeast until it ends in an irregular point

This peninsula, which is called Keweenaw Point, is about eighty miles in length, and at the place where it joins the main land forty-five miles in width Through the whole extent of this projection a belt of metalliferous trap formation extends, differing at various points in structure, and in the character of its contents

Within this belt, all the mining operations, ancient and modern, have been chiefly confined The most remarkable feature of the district is the character of its metalliferous products, which occur, not in the condition of an ore of copper, but exclusively as native metal This is met with in immense masses, in veins of smaller size, and in rounded nodules The

[60] Dawson, *op cit*, pp 87–88

[61] The oldest implements that have been discovered are made of flint, *vide* Moir, *op cit*

[62] A nicked piece of iron pyrite, which may have been used as a strike-a-light, has been found dating from Upper Pleistocene 3, *vide* E Dupon, *Les temps préhistorique en Belgique* (Brussels, 1872, 2nd ed), pp 152–53.

cutting of the masses is a tedious and costly process, and in some instances, even with all the appliances of modern art, requires several months before a single mass is entirely removed from the mine. The metal is sometimes almost entirely free from foreign matter, yielding when melted down in the furnace from 90 to 95 per cent. of copper.

An ancient people extracted copper from the veins of Lake Superior of whom history gives no account.

They did it in a rude way, by means of fire and the use of copper wedges or gads, and by stone mauls.

They had only the simplest mechanical contrivances, and consequently penetrated the earth but a short distance.

They do not appear to have acquired any skill in the art of metallurgy or of cutting masses of copper.

For cutting tools they had chisels, and probably adzes or axes of copper. These tools are of pure copper, and hardened only by condensation or beating when cold.

They sought chiefly for small masses and lumps, and not for large masses.[63]

Artificial materials are those produced by the chemical alteration of raw materials; they include *metals produced by metallurgy* (artificially extracted from ores) and *synthetics* (artificial compounds). Extracted metals have been found in Sumeria which date back to the Uruk period;[64] the following description of the process is typical of that found through much of Africa.

[II A] Iron-ore is not found within the limits of Bwila, strictly speaking, and a large proportion of the iron used is imported from Bunduwe (Butotela) country, the people of which are famed for their ironwork. The Bambala, especially in the hills around Shanaobi, smelt iron for local consumption and trade with their neighbours, and we will describe the process as carried on there.

The principal figure in the industry is the *munganga wa butale* ("the iron doctor"), who is also called *chibinda*, a word which seems to mean "maker." His is a rare profession. Its secrets are jealously guarded and handed down from father to son. It is largely a matter of knowing the different kinds of *musamo* ("medicines"); how far the doctor is credulous we cannot say, but the people believe it would be impossible to extract the iron without the "medicines." "*Musamo yasanduzha lubwe bube butale,*" they say ("The medicines transform the ore into iron.")

The industry is not carried on all the year round, but only in the spring. In the winter the men of the villages make preparations by cutting

[63] C. Whittlesey, *Ancient Mining on the Shores of Lake Superior* (Smithsonian Institution, *Contributions to Knowledge*, 13 4 [155]) (Washington, 1863), pp. 1, 29.

[64] A. Noldeke *et al.*, "Vorlaufiger Bericht uber Uruk V," *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, (philos.-hist.) 1933, no. 5.

down the trees from which the charcoal is to be made The trees used are the *mabanga* and *mikoso,* because of their good burning qualities

When the time appointed arrives the doctor is summoned, and comes with his medicines and paraphernalia On his arrival he takes charge of the proceedings A company of men is sent out to dig the ironstone on the hill sides They quarry (*kupwaya*) the stone, digging it out with strong, heavy axes turned in the handle (*kusakila twembe*) to form picks The stones are then broken up into small pieces (*kusansaula*) This done, they weave strong receptacles (*bisangadi, shisekelele*), and carry the stone off to the village

Beer is made in considerable quantities, and when it is consumed they commence the smelting operations Some go to draw water, others seek an ant-hill with good strong clay for moulding They build there a long temporary shelter (*chilao*) in which to live while the work is going on . .

Some of the men dig out clay from the ant-hill and others hollow out four shallow holes in a straight line, around which the kilns (*inganzo*) are to be built The clay is put into these holes and puddled While they are doing this the doctor empties a pot of beer, mixed with "medicines," into the holes The clay is then thrown into a heap, the men shouting "*Kabufwa butale*" ("Let the iron die") while doing so Then they commence moulding (*kubumba*) a hollow one about 5 feet high and 6 feet in circumference at the largest part, the clay wall is about 3 or 4 inches thick Four of these inganzo are, as a rule, built in a line

While the kilns are being built, some of the men set to work to prepare the *inchela,* the spouts of clay They cut poles about the thickness of one's arm and 5 feet long, and round them evenly; these are the *mibumbyo* on which the spouts are to be moulded And they gather a plant called Shikantyo, which when put into a small pit and beaten into a pulp with a pestle (mwansha) produces a slimy viscous (*lelumuka*) substance which is used to lubricate the *mibumbyo* Women from the village prepare the clay, making it very fine, and men carefully mould it round the poles, when finished, they are rubbed in chaff (*bungu*) to make the clay dry and firm Thanks to the Shikantyo rubbed on the poles they are easily drawn out, and hollow cylinders about 4 feet long are thus formed These are the *inchela*

In arranging these in the kiln four openings are made near the base, one on each side, north, south, east, and west Four of the *inchela* are arranged, two above and two below, on the west side, this, where the iron will be taken out, has the name of *muchabo,* and one each north and south called *tupululu* Clay is carefully replaced around the *inchela* to close the holes The *inchela* slope downwards into the kiln, but those from sides do not meet

Other men go out to make the charcoal (*kubunga mashimbi*) The wood cut in the winter is collected in heaps In the afternoon, when the sun is lessening, they set fire to the heaps They have already collected piles of clay and a quantity of twigs and branches, and now in the middle of the night they go back to where the fires are burning down Each man takes a bundle of twigs to shelter his face from the intense heat and rushes forward

to throw it on the fire They can then cover the fire, thus damped down somewhat by the branches of trees, with earth. This is left about four days, then they return and dig out the charcoal They weave long receptacles, called *miembo* ("trumpets"), in which to carry the charcoal to the kilns All is now ready for packing the kilns

The packing is done almost entirely by the doctor, but all hand him charcoal and stone as required After putting some charcoal at the bottom, a fire is lighted, and then they pile up the stone and charcoal in alternate layers until the kiln is full "Medicines" are put in also What these are we do not know, except that two of them consist of a piece of hippopotamus hide and some guinea-fowl feathers The reason for these is that the fire makes a loud harsh noise like the cry of a hippo and guinea-fowl, and somehow, therefore, those "medicines" promote the burning Near the top of the kiln the doctor puts more fire and charcoal At the top of all he puts some pieces of split wood slantwise, these are called *intoba* and have some mystic signification

If the firing has been properly done, by the late afternoon the doctor, after repeatedly examining the interior through the *inchela* announces that all is finished In taking out the iron, they remove the *inchela,* making large holes on the four sides of the kiln A big hole is dug on the west (*muchabo*) to receive the debris Men then push poles into the three other openings, rake out the debris (*kufukuzha*), and work the iron out towards the opening on the west It is pushed out some way from the kiln and then hacked with axes to remove the slag adhering to it The lump of iron is called *mutanda* When the stuff is removed from it, it is, while still hot, plunged into water

The doctor, after the operations of the afternoon, goes out at night into the veld On his return he goes to his house in the village, and taking a *musebe* ("a rattle") he begins to shake it and sing

The lump of iron is afterwards broken up, and a smith with his bellows melts it and makes it into ingots, which are turned into axes, etc , or sold

Ironwork Blacksmithing

A visit to the blacksmith We find the blacksmith (*mufuzhi*) in the smithy (*chifudilo*), a roughly built shelter, without walls, but covered to protect the workers from the sun, erected in an open space in the village He is at work when we arrive The assistant is working the bellows (*mavhuba*) These consist of two shallow wooden bowls, each with an elongated tube—hollowed out of a solid block, placed side by side, and kept together by a piece of hide around the tubes The bowls (*mitiba*) are covered loosely with a soft piece of skin (*impapa*), tied around the rims with cord, in the centres are fastened small sticks (*tusamo*) to act as the handles of the bellows The *mindi,* as the projecting tubes are named, are inserted into the enlarged mouth of a baked earthenware tube (*inchela*), the base of which is in the fire By working the sticks up and down, the operator sends a continual blast through into the fire [65]

[65] Smith and Dale, *op cit*, pp 202–06, 209–12

The earliest synthetic known may be a piece of Egyptian glass.[66] The present use of plastics in our own culture was given a great impetus through the discovery of celluloid by J. W. Hyatt in 1869.[67]

Finally, instruments are classified on the basis of the motive power which is used. The first, and still universal, is human muscle power.

[ILA] When it becomes necessary to make fire by friction, two sticks are taken to make the drill. The lower one is called *chikazhi* ("the female") and has a small hole drilled in it; it is taken from any suitable tree. The other is named the *lupika* ("the twirler") and is regarded as a male; any suitable stick can be used, the best is from the *namunkulungu* tree. Bits of dry grass or rag are used as tinder, and placed near the *chikazhi* to receive the spark which is carefully nursed into a flame. The *lupika* is taken between the palms and twirled; it is a tiresome process, and generally two or three men have to take turns before a flame is produced.[68]

[UNITED STATES] Human muscle power is used in lighting matches.

In addition, there are some societies beside our own that use domesticated animals, wind, and water, and even steam.

[CROW] . . . dogs . . . [were used] to draw a travois. . . . This was the familiar Plains Indian dray of two poles crossed and tied in front to the beast's back while the diverging butt ends dragged along the ground; in between there was a rectangular frame to which baggage could be fastened.[69]

[INCA] . . . they hoist sails on their wooden rafts when they navigate the sea.[70]

[ROME] "Wheels are used in rivers. . . . Round the outside, paddles are fixed, and these, when they are acted on by the current of the river, move

[66] The piece of dark blue glass . . . is so far unique in these graves. It was in an alabaster vase placed between the arms of the skeleton. . . . It appears to be Egyptian in origin; it is a head of Hathor badly impressed in a mould, with traces of a previous impress of the crown across the face.—W. M. F. Petrie and J. E. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas* (British School of Archaeology in Egypt, *Publications*, 1) (London, 1896), p. 48, pl. 64, no. 91 [Early Gerzean?]

[67] *Annual Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Patents*, 1870, Pt. 2, nos. 105, 338.

[68] Smith and Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

[69] Lowie, *op. cit.*, p. 91. The earliest known use of domesticated animals in Mesopotamia: Noldeke *et al.*, "Vorläufiger Bericht über Uruk, IV," *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, (philos.-hist.) 1932, no. 6, pl. 14c, h [Uruk].

[70] Garcilaso de la Vega, *Los comentarios reales de los Incas* [1609], ed. H. H. Urteaga (Lima, 1918–20), 3.16, tr. C. R. Markham (London, 1869–71). The earliest known sailing ship is found on an Egyptian decorated pot: H. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East* (Royal Anthropological Institute, *Occasional Papers*, 6, 8) (London, 1924–27), I, pl. 13, fig. 1 [Late Gerzean].

on and cause the wheel to turn . . . Hence, being turned by the force of the river only, they supply what is required." [71]

[GREECE] "Place a cauldron over a fire: a ball shall revolve on a pivot. A fire is lighted under a cauldron, AB, containing water, and covered at the mouth by the lid CD; with this the bent tube EFG communicates, the extremity of the tube being fitted into a hollow ball, HK. Opposite to the extremity G place a pivot, LM, resting on the lid CD; and let the ball contain two bent pipes, communicating with it at the opposite extremities of a diameter, and bent in opposite directions, the bends being at right angles and across the lines FG, LM. As the cauldron gets hot it will be found that the steam, entering the ball through EFG, passes out through the bent tubes towards the lid, and causes the ball to revolve." [72]

TRUTH

Truth is naturalistic value. Anything is *true* if it can be used in making a naturalistic adjustment, either in predicting phenomena or altering them. Conversely, if the expected phenomena does not occur, it is *false*.

[GREECE] "Such appears to be the truth about the generation of bees, judging from theory and from what are believed to be the facts about them; the facts, however, have not yet been sufficiently grasped; if ever they are, then credit must be given rather to observation than to theories, and to theories only if what they affirm agrees with the observed facts." [73]

Verification is testing the truth value of a thing. This is done by seeing whether the interaction of matter results in an anticipated phenomenon.

[BYZANTIUM] "According to Aristotle, if the medium, through which the motion takes place, be the same, but the moving bodies differ in weight, their times must be proportional to their respective weights. . . . But that is wholly false, as can be shown by experience more clearly than by logical demonstration. For if you let two bodies of very different weight fall simultaneously from the same height, you will observe that the rate of motion does not follow their proportional weights, but there will be only a very slight difference in time, so that if their difference in weight be not very great, but one body were, say, twice as heavy as the other, the times will not perceptibly differ." [74]

[71] Vitruvius, *De architectura*, 10.5.1.

[72] Hero Alexandrinus (3rd cent. A.D.?), Pneumatica, 2.11 (202), in *Opera*, ed. W. Schmidt *et al.* (Leipzig, 1899–1914), I, pp. 1–333, tr. J. G. Greenwood (London, 1851).

[73] Aristotle, *De generatione animalium*, 760b 27–33.

[74] Joannes Philoponus (470?–540?), *In Aristotelis Physicorum*, ed. G. Vitteli (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 16–17) (Berlin, 1887–88), II, p. 682, tr. W. A. Heidel (Baltimore, 1933).

Historical References

(1) " . . . there never was a nation so stupid as not to observe the first simple laws of motion, gravitation, and elasticity, nor so artless as not to apply these laws to the ordinary purposes of human life . . . . The merest savage has conceived a scheme of nature upon which he acts, and, when new phenomena occur, he endeavours to refer them to some law or predicament of being already known to himself, or if this be impracticable, he imagines some new principle better fitted to serve the purpose."—A. Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science,* I, pp. 159, 278–79.

(2) "*Science* is the knowledge of consequences, and dependence of one fact upon another: by which, out of that we can presently do, we know how to do something else when we will, or the like another time: because when we see how any thing comes about, upon what causes, and by what manner, when the like causes come into our power, we see how to make it produce the like effects."—T. Hobbes, *Leviathan,* I. 5 (p. 35).

(3) ". . . it is certain that man has reacted upon organized and inorganic nature, and thereby modified, if not determined, the material structure of his earthly home."—G. P. Marsh, *The Earth as Modified by Human Action,* p. 8.

(4) "Man can inhabit every climate."—G. L. Leclerc, Count de Buffon *et al.*, *Histoire naturelle* [1749–1804] (Brussels, 1828–30), X, p. 54, tr. W. Smellie (London, 1791, 3rd ed.).

"Thus the more he shall observe and cultivate Nature, the more expedients he will discover for making her submit, and for drawing from her bosom fresh sources of riches, without diminishing the inexhaustible treasures of her fertility."—*Ibid.*, II, p. 29.

(5) "This powerful operation of climate is felt most sensibly by rude nations, and produces greater effects than in societies more improved. The talents of civilized man are continually exerted in rendering their own condition more comfortable, and by their ingenuity and inventions, they can in a great measure supply the defects, and guard against the inconveniences of any climate."—W. Robertson, *The History of America* [1777], II, p. 98; in *Works* (Chiswick, 1824), VIII–X.

VII

THE SUPERNATURALISTIC WORLD VIEW: DOGMA

Supernaturalism is the environmental approach which achieves adjustment by the use of symbols which stand for immaterial powers Those customs which form a society's supernatural theory are its dogma, its customary supernatural practices, its ritual (1)

DOGMA

Nature of dogma

Dogma is supernatural theory, it is the body of customs by which a society interprets phenomena as the product of immaterial powers. (2) Dogma takes the form of a myth or creed

[TETON DAKOTA] "*Wakan* [the supernatural] means very many things. The Lakota [i e, Teton Dakota] understands what is meant from the things that are considered *wakan*, yet sometimes its meaning must be explained to him It is something that is hard to understand . . When a priest uses any object in performing a ceremony that object becomes endowed with a spirit, not exactly a spirit, but something like one, the priests call it *tonwan* or *ton* [*mana*] Now anything that thus acquires *ton* is *wakan*, because it is the power of the spirit or quality that has been put into it. A *wicasa wakan* [shaman] has the power of the *wakan* beings

"The roots of certain plants are *wakan* because they are poisonous. Likewise some reptiles are *wakan* because if they bite they would kill Again, some birds are *wakan* because they do very strange things and some animals are *wakan* because the *wakan* beings make them so In other words, anything may be *wakan* if a *wakan* spirit goes into it Thus a crazy man is *wakan* because the bad spirit has gone into him

"Again, if a person does something that cannot be understood, that is also *wakan*. Drinks that make one drunk are *wakan* because they make one crazy

"Every object in the world has a spirit, and that spirit is *wakan* Thus

the spirit of the tree or things of that kind, while not like the spirit of man, are also *wakan*.

"*Wakan* comes from the *wakan* beings. These *wakan* beings are greater than mankind in the same way that mankind is greater than animals." [1]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "God hath sent forth the Spirit [*pneuma*] of his Son into your hearts." [2]

"Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you." [3]

". . . we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory. . . . God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God [which is in him]. Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness to him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." [4]

"I give you to understand that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed: and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal. For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of miracles; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues. But all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will." [5]

A *myth* is a dogma in narrative form, (3) while a *creed* is the formal statement of a dogma.

[WESTERN EUROPE] The earliest known Christian myth is *The Gospel According To Saint Mark* (*ca* A.D. 70), in the *New Testament*.

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible.

"And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, Begotten

[1] J. R. Walker, *The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota* (American Museum of Natural History, *Anthropological Papers*, 16.2) (New York, 1917), p. 152.

[2] Paul of Tarsus (d. *ca* A.D. 67), *Epistolae*, "Galatians," 4.6, in *New Testament*.

[3] *Ibid.*, "I Corinthians," 3.16, *vide ibid.*, 6.19.

[4] *Ibid.*, 2.7, 10–14. [5] *Ibid.*, 12.3–11.

of his Father before all worlds [God of God], Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made, Being of one substance with the Father, By whom all things were made. Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man. And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, He suffered and was buried. And the third day he rose again according to the Scriptures. And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again, with glory, to judge both the quick and the dead, Whose Kingdom shall have no end.

"And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord, and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father [and the Son], Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. And I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church, I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. And I look for the Resurrection of the dead. And the Life of the world to come. Amen." [6]

Mana

Dogma is based on the existence of one or more immaterial powers known as *mana*. (4) About the easiest way to explain mana is to compare it with electromagnetism. Mana is immaterial while electromagnetism is a property of matter, but both are themselves invisible, produce characteristic effects in things which possess them as properties, and can be transferred from one thing to another.

[TETON DAKOTA] "When a priest uses any object in performing a ceremony that object becomes endowed with a spirit, not exactly a spirit, but something like one, the priests call it *tonwan* or *ton*. Now anything that thus acquires *ton* is *wakan* [supernatural], because it is the power of the spirit or quality that thus has been put into it." [7]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Thou must know that so great is the power of natural things that they not only work upon all things that are near them, by their virtue, but also besides this, they infuse into them a *like* power, through which, by the same virtue, they also work upon other things, as we see in the loadstone, which stone indeed doth not only draw iron rings, but infuseth a virtue into the rings themselves, whereby they can do the same, which Austin and Albertus say they saw. After this manner it is, as they say, that a wanton, grounded in boldness and impudence, is like to infect all that are near her, by this property, whereby they are made like herself. . . . Therefore they say that if any one shall put on the inward garment of a wanton, or shall have about him that looking glass which she

[6] *Nicene Creed*. Concilium Constantinopolitanum I (381), "Symbolum," col. 565, in G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum* (Florence, 1759–98), III, cols. 521–600, *cf*. Concilium Nicaenum Generale (325), "Symbolum," cols. 665–67, *ibid.*, II, cols. 635–1082. Within brackets are the later additions by the Western Church. Council of Trent, Sessio III, "Decretum de symbolo fidei."

[7] Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

daily looks into, he shall thereby become bold, confident, impudent and wanton " [8]

For instance, just as iron can be magnetized by putting it near a magnet, so people can acquire someone's mana by eating a piece of him

Among the Gwana Jukun it was customary to eat the hearts of dead enemies in order to obtain complete possession of their life-soul [9]

[UNITED STATES] [Communicants invoke God,] "humbly beseeching thee, that we, and all others who shall be partakers of this Holy Communion, may worthily receive *the most precious* Body *and* Blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in us, and we in him . . . Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us " [10]

Embodiments

An *embodiment* is a symbol of mana From the dogmatic point of view, it is anything that has mana in it. Now, since an embodiment is simply a symbol of mana, a supernatural approach can be based on a belief in mana alone, that is, it is not necessary to believe in embodiments In fact, there are some dogmas that leave out embodiments altogether and deal with mana directly

[HINDU] " 'Vasettha, is there a single one of the Brahmans who has ever seen Brahma [the supreme being] face to face?'

" 'No, indeed, Gotama'

" 'Well then, Vasettha, those authors of the verses . . . the Brahmans of to day . repeat . . . did even they speak thus, saying "We know it, we have seen it, where Brahma is, whence Brahma is, whither Brahma is?" '

" 'Not so, Gotama!'

" 'Now what think you, Vasettha? Does it not follow, this being so, that the talk of the Brahmans [about "that which they do not know, neither have seen"] turns out to be foolish talk?' " [11]

[8] H C Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535), *De occulta philosophia,* 1 16, in *Opera* (London, n d), I, pp 1–401, tr J Freake, rev W F Whitehead (Chicago, 1898)

[9] C K Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom* (London, 1931), p 168

[10] Protestant Episcopal Church, U S A , *The Book of Common Prayer* (New York, 1929), "Communion" ("Invocation" and "Communion Prayer")

[11] *Tipitaka, Sutta-pitaka, Digha nikaya,* 13 12–15, tr T W R and C A F R Davids (*Sacred Books of the Buddhists,* 2–4) (London, 1899–1921) *Vide ibid , Digha nikaya,* 1

[UNITED STATES] "Much that man once believed about God (or Gods) we can obviously no longer believe . Even the belief with which we have grown familiar, of God as a Heavenly Father, who orders our welfare and expects from us adoration and obedience, is, from the modern point of view, inadequate

" . Is there not in nature an *élan*, a quickening vitality, an urge toward more widely functioning wholes? And is not this what we mean by *the reality of God?* . . . God is, in infinite degree, the everlasting creative life that moves toward wholeness . However, we shall err if we say that God is mind and personality. That would be patterning upon the human " [12]

But for the reasons given later on, it is usually more satisfying to work with embodiments, and therefore they are commonly found in dogmas. These embodiments take the form of spirits or incarnations

Spirits

A *spirit* is an immaterial symbol of mana In most cases it is an immaterial personification of mana and is believed to produce phenomena through the mana contained in it

[TETON DAKOTA] "All the God persons have *ton* *Ton* is the power to do supernatural things

"The influence (*Tonwan*) of the spirits is everywhere all the time " [13]

And man created God in his own image, (5) for with few exceptions the spirits are anthropomorphic—they tend to look,[14] act, and in general live, like the participants in the culture

"We Tibetans have a saying, 'Gods, devils, and men are alike in actions and thoughts,' i e , the same things will anger them and the same things will please them, and they will act accordingly " [15]

[ISLAM] "One on whom the name of God and the Adorned is applied must necessarily possess all the senses For it is useless for man to worship him who cannot know that he is being worshipped " [16]

[12] H A Overstreet, *The Enduring Quest* (New York, 1931), pp 259–60, 262

[13] Walker, *op cit*, pp 153, 161

[14] For example, see the representations of some supreme beings [MURRING-BULLA] A W Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p 510, fig 31, p 553, fig 32 [WESTERN EUROPE] L Goldscheider, *The Paintings of Michelangelo* (New York, [1940]), pls 12–16 [1508–12]

[15] C A Bell, *The People of Tibet* (Oxford, 1928), p 72

[16] Averroes (1126–1198), *The Beliefs of the Faith* p 151, in *Philosophy and Theology*, tr M J ur Rehman (*Gaekwad Studies in Religion and Philosophy*, 11) (Baroda, 1921), pp 81–308

[THONGA] [In their abode the ancestor-gods] till the fields, reap great harvests, and live in abundance, and they take of this abundance to give to their descendants on earth. They have also a great many cattle . . . the gods . . . lead their family life under a human form, parents and children, even little children, who are carried on their mother's shoulders. Mboza went so far as to say they are indeed married and bring forth children, as children are seen on their mother's backs. Here . . . we see the life of the other world considered as the exact reproduction of this terrestrial existence.[17]

But they are superhuman, their superiority stemming from the fact that they have immeasurably greater control over the environment than man has.

[TETON DAKOTA] " . . . *wakan* [supernatural] beings are greater than mankind in the same way that mankind is greater than animals. They are never born and never die. They can do many things that mankind cannot do. Mankind can pray to the *wakan* beings for help."[18]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Between creatures of mere existence, and things of life, there is a large disproportion of nature; between plants, and animals or creatures of sense, a wider difference; between them and Man, a far greater: and if the proportion hold on, between Man and Angels there should be yet a greater."[19]

Spirits make it easier to adjust to our environment because they humanize it. If phenomena are produced by anthropomorphic beings, environmental influences are as much the result of characteristically human activities as are the effects produced upon us by our fellow men. And, in turn, we can modify the environment by the same kind of social acts by which we influence the behavior of other people. Thus, when a dogma includes a belief in spirits, man projects himself into his environment and peoples it with beings like himself. (6)

Spirits are either *deities*, who were never material, or *ghosts*, i.e., souls of the dead. Human ghosts have special effects beside that already given for spirits in general. In the first place, they strengthen the solidarity of the group by stressing that adjustment depends upon the social interaction of its members, whether living or dead. (7)

[WABENA] To a Chief who takes his position seriously, the religious aspect of his office is, of course, supreme, and all his public life, guided by

[17] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, II, p. 350.
[18] Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
[19] Browne, *Religio Medici*, I, 33.

his supernaturally inspired mind, is to him the practical expression of his religion. He lives in close contact with the spirits; the wisdom of the greatest of his ancestors is his if he will but listen to the thoughts they put into his waking mind, the dreams they bring to him sleeping. Towegale, the present Chief, thinks and dreams particularly of his father Kiwanga I, whom he believes he remembers though he was a very tiny child at the time of the latter's death. His diplomatic skill, his understanding of the minds of his people and the way to lead them, winning over their slowness instead of stirring up anger and bitterness by driving them; the growth of order and discipline in the tribe since his accession, all avoidance of pitfalls; the power of reading in the small [illegible] of life the signs of supernatural approval or disapproval of his actual or [illegible] course of action in any matter; the lucky accidents which have disclosed to him plots to nullify his efforts and even plots against his life: all he attributes to the watchful care and personal guidance of his ancestral spirits and above all of his father, Kiwanga I. He says, "I have my diviners to help me, but mostly I am my own diviner. I study the thoughts that come into my mind during the day and the dreams I dream at night, to learn what the ancestors want to tell me. My fathers did this too. In the days of tribal wars they used to receive warnings in this way of the approach of the enemy, so that their camp could not be taken by surprise. It was by this power of understanding and foreseeing that my father Kiwanga knew that the medicine of the Maji Maji Rebellion of 1905 was a snare, and that those who drank of it would suffer many calamities. Thus he saved our people. Still his spirit watches over them and he guides them through me."

The ancestral spirits occupy the most important position in the lives of the Wabena. They are considered to be the source of all law, the givers of all prosperity and the senders of all misfortune, and theoretically every Mbena does certain things and refrains from doing others for fear of them. If asked why he observes any particular rule he invariably replies, "It is the custom of my forefathers. My ancestors would be angered if I did otherwise." [20]

[UNITED STATES] "I believe in. . . . The Communion of Saints." [21]

". . . we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is blessed company of all faithful people, and are also heirs through hope of thy everlasting kingdom." [22]

Secondly, they act as a social control by reinforcing the customary rights and duties between the members of the group.

[CHINA] "The object of all the [illegible] ceremonies is to bring down the spirits from above, even their ancestors, serving also to rectify the relations between ruler and ministers; to maintain the generous feeling between father and son, and the harmony between elder and younger

[20] A. T. and G. M. Culwick, "Religious and economic sanctions in a Bantu tribe," *British Journal of Psychology*, 26 (1935-36), pp. 183-91; pp. 183-84.
[21] Protestant Episcopal Church, *op. cit.*, "Apostles' Creed."
[22] *Ibid.*, "Holy communion," postcommunion prayer.

brother; to adjust the relations between high and low; and to give their proper places to husband and wife." [23]

Thirdly, if the group pays attention to the ghost because he is one of their elite, (8) he reinforces the value system of the group.

[VEDDA] Many generations ago there lived a Vedda called Kande Wanniya, a mighty hunter, who at his death became Kande Yaka, and under this name is constantly invoked to give success in hunting . . . in fact, Kande Yaka the spirit scarcely differs as patron of hunters from Kande Wanniya the mighty hunter, still living and showing kindness and helpfulness towards the people among whom he dwelt.[24]

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . . the holy bodies of holy martyrs, and of others now living with Christ,—which bodies were the living members of Christ, and 'the temple of the Holy Ghost,' and which are by him to be raised unto eternal life, and to be glorified,—and are to be venerated by the faithful; through which bodies many benefits are bestowed by God on men." [25]

Roles of spirits

All the spirits found in a culture constitute its *pantheon.*

[TETON DAKOTA] "There are many of these [*wakan,* i.e., supernatural] beings but all are of four kinds. The word *Wakan Tanka* means all of the *wakan* beings because they are all as if one. *Wakan Tanka Kin* signifies the chief or leading *Wakan* being which is the Sun. However, the most powerful of the *Wakan* beings is *Nagi Tanka,* the Great Spirit who is also *Taku Skanskan; Taku Skanskan* signifies the Blue, in other words, the Sky. . . .

"The shaman addresses *Wakan Tanka* as *Tobtob Kin.* This is part of the secret language of the shamans. . . . *Tobtob Kin* are four times four gods while *Tob Kin* is only the four winds. The four winds is a god and is the . . . messenger of all the other gods. The four times four are: *Wikan* and *Hanwikan; Taku Skanskan* and *Tatekan* and *Tob Kin* and *Yumnikan; Makakan* and *Wohpe; Inyanka* and *Wakinyan; Tatankakan; Hunonpakan; Wanagi; Waniya; Nagila;* and *Wasicunpi.* These are the names of the good Gods as they are known to the people.

"*Wakan Tanka* is like sixteen different persons; but each is *kan.* Therefore, they are all only the same as one. . . . All the God persons have *ton. Ton* is the power to do supernatural things. . . . Half of the good Gods are *ton ton* (have physical properties) and half are *ton ton sni* (have no physical properties). Half of those who are *ton ton* are *ton ton yan* (visible), and half of those who are *ton ton sni* are *ton ton yan sni* (invisible). All the other Gods are visible or invisible as they choose to be. . . . All the evil Gods are visible or invisible as they choose to be. . . . The invisible

[23] *Li Chi,* 7.1.10. [24] C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas,* pp. 131–32.

[25] Council of Trent, *Concilium Tridentinum* [1543–63], ed. S. Merkle *et al.* (Freiburg, 1901–), Sessio XXV, "De invocatione, veneratione, et reliquiis sanctorum, et sacris imaginibus"; tr. J. Waterworth (London, 1848).

Gods never appear in a vision except to a shaman Except for the Sun dance, the ceremonies for the visible and the invisible Gods differ. The Sun dance is a ceremony the same as if *Wikan* were both visible and invisible. This is because Wi is the chief of the Gods " [26]

[Question] Did the *Wakan Tanka* always exist? [Answer] Yes, the Rock is the oldest He is grandfather of all things

[Q] Which is the next oldest? [A] The earth She is grandmother of all things

[Q] Which is the next oldest? [A] *Skan*. He gives life and motion to all things

[Q] Which is the next oldest after *Shan*? [A] The Sun But he is above all *Wakan Tanka*

[Q] You say the Rock is the grandfather of all things and the Earth the grandmother of all things Are the Rock and the Earth as man and wife? [A] Some shamans think they are, and some think they are not

[Q] Who were the father and mother of all things? [A] The *Wakan* have no father or mother Anything that has a birth will have a death The *Wakan* were not born and they will not die [27]

"When Wohpe came to stay with Tate he gave a feast to Taku Wakan He consulted with his sons as to whom he should invite They first chose the Wakan Tanka. Wi was the first chosen because he was Wakan Tanka Hanwi, his wife, was the second chosen because she was Wakan Tanka Wakanskan was the third chosen because he was Wakan Tanka Inyan was the fourth because he was Wakan Tanka These four were chosen because they were Wakan Tanka.

"These four, with Tate, were the chiefs of Taku Wakan and formed the council They made the rules by which all things should be governed Then others were invited the Unktehi who are the Wakan of the waters, the Unkhcegila who are the Wakan of the lands, the Wakinyan who are the Wakan of the air, the Tunkan who is the Wakan of the rocks, the Tatanka who is the Wakan of the buffalo, the Can Oti who are the Wakan of the forests, the Hohnogica who are the Wakans of the tipis, the Nagi because they are the Wakan of the shadows " [28]

[UNITED STATES] "Lord God of hosts " [29]

"Jesus sitteth on the right hand of the Father." [30]

"Angels and Archangels, and . . . all the company of heaven " [31]

As part of the process of anthropomorphizing the spirits, they are made subject to the same social differentiation that exists in human society (9)

[26] Walker, *op cit*, pp 152–53 [27] *Ibid*, pp. 155–56.

[28] *Ibid*, p 179

[29] Protestant Episcopal Church, *op cit*, "Holy communion" [Sanctus]

[30] *Ibid*, "Nicene Creed "

[31] *Ibid*, "Holy communion," Et ideo The classic description of the Christian pantheon occurs in Dante (1265–1321), *Divina commedia*, in *Opere*, ed E Moore (Oxford, 1904, 3rd ed)

[WEST GREENLAND ESKIMO] The whole visible world is ruled by supernatural powers, or "*owners*," taken in a higher sense, each of whom holds his sway within certain limits, and is called *inua* (viz , *its* or *his inuk*, which word signifies "*man*," and also *owner* or *inhabitant*) Strictly speaking, scarcely any object, or combination of objects, existing either in a physical or a spiritual point of view, may not be conceived to have its inua, if only, in some way or other, it can be said to form a separate idea. Generally, however, the notion of an inua is limited to a locality, or to the human qualities and passions—e g , the inua of certain mountains or lakes, of strength, of eating " [32]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible.

"And in one Lord Jesus Christ . Who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven .

"And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord, and Giver of Life." [33]

The roles that the spirits in a pantheon have depend upon the particular kind of social differentiation that is applied to them and therefore varies from society to society The following, however, are some of the more important roles that are often found Creator spirit, supreme being, dualistic spirits, nature spirits, intercessor spirit, guardian spirit, police spirit, and in some societies, a universal spirit. These roles are described below

(*a*) A *creator spirit* is a being who made the whole universe or some part of it

[WINNEBAGO] "Earthmaker was sitting in space when he came to consciousness Nothing was to be found anywhere He began to think of what he was to do and finally he cried Tears flowed from his eyes and fell below where he was sitting After a while he looked below and saw something bright The bright objects were tears, of which he had not been aware and, which falling below, had formed the present waters They became the seas of today.

"Then Earthmaker began to think again He thought, 'Thus it is whenever I wish anything Everything will become the water of the seas ' So he wished for light and it became light Then he thought, 'It is as I have supposed; the things that I wished for, come into existence as I desired ' Then he again thought and wished for this earth and this earth came into existence Earthmaker looked at the earth and he liked it, but it was not quiet It moved about as do the waves of the seas Then he made the trees and he saw that they were good But even these did not make the earth quiet It was however almost quiet. Then he created the four cardinal points and the four winds At the four corners of the earth he placed

[32] H J Rink, *Eskimoiske eventyr og sagn* (Copenhagen, 1866–71), suppl , pp 181–82, tr Author (Edinburgh, 1875).

[33] ' Nicene Creed "

them as four great and powerful spirits, to act as weights holding down this island earth of ours. Yet still the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth and they were pierced through the earth with their heads eastward. They were really snake-beings. Then it was that the earth became still and quiet. Now he looked upon the earth and he liked it.

"Again he thought of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then it was that he first spoke and said, 'As everything happens just as I wish it, I shall make a man like myself in appearance.' So he took a piece of earth and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created but it did not answer. He looked at it and he saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it but it did not answer. So he looked at it again and he saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again but it did not answer. So he looked at it and he saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again and then it very nearly said something but could not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it and it answered.

"As the newly created being was very much like Earthmaker in appearance, he felt quite proud of him, so he made three more exactly similar. He made them powerful so that they might watch over earth. These four he made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, 'I will have some beings live on the earth.' So he made four more like himself. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—*Kunuga, Henuga, Hagaga,* and *Nangiga.* He talked to them and said, 'Look down upon the earth.' So saying he opened the heavens in the place where they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out before them. He told them that they were to go down there to live. 'And this I shall send down with you,' he added giving them a plant. 'Even I shall never have the power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to you exclusively, but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives.' What he had given them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said, 'All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits get some. And another thing I send with you that you may use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care and be your grandfather.' This was the Fire.

"Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth . . . Then the brothers alighted on the earth. But the thunderbirds did not touch the earth. The first thing the brothers did on earth was to start fire.

"Then Earthmaker looked down upon them and saw that he had not prepared any food, so he created animals that they might have something to eat. The oldest brother suddenly said, 'What are we going to eat?' Thereupon the youngest took a bow and arrow Earthmaker had given them and started toward the east. Shortly after, the third brother came into

sight with a young deer on his back and then the youngest appeared with a two years' old deer. The two deer killed and those who had killed them, were brothers.

"The men were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then they said, 'Let us give our grandfather the first taste.' So saying they cut off the ends of the tongues, cut out the heart and together with some fat, threw both into the fire.

"The first people to call on them were the Warrior clan people. Then came those from the west, four of them, the Pigeon clan people. Then came those of the earth, the Deer people, the Snake people, the Elk people, the Bear people, the Fish people, the Waterspirit people and all the other clans that exist among the Winnebago.

"Finally there appeared on the lake a very white bird, the swan. After that all the other birds in the world appeared. They were named in the order of their coming until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the meat and one of the brothers asked, 'What is that?' Then said *Kunuga* the eldest, 'It is a wasp and the first black dog that I possess, I shall call *Wasp*.' 'Just as the wasp scented and became aware of the deer meat as it was being dressed, so shall the dog be toward other animals. Whenever an animal is on the windward the dog will scent it,' *Kunuga* continued.

"Then they made a feast for Earthmaker with the deer meat, threw tobacco into the fire and gave some to him. They showed the other clans how to make fire and gave a little to each adding, each of you must now learn how to make fire for yourselves for we shall not always lend you some.' Here then it was that the first people who lived made their homes. They had come at the time of the year when the grass grows as far as the knee.

"One day it was reported that a very strange object was nearing the camp. The men thought at first that they would leave it alone. It came nearer and as it moved toward the camp it began to eat the bones it found there. They allowed this animal to become the founder of one of their clans and took it to their homes. It was the dog. Then they killed one of these dogs and offered it up to Earthmaker telling him all they had done.

"In the beginning the Thunderbird clansmen were as powerful as the Thunderbird spirits themselves. It was they who made the ravines and the valleys. While wandering about the earth they struck the earth with their clubs and thus created dents in the hills. That is why the Thunderbird clansmen are the chiefs. The Dog-clan people are the least in importance.

"One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again. He did not breathe and his body became cold. 'What is the matter with our oldest brother?' the other three said. Four days they waited for him but he did not get up. They tried to find out from one another what the trouble was but did not succeed. Then they began to mourn for him not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces as we do now when we are mourning. They made a burial platform and placed him upon it. When the snow fell and it was knee-deep then, filling their pipe, the three brothers walked in the direction of the coming of daylight

They came to the first spirit Earthmaker had placed in the east, the *Island Weight* as he was called Weeping they entered his lodge and extended the stem of their pipe toward him and spoke, 'Grandfather, our brother *Kunuga* has fallen down and is not able to rise again Earthmaker made you great and endowed you with all knowledge so that you know all things Tell us what has happened to our brother?' Then he answered, 'My grandsons, I am indeed sorry but I know nothing about this Since, however, you have started on this quest you had better go to the one ahead of me, the north *Island Weight* Perhaps he can tell you'

"So weeping they started for the next one When they got there and told him their troubles he told them he could not help and referred them to his third brother in the west Thus in turn they were referred to the last of the *Island Weights,* the one in the south There they found all four of the *Island Weights* assembled and the south one answered and spoke, 'Grandsons, thus Earthmaker has willed it Your brother will never rise again He will be with you no more on this world and so it will be with human beings as long as the world exists Whenever a person reaches the age of death he will die Those that wish to live long will have to attain old age through good actions Thus only will they succeed in living long Into your bodies Earthmaker has placed a part of himself and that will return to him if you do the proper things This world will at sometime come to an end Your brother is to keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan and there he is going to be in complete charge When this world comes to an end then your brother will take all the souls back to Earthmaker—at least all those who have acted properly' Then the Thunderbird clansmen thanked the four spirits and left the lodge

"When they got home they took their brother's body, dressed him in his best clothes and painted his face Then they addressed the dead person and told him where he was to go They buried him with his war club, his head toward the west At the grave they placed the branch of a tree and to this branch they tied a small red stick in order to prevent anything from crossing his path, in his journey to spirit-land He was told that if any animal crossed his path or was found on his path during the journey, he was to strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those of his relatives whom he had left behind on earth might derive blessings for the warpath, and attain long life He must take his pipe and his food along with him Whatever years he was deprived of when he died, all the victories he might have gained had he lived to a normal old age, all these he was to bestow upon his relatives The wealth he might have gained, in fact anything he could possibly have obtained, all this he was asked to give to his relatives Then they would not feel so unhappy and lonesome"[34]

[HEBREW] "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens, And every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew for the Lord God had not caused it

[34] Crashing Thunder, *Autobiography,* ed P Radin (New York, 1926), pp 33–40

to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul

"And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had formed And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food, the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil . . . And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it And the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat But of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die

"And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone, I will make him an help-meet for him And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field, but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him And the Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh instead thereof, and the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman, and brought her unto the man And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man" [35]

I have tried to show that from a naturalistic point of view the universe is what it is because of the way the matter of which it is composed interacts Also, that the universe has no inherent value or purpose, and that anything in it, including man, is just another cog in the cosmic machine Now, in most cases socialized human beings find such an environment—valueless, purposeless, indifferent, and shifting—much too cold for comfort Reared in society, he needs a human and socialized environment if he is to feel at home This is where the creator spirit comes in

[WESTERN EUROPE] "It is impossible to rise from reading Epictetus or Marcus Aurelius without a sense of constraint and melancholy, without feeling that the burden laid upon man is well-nigh greater than he can bear" [36]

[35] *Biblia Hebraica* [*Old Testament*], ed R Kittel (Stuttgart, 1937, 3rd ed), *Genesis*, 2 1–9, 15–23 [J text = 9th cent B C?]; tr King James version, revised (New York, 1943)

[36] M Arnold (1822–1888), "Marcus Aurelius," p 379, in *Works* (London, 1903–04), III, pp 377–416

An anthropomorphic spirit acts as he does because of his set of values Therefore, since the creator spirit makes the universe in order to reach the goals by which to satisfy his motives, the universe has value (10)

[HEBREW] "God saw everything that he had made, and, behold, it was very good " [37]

And if the creator spirit is a good being, it follows that the environment is intrinsically good

[OJIBWA] "I was out early and late in quest of the favors of the *Mon e-doos* (spirits), who, it was said, were numerous—who filled the air! At early dawn I watched the rising of the *palace* of the Great Spirit—*the sun*—who, it was said, made the world!

"Early as I can recollect, I was taught that it was the gift of the many spirits to be a good hunter and warrior, and much of my time I devoted in search of their favors On the mountain top, or along the valley, of the water brook, I searched for some kind of intimation from the spirits who made their residence in the noise of the water falls

"I dreaded to hear the voice of the angry spirit in the gathering clouds I looked with anxiety to catch a glimpse of the wings of the Great Spirit, who shrouded himself in rolling white and dark clouds—who, with his wings, fanned the earth, and laid low the tall pines and hemlock in his course—who rode in whirlwinds and tornadoes, and plucked the trees from their woven roots—who chased other gods from his course—who drove the Bad Spirit from the surface of the earth, down to the dark caverns of the deep Yet he was a kind spirit My father taught me to call that spirit *Ke-sha-mon-e doo—Benevolent spirit*—for his ancestors taught him no other name to give to that spirit who made the earth, with all its variety and smiling beauty. His benevolence I saw in the running of the streams, for the animals to quench their thirst and the fishes to live, the fruit of the earth teemed wherever I looked Every thing I saw smilingly said Ke-sha-mon-e-doo nin-ge-oo she-ig—the *Benevolent spirit* made me

"Where is he? My father pointed to the sun " [38]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " the All-Wise and All-Good " [39]

" . there is nothing that the most gifted minds search out more eagerly, nothing that those who, with heads uplifted as much as they may, still see the rocks and storms of this life below—there is nothing that these are more desirous of hearing and learning than how it is that God has a care for human affairs, and nevertheless perversity is so serious and wide-spread that it must seem unattributable not only to God's governance but

[37] *Old Testament, Genesis,* 1 31 [P = 4th cent B C ?]

[38] G Copway, *Life* (Albany, 1847), pp 8–9

[39] Adelardus of Bath (12th cent), *Quaestiones naturales,* ed M Muller (*Beitrage zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters,* 31 2) (Munster, 1934), 69 (p 62), tr H. Gollancz (London, 1920)

even to a hireling's management, if indeed such management could be entrusted to a hireling." [40]

Such a belief reassures man in his adjustments

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . let us endure those things with greater confidence the more injuriously they befall us Which, if they add not to our merit, at least let us not doubt that they avail somewhat for our purgation. And as all things are governed by divine ordinance, in this at least let each of the faithful be comforted in every strait place, that the supreme bounty of God permits nothing ever to happen inordinately, and that whatsoever things happen perversely He Himself brings to the best conclusion Wherefore also is it said to Him rightly in all circumstances 'Thy Will be done' What comfort, moreover, cometh to them that love God from that Apostolic authority 'We know that all things work together for good to them that love God' Which the wisest of men diligently considered when he said in the Proverbs 'There shall no evil happen to the just'" [41]

It was stated that the spirit has a set of values, and that the values attributed to the spirit by the group comprise its own value system Consequently, the group's value system is reinforced by making it inherent in the universe itself, rather than a relative matter peculiar to the group

If the universe is created by an anthropomorphic being, it is the product of a human-like activity And since activities are performed in order to reach goals which satisfy motives, the universe has a purpose. (11)

[ZUNI] "In this world there was no one at all Always the sun came up; always he went in No one in the morning gave him sacred meal, no one gave him prayer sticks, it was very lonely He said to his two children 'You will go into the fourth womb [of mother earth] Your fathers, your mother . . . all the society priests, society pekwins, society bow priests, you will bring out yonder into the light of your sun father' Thus he said to them" [42]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " . he [God] hath purposed in himself That in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth even in him" [43]

[40] Augustine, *De ordine*, 1 1 1.

[41] P. Abailard (1079–1142), *Historia calamitatum*, 15 (col 181a–182a), in *Opera omnia* (*Patrologia Latina*, 178) (Paris, 1855) cols 113–82, tr C K Scott-Moncrieff (New York, 1926)

[42] R. L. Bunzel, "Zuni origin myths," *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 47 (1929–30), (pp 545–906) p 584.

[43] [Paul], *Epistolae*, "Ephesians," 1.9–10

We have seen that the goals which men pursue depend upon their sets of values, and therefore the goal attributed to the creator spirit in making the universe is that which has highest social value for the group This not only reinforces the group's value system, but also encourages the members of the group in pursuing their life goals

[WESTERN EUROPE] "God deserteth thee not on earth, and He promiseth somewhat in heaven "[44]

From the point of view of an anthropomorphic spirit, nothing in the universe resembles him as much as his human counterpart

[MAORI] "When Hine-hau-one [the first woman, a name which may be translated, 'woman-created-of-earth'] had been completely formed after their own [i.e, the spirits'] likeness, in no part different—except indeed her front alone, which did differ in that she had there the likeness of the female . . Such was the origin of the living-spirit of mankind in the 'world-possessed' [or 'world-of-being'] and the 'world of-light' "[45]

[HEBREW] "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him."[46]

Seeing that they are so akin, man occupies a favored place in the scheme of things

[WESTERN EUROPE] " man is the creature dearest to the Creator"[47]

Phenomena, then, tend to be produced by beings with a benevolent interest in man and act on his behalf

[ASHANTI] "All men are the children of the Supreme Being, no one is a child of the earth"[48]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose . . What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?"[49]

44 Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* [391–420], 40 3, in *Patrologia Latina*, ed J. P Migne (Paris, 1844–64), XXXVI–XXXVII, tr J Tweed *et al* (Oxford, 1847–57)

45 S P Smith, ed, *The Lore of the Whare-wananga* (Polynesian Society, *Memoirs*, 3–4) (New Plymouth, 1913–15), I, p 110

46 *Old Testament, Genesis*, 1 27 [P]

47 Adelardus, *Quaestiones naturales*, 15 (p 20)

48 R S Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 15

49 Paul, *Epistolae*, "Romans," 8 28, 31–32

In the case of a creator spirit, this usually means that the universe itself was created for man's special benefit As a result, man lives in a solicitous environment

[HEBREW] "God created man in his own image male and female created he them And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth

"And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed, to you it shall be for meat " [50]

For a human being to comprehend a situation, he must be able to analyze it into components, take concepts standing for these components, combine them through reasoning, produce a conceptual organization which seems to stand for the situation, and then find his organization valid [51] Consequently, reasoning about environmental phenomena depends upon the belief that there is enough similarity between the human reasoning process and those processes from which the phenomenon results, so that man can comprehend it (12)—which may or may not be the case However, if the universe is ordered by an anthropomorphic spirit, in so far as he reasons like man, the environment is comprehensible

[HINDU] "That also which is the Seed of every being am I, O Arjuna, nor without me can any being exist that moves or does not move

"Of my pervading powers divine there is no bound, Paramtapa, but by examples only have I declared my powers' extent

"Whatever thing has power, prosperity, or force, know thou that this is sprung from a part of my glory " [52]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Order is that by which are governed all things that God has constituted " [53]

Therefore, an anthropomorphic creator spirit makes it possible to order the environment on the basis of a belief in *sufficient reason,* ie, all phenomena are the result of a process similar to that of human reasoning

[50] *Old Testament, Genesis,* 1 27–29 [P]

[51] N R F Maier, "Reasoning in humans," *Journal of Comparative Psychology,* 10 (1930), pp 115–43, 12 (1931), pp 181–91.

[52] *Mahabharata, Bhishmaparvan, Bhagavadgita,* tr W D P Hill (London, 1928), 10 39–41 [2nd cent B C ?]

[53] Augustine, *De ordine,* 1 10 28

[GREECE] "Nothing comes into being at random, but everything comes from reason and by necessity."[54]

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . . nothing happens without a sufficient reason, that is to say . . . nothing happens without it being possible for him who should sufficiently understand things, to give a reason sufficient to determine why it is so and not otherwise."[55]

The cosmic order was established by creator spirits on the analogy of social differentiation. In the original differentiation of the universe, everything, man included, was given its role and a set of actions proper for that role.

[DAHOMEY] "The world was created by one god, who is at the same time both male and female. This Creator is neither Mawu nor Lisa, but is named Nana-Buluku. In time, Nana-Buluku gave birth to twins, who were named Mawu and Lisa, and to whom eventually dominion over the realm thus created was ceded. To Mawu, the woman, was given command of the night; to Lisa, the man, command of the day. Mawu, therefore, is the moon and inhabits the west, while Lisa, who is the sun, inhabits the east. At the time their respective domains were assigned to them, no children had as yet been born to this pair, though at night the man was in the habit of giving a 'rendezvous' to the woman, and eventually she bore him offspring. This is why, when there is an eclipse of the moon, it is said the celestial couple are engaged in love-making; when there is an eclipse of the sun, Mawu is believed to be having intercourse with Lisa."[56]

[HEBREW] "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. . . . And God said, Let there be light: and there was light. . . . and God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. . . .

"And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament: and it was so. And God called the firmament Heaven. . . .

"And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so. And God called the dry land Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas . . . And God said, Let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth: and it was so."[57]

[54] Leucippus (5th cent. B.C.), frag. 2, in *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*.

[55] G. W. Leibniz, "Principes de la nature et de la grace [1714]," 7, in *Philosophischen Schriften*, ed. C. J. Gerhardt (Berlin, 1875–1890), VI, pp. 598–606, tr. G. M. Duncan (New Haven, 1908, 2nd ed.).

[56] M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey*, II, p. 101.

[57] *Old Testament, Genesis*, 1:1–11 [P].

Now, such a belief interprets natural law in terms of social law, i.e., the customs of the group, and thus socializes the environment. It also makes the customs of the group an intrinsic part of the cosmic order, which acts as a social control in a number of ways. In the first place, the mores of the group are considered to be just as eternal and immutable as natural law (13). This tends to hinder culture change.

[GREECE] "*Creon.* And thou didst dare to transgress that law?

Antigone. Yes, for it was not Zeus that had published me that edict, not such are the laws set among men by the Justice [Dike] who dwells with the gods below, nor deemed I that thy decrees were of such force, that a mortal could override the unwritten and unfailing statutes of heaven. For their life is not of to-day or yesterday, but from all time, and no man knows when they were first put forth." [58]

[UNITED STATES] "The philosopher knows that the laws of the Creator have never changed, with respect either to the principles of science, or the properties of matter. Why then *is it to be supposed that they have changed* with respect to man?" [59]

"Great part of that order which reigns among mankind is not the effect of government. It has its origin in the principles of society and the natural constitution of man. It existed prior to government, and would exist if the formality of government was abolished." [60]

Secondly, actions which conform to custom, and harmonious social interaction, fit in with the laws of the universe and maintain the benevolent cosmic order, while violations and opposition disrupt that cosmic order, with disastrous results. Thus the group's culture is reinforced and its own solidarity strengthened.

[POLAR ESKIMO] "We observe our old customs, *in order to hold the world up, for the powers must not be offended.*

"We observe our customs, *in order to hold each other up, we are afraid of the great Evil, perdlugssuaq. Men are so helpless in face of illness. The people here do penance, because the dead are strong in their vital sap, and boundless in their might.*

"If we did not take these precautions," say the Eskimos, "we believe that great masses of snow would slide down and destroy us, that snowstorms would lay us waste, that the sea would rise in violent waves while we are out in our kayaks, or that a flood would sweep our houses out into the sea.

"If any one with a better teaching would come to us and demand that we believe his words, we would do so willingly, if we saw that his teaching

[58] Sophocles, *Antigone*, 419–57.

[59] T. Paine, *The Age of Reason* [1795], 2.3 (p. 191), in *Writings*, ed. M. D. Conway (New York, 1894–96), IV, pp. 1–195.

[60] Paine, *Rights of Man* [1791–92], 2.1 (p. 406), in *Writings*, II, pp. 258–523.

was really better than ours, but then he must remain among us and lead us towards that which we do not know Yes, tell us the right, and convince us that it is right, and we will believe you " [61]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "King Edgar has been considering what remedy could be found for the plague which has greatly afflicted and reduced his people throughout the length and breadth of his dominion

"In the first place, he and his councillors are of opinion that misfortune such as this has been merited because of sin and disregard of God's commands, and especially through the withholding of the tribute which Christian people should render to God by their tithes He has been thinking over and considering the ways of God by an analogy with human actions

"If any tenant neglects the payment due to his lord and does not render it to him on the appointed day, it is to be expected that, if the lord is merciful, he will grant forgiveness for the neglect and take his payment without exacting a penalty

"If, however, through his bailiffs he repeatedly claims his rent, and the tenant proves obstinate, and thinks to stand out against it, it is to be expected that the lord's anger will grow so great that he will grant him neither property nor life

"It is to be expected that our Lord will act in like manner, because of the audacity with which laymen have withstood the repeated admonitions given us by our teachers with regard to the payments which we are in duty bound to render our Lord, namely, our tithes and church-dues

"I and the archbishop enjoin, therefore, that you do not, by withholding of any of God's dues, provoke Him to wrath, and incur either the sudden death which is befalling you in this present life, or, still worse, the death to come in everlasting hell; but everyone, both rich and poor, whose property has yielded him anything, shall, with all gladness and with all willingness, render his tithes to God " [62]

[IROQUOIS] Before each of their periodical religious festivals, there is made a general and public confession Several days before the time designated for the festival, the people assemble by appointment, and each one in turn, who has a confession to make, rising, and taking a string of white wampum in his hand, acknowledges his faults and transgressions, and publicly professes a purpose of amendment The white wampum is the emblem of purity and sincerity With it he confirms and records his words. The absolution or forgiveness of sins formed no part of the motive or object in the confession It had reference to the future conduct exclusively. One who was willing to confess a fault from a sense of religious duty, would, by the act, strengthen his mind against future temptation [63]

[61] K Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North,* tr G Herring (London, 1908), p 124

[62] IV Edgar, I [962–63], in *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen,* ed F Liebermann (Halle, 1903–16), tr A J Robertson (Cambridge, 1925)

[63] L H Morgan, *League of the Iroquois,* I, p 164, *vide ibid ,* I, pp 180–81, 199–200

[UNITED STATES] "Dearly beloved, on —— day next I purpose . to administer . the Sacrament. Which being so divine and comfortable a thing to them who receive it worthily, and so dangerous to those who will presume to receive it unworthily, my duty is to exhort you, in the mean season to consider the dignity of that holy mystery, and the great peril of the unworthy receiving thereof, and so to search and examine your own consciences that ye may come holy and clean to such a heavenly Feast

"The way and means thereto is First, to examine your lives and conversations by the rule of God's commandments, and whereinsoever ye shall perceive yourselves to have offended, either by will, word, or deed, there to bewail your own sinfulness, and to confess yourselves to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendment of life. And if he shall perceive your offences to be such as are not only against God, but also against your neighbours, then ye shall reconcile yourselves unto them, being ready to make restitution and satisfaction, according to the uttermost of your powers, for all injuries and wrongs done by you to any other, and being likewise ready to forgive others who have offended you, as ye would have forgiveness of your offences at God's hand for otherwise the receiving of the holy Communion doth nothing else but increase your condemnation Therefore, if any of you be a blasphemer of God, an hinderer or slanderer of his Word, an adulterer, or be in malice, or envy, or in any other grievous crime, repent you of your sins, or else come not to that holy Table." [64]

Thirdly, the mores are the set of actions decreed by the creator spirit for those in the role of man. As long as human beings conform to them, they will be rewarded by the spirits, but if they violate the mores they will be punished

[ILA] Of many customs it is commonly said that they were established by Leza, and any breach of them may be punished by Him Various prohibitions are called *Shifundo shaka Leza* The idea conveyed by the word *chifundo* is a line drawn on the ground over which people are not allowed to step The first occasion on which we heard the word used was after we had doctored for some weeks a man who had been very seriously mauled by a leopard we suggested to the patient's father that we should like to have the leopard's skin as a memento of his son's bravery The old man, with every sign of reluctance, declined, to give away that skin would be wrong, because by the *Chifundo chaka Leza* the skin of any animal that has attacked a member of one's family is to be kept as a sacred heirloom

Customs rest not only upon the will of the Supreme Being, but upon the wishes of the lesser deities—the *mizhimo*, departed ancestors [65]

[64] Protestant Episcopal Church, *op. cit.*, "Holy communion," "The exhortations," 2

[65] E W Smith and A M. Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, I, p 345

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . . just as the precepts of human law direct man in his relations to the human community, so the precepts of the divine law direct man in his relations to a community or commonwealth of men under God. Now in order that any man may dwell rightly in a community, two things are required the first is that he behave well towards the head of the community, the other is that he behave well towards those who are his fellows and partners in the community It is therefore necessary that the divine law should contain, in the first place, precepts ordering man in his relations to God, and, in the second place, other precepts ordering man in his relations to other men who are his neighbors and live with him under God "[66]

[THONGA] . . . the very existence of the village, of the clan, and the welfare of every member of the clan depends on them Is not Divinity "the power of killing or of making alive, of enriching or of making poor;" Natives firmly believe in these two opposite actions of their gods They are the masters of everything

The gods can *bless* if the trees bear plenty of fruit, it is because they made it grow if the crops are plentiful, it is because they sent good wizards to increase them, or hindered bad ones who tried to spoil them if you come across a pot of palm wine, it is your god who has sent you that windfall . When Mboza escaped from the Morakwen battle, one of his relatives exclaimed on his return home "The gods of Makaneta have still been with you!" . Often when a man has narrowly escaped drowning, or having his ankle sprained by a stump which has caught his foot, he will say, "The gods have saved me "

But they can also *curse,* and bring any amount of misfortune on their descendants If the rain falls, it is owing to their anger, if a tree falls on you, they have directed its fall, if a crocodile bites you, the gods residing in the pool have sent it, if your child has fever and is delirious, they are in him, tormenting his soul, if your wife is sterile, they have prevented her from childbearing [67]

[HEBREW] "If ye walk in my statutes, and keep my commandments, and do them, Then I will give you rain in due season, and the land shall yield her increase, and the trees of the field shall yield their fruit And your threshing shall reach unto the sowing time and ye shall eat your bread to the full, and dwell in your land safely And I will give peace in the land, and ye shall lie down, and none shall make you afraid and I will rid evil beasts out of the land, neither shall the sword go through your land And ye shall chase your enemies, and they shall fall before you by the sword. And five of you shall chase an hundred, and an hundred of you shall put ten thousand to flight and your enemies shall fall before you by the sword For I will have respect unto you, and make you fruitful, and multiply you, and establish by covenant with you. And ye shall eat old store, and bring forth the old because of the new And I will set my tabernacle among you. and my soul shall not abhor you. And I will walk among

[66] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica,* 2 1 100 5
[67] Junod, *op cit*, II, p 360

you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people. And I am the Lord your God, which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, that ye should not be their bondmen, and I have broken the bands of your yoke, and made you go upright

"But if ye will not hearken unto me, and will not do all these commandments, And if ye shall despise my statutes, or if your soul abhor my judgments, so that ye will not do all my commandments, but that ye break my covenant I also will do this unto you, I will even appoint over you terror, consumption, and the burning ague, that shall consume the eyes, and cause sorrow of heart; and ye shall sow your seed in vain, for your enemies shall eat it And I will set my face against you, and ye shall be slain before your enemies, they that hate you shall reign over you, and ye shall flee when none pursueth you And if ye will not yet for all this hearken unto me, then I will punish you seven times more for your sins And I will break the pride of your power, and I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass And your strength shall be spent in vain for your land shall not yield her increase, neither shall the trees of the land yield their fruits [etc] " [68]

Lastly, the second and third points explain the existence of evil without losing the belief in a solicitous environment As long as man conforms to the customs of his group he can expect ultimate good, evil occurs because of the violation of custom

[AKIKUYU] "God was a God of love, but those who disobeyed him, he punished by famine, disease, and death God loves every one, but if people are poor, or if a warrior loses his wife and child, then he says, God does not love him " [69]

[NORTH AFRICA] "Inasmuch as the Divine law had been violated here, evils have come upon men " [70]

To sum up, the belief in a creator spirit takes a valueless, purposeless, indifferent, and shifting environment, and turns it into a universe that has intrinsic value, purpose, solicitousness, and order Thus man's environment becomes benevolent, human, and social

(*b*) A *supreme being* is the head of a pantheon This role seems to be a projection of human social organization into the pantheon Beyond this, I have not been able to discover its effects upon adjustment, for such a spirit is commonly not very helpful to man, inasmuch as the role of the head of the universe does not give a spirit much opportunity to concern himself with man's special problems

[68] *Old Testament, Leviticus,* 26 3–20 [Holiness Code = 7th cent B C ?]

[69] W. S and K Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People* (London, 1910), p 227

[70] Synesius (*fl* 410 A D), *Epistolae,* 57, in *Epistolographi graeci,* ed R Hercher (Paris, 1873), pp 638–739, tr A Fitzgerald (Oxford, 1926)

[ASHANTI] . non-human spiritual powers . include all deities, from the Supreme Being, 'Nyame or Nyankopon, who dwells somewhat aloof in His firmament, down to those to whom He delegates some of His powers, as His vice-regents upon Earth There are the lesser gods, who in their turn are graded in a regular descending scale, until they reach, or at times almost merge into, that class which the Ashanti themselves name *suman* [fetish], who are among the lowest grades of superhuman powers . every compound in Ashanti contains an altar to the Sky God, in the shape of a forked branch cut from a certain tree which the Ashanti call . God's tree Between the branches, which are cut short, is placed a basin, or perhaps a pot, and in this receptacle is generally to be found (besides the offering) a neolithic celt (God's axe) Beside these rude altars, are to be found, hidden away in remote corners of the older palaces, beautifully designed temples to the Sky God

Moreover, Ashanti proverbs abound in references and allusions to the Supreme Being Here are a few chosen at random

Of all the wide earth, the Supreme Being is the elder

If you wish to tell anything to the Supreme Being, tell it to the winds

If God gave you sickness he also gave you medicine

every Ashanti temple is a pantheon in which reposes the shrines of the gods, but the power or spirit, that on occasions enters into these shrines, is directly or indirectly derived from the one God of the Sky, whose intermediaries they are 'Nyame, the Sky God, is considered too remote to be concerned very directly in person with the affairs of man, and has delegated His powers to His lieutenants, the *abosom*, or lesser gods . . the lesser [spirits are] for all practical purposes, really, the far more important, gods Their power emanates from various sources, the chief of which is from the great spirit of the one God, graciously delegated by Him, that the affairs of mankind may have attention given to them .

"We in Ashanti dare not worship the Sky God alone, or the Earth Goddess alone, or any one spirit We have to protect ourselves against, and use when we can, the spirits of all things in the Sky and upon Earth If I see four or five Europeans, I do not make much of one alone, and ignore the rest, lest they too may have power and hate me " [71]

[UNITED STATES] "Lord God of hosts " [72]

(*c*) *Dualistic spirits* are the opposing forces in a cosmic battle The two sides produce contrary phenomena—good and evil, light and dark, life and death, etc.—and their temporary victories over each other determines which of the two sets of phenomena occur at the time.

[71] Rattray, *op cit*, (Oxford, 1923), pp 86, 142, 141, 144, 150

[72] Protestant Episcopal Church, *op cit*, "Holy communion" [Sanctus].

[IRAN] [According to Zarathushtra there is a cosmic conflict between a good spirit, Ahura Mazda ("Lord Wisdom"), and an evil spirit, Angra Mainyu ("Enemy Spirit?")]

"Now these two spirits at the beginning, the twins, by a vision, revealed themselves in thought, and in word, and in deed, as these two, the better and the bad, and of these two the wise have chosen rightly, not the foolish

"And then when these two spirits came together, first they established both life and non-life, and that there should be, at the last, the worst existence for the wicked, but, for the just man, the best purpose

"Of these two spirits, he who is wicked chose doing the worst things, the most beneficent spirit, who is clothed in the most steadfast heavens, chose justice, and so do they who would satisfy Ahura by honest deeds, who gladly satisfy his wisdom " [73]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "And there appeared another wonder in heaven, and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads And there was war in heaven Michael and his angels fought against the dragon, and the dragon fought and his angels, And prevailed not, neither was there place found any more in heaven And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him " [74]

Good is the result of the temporary dominance of the good spirits, and evil, of the evil spirits, but ultimately the good spirits will triumph and man will enjoy everlasting felicity

[IRAN] "Through it [i e , the prayer "Airyama Ishyo" (*Avesta*, "Yasna," 54)] . I become sovereign over my creation, I, Ahura Mazda, and through it Angra Mainyu, of the bad religion, shall lose the sovereignty over his own creation

"Angra Mainyu shall hide under the earth, under the earth shall the demons hide The dead shall rise up, life shall come back to the bodies and they shall keep the breath " [75]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which will be revealed to us . . The God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly " [76]

[73] *Avesta*, "Yasna" (Gathas), tr M W Smith (Linguistic Society of America, *Linguistic Dissertations*, 4) (Philadelphia, 1929), 30 3–5 [6th cent B C?] *Vide Avesta*, tr J Darmsteter and L H Mills (*Sacred Books of the East*, 4, 23, 31) (Oxford, 1880–87), "Yasts," 13 76, "Vendidad," 1, *Bundahish*, tr E W West, (*Sacred Books of the East*, 5, pp 1–151) (Oxford, 1880), 1 2–24

[74] *New Testament, Revelation*, 12 3, 7–9 [*ca* 95] *Vide idem, Mark*, 1 12–13, *Matthew*, 4 1–11, *Luke*, 4 1–13, 9 1, 10 17–18, 11 14–20, *John*, 13 27, *I John*, 3 8–10, 5 18–19 *Apocryphal New Testament*, tr M R James (Oxford, 1927), *Gospel of Bartholomew*, 10–60, *Acts of Thomas*, 31–32

[75] *Avesta*, "Fragments" (Westergaard), 4 2–3, *vide* "Yasts," 19 91–96

[76] Paul, *Epist*, "Romans," 8 18, 16 20

Now, only a Pollyanna can be blind to the evil in the world. Dualism explains this evil without sacrificing any of the essential goodness in the universe, for evil becomes the result of a merely temporary dominance of the evil forces

Some societies which believe in dualistic spirits, including our own, are not very rational in the consequences they draw from this belief They direct their ritual only toward the forces of good who do good anyway by their very nature, and not toward the forces of evil from whom man can suffer harm However, there are a few cultures that handle the matter more logically by reversing the procedure

> The Yezidis recognize one Supreme Being, but as far as I could learn, they do not offer up any direct prayer or sacrifice to Him They believe Satan to be the chief of the Angelic host, now suffering punishment for his rebellion against the divine will, but still all-powerful, and to be restored hereafter to his high estate in the celestial hierarchy He must be conciliated and reverenced, they say, for as he now had the means of doing evil to mankind, so will he hereafter have the power of rewarding them[77]
>
> According to the theology of the Yezeedees, Melek Taoos . . is the principle or power from whom all evil proceeds, and their religious services seem to partake much more of a propitiatory than of an eucharistic character . . The Yezeedees revere the evil principle, not out of love, but from fear the worship of Melek Taoos is much more common among the Yezeedees than that of Sheikh Adi [the good spirit] I have frequently inquired the cause of this, and the answer has been, that the latter is so good that he needs not to be invoked, whereas the former is so bad, that he requires to be constantly invoked[78]

(*d*) *Nature spirits* control particular phenomena They are personifications of specific phenomena, while other spirits symbolize many kinds of phenomena Therefore, they allow man to adjust to a situation by means of ritual toward a spirit who specializes in the particular kind of phenomena involved This tends to be most satisfying Indeed, it is possible that nature spirits were the earliest in existence, for anthropomorphic figures dating from Upper Pleistocene 3 show women with exaggerated secondary sexual characters,[79] and perhaps represent an earth mother goddess of fertility

[77] A H Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains* [1848–49] (New York, 1853, new ed), I, pp 215–46

[78] G P Badger, *The Nestorians and Their Rituals* (London, 1852), I, pp 125–26

[79] L Passemard, *Les statuettes féminines paleolithiques*, Nimes, 1938, Ph D diss

[NETSILIK ESKIMO] "Once in times long past people left the settlement at Quingmertoq in Sherman Inlet. They were going to cross the water and had made rafts of kayaks tied together. They were many and were in haste to get away to new hunting grounds. And there was not much room on the rafts they tied together.

"At the village there was a little girl whose name was Nuliajuk. She jumped out on the raft together with the other boys and girls, but no one cared about her, no one was related to her, and so they seized her and threw her in the water. In vain she tried to get hold of the edge of the raft; they cut her fingers off, and lo! as she sank to the bottom the stumps of her fingers became alive in the water and bobbed up round the raft like seals. That was how the seals came. But Nuliajuk herself sank to the bottom of the sea. There she became a spirit, the sea spirit, and she became the mother of the sea beasts, because the seals had formed out of her fingers that were cut off. And she also became mistress of everything else alive, the land beasts too, that mankind had to hunt.

"In that way she obtained great power over mankind, who had despised her, and thrown her into the sea. She became the most feared of all spirits, the most powerful, and the one who more than any other controls the destinies of men. For that reason almost all taboo is directed against her, though only in the dark period while the sun is low, and it is cold and windy on earth, for then life is most dangerous to live.

"Nuliajuk lives in a house on the bed of the sea. At the bottom of the sea there are lands just as on the earth above the sea, and Nuliajuk lives in a house that is arranged in the same manner as those that humans live in.

"In her house Nuliajuk lives remote from all, hasty in her anger and terrible in her might when she wishes to punish mankind. She notices every little breach of taboo, for she knows everything. Whenever people have been indifferent towards her by not observing taboo, she hides all the animals, the seals she shuts up in her ingaut: a drip-basin that she has under her lamp. As long as they are inside it, there are no animals to hunt in the sea, and mankind has to starve, the shamans then have to summon their helping spirits and conjure her to be kind again. Some shamans are content to let their helping spirits work for mankind, they themselves remaining in their houses summoning and conjuring in a trance, whereas others rush down to her themselves to fight her, to overcome her and appease her. But there are also some who draw Nuliajuk herself up to the surface of the land. They do it in this way: they make a hook fast to the end of a long seal thong and throw it out of the entrance passage, the spirits set the hook fast in her, and the shaman hauls her up into the passage. There everybody can hear her speaking. But the entrance from the passage into the living room must be closed with a block of snow, and this block, uvkuaq, Nuliajuk keeps on trying to break into pieces in order to get into the house to frighten everybody to death. And there is great fear in the house. But the shaman watches the uvkuaq, and so Nuliajuk never gets into the house. Only when she has promised the shaman to

release all the seals into the sea again does he take her off the hook and allow her to go down into the depths again.

"In that way a shaman, who is only a human being, can subdue Nuliajuk and save people from hunger and misery by means of his words and his helping spirits.

"In her house Nuliajuk is surrounded by a lot of frightful beings. Just inside the entrance to her house passage sits kataum inua, the ruler of the passage, who keeps an exact record of all the breaches of taboo committed by mankind up on earth. Everything he sees and hears he passes on to Nuliajuk, and he tries in every possible way to scare the shamans who want to go in to her, so that they will abandon their intention of mollifying her.

"A long way in the passage itself there is a big black dog, and he too keeps watch to see that none but the greatest shamans, of whom he is afraid, get into the house.

"Nuliajuk herself lives with Isarrataitsoq: 'the one with no wings, or the one with no arms'—a woman, but nobody knows who she is. She has the same husband as Nuliajuk, and he is a little sea scorpion.

"A child, too, lives with Nuliajuk; she is called Ungaq: 'the one who screams like a child'; it is a baby that was once stolen from a sleeping mother when her husband was out hunting at the breathing holes [of seals].

"This is all we know of Nuliajuk, the sea spirit, who gives seals to mankind, it is true, but who would much rather that mankind, from whom she once received no pity when she lived on earth, perished too."[80]

[WESTERN EUROPE] Many saints, and the Fourteen Holy Helpers in particular, are spirits controlling natural phenomena. Thus, St. Giles concerns himself with insanity and related disorders, St. Barbara, with lightning and fire, etc.[81]

Minor nature spirits control phenomena which have little social value. As far as I can see, their only effect is to deal with what would otherwise be mysterious everyday trivialities, and to give them a half serious, half humorous explanation.

[THONGA] [There is a] belief in the existence of *special personages* in Heaven ... not only designated as dwarfs, but also as balungwana [inhabitants of heaven] ... They are said to fall from Heaven at the time of the great rains. Thus, Timoteo Mandlati told me people had seen some of them appear, a long time ago, in the Nkuna country, and that they had gone back to heaven in a cloud. they live in celestial space, and when it

[80] K. Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos*, tr. W. E. Calvert (*Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, 8:1–2) (Copenhagen, 1931), pp. 225–27; *vide ibid.*, pp. 227–28.

[81] *Vide* H. Bachtold-Staubli, ed., *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (*Handwörterbücher zur deutschen Volkskunde*, 1) (Berlin, 1927–42), *s.v.* "Aegidius," "Barbara," etc.

thunders without rain falling, the Nkuna say "The balungwana are at play up there" Or, it is they who are singing in heaven, when there is a prolonged roar of thunder, saying, "wuwu-wuwu!"

When someone passes along the road, they dispute up there, as to who he may be One says "It is so and so," and the others contradict Then they spit on the traveller, who is quite astonished to see some saliva on his hand He mistakes it for rain, and looks up to the sky to see where the rain is coming from The balungwana then have the chance to see his face, and the one who had rightly guessed says to the others· "You see! I was right" [82]

[WESTERN EUROPE] Gremlins are aerial pixies They are the constant companions of combat fliers [in World War II] They travel with fliers, not to be friendly but to cause trouble They bore holes in a plane's wings, forcing the pilot to explain that it was gremlins and not enemy bullets which did the damage They jam retractable landing gear so that a pilot has to land the plane on its belly and then go through the embarrassing procedure of telling everybody that it was gremlins and not his forgetfulness that was responsible .

Gremlins have never caused fatal accidents or, if they have, pilots haven't lived to tell of them. Now that aviators have become fully aware of gremlins, they are able to blame all their mishaps on them [83]

(e) An *intercessor spirit* is man's advocate in the pantheon, for in heaven, as it is on earth, requests are more easily granted if they are backed up by a recommendation from a mutual friend

[TETON DAKOTA] "[There is a] feminine god who mediates between the godkind and mankind, and propitiates the godkind" [84]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us" [85]

(f) A *guardian spirit* devotes itself to looking after the welfare of a particular individual or group

[IGLULIK ESKIMO] [Aua was ready to become a shaman] "Then I sought solitude, and here I soon became very melancholy I would sometimes fall to weeping, and feel unhappy without knowing why Then, for no reason, all would suddenly be changed, and I felt a great, inexplicable joy, a joy so powerful that I could not restrain it, but had to break into song, a mighty song, with only room for the one word joy, joy! And I had to use the full strength of my voice And then in the midst of such a fit of mysterious and overwhelming delight I became a shaman, not knowing myself how it

[82] Junod, *op cit*, II, pp 405–06

[83] Anonymous, "The gremlins," *Life*, Nov 16, 1942, (pp 93–96) p 93 Copyright *Time Inc* 1942

[84] Walker, *op cit*, p 157

[85] Paul, *Epistolae*, "Romans," 8 34

came about But I was a shaman I could see and hear in a totally different way I had gained my enlightenment, the shaman-light of brain and body, and this in such a manner that it was not only I who could see through the darkness of life, but the same light also shone out from me, imperceptible to human beings, but visible to all the spirits of earth and sky and sea, and these now came to me and became my helping spirits

"My first helping spirit was my namesake, a little Aua When it came to me, it was as if the passage and roof of the house were lifted up, and I felt such a power of vision, that I could see right through the house, in through the earth and up into the sky, it was the little Aua that brought me all this inward light, hovering over me as long as I was singing Then it placed itself in a corner of the passage, invisible to others, but always ready if I should call it

"An Aua is a little spirit, a woman, that lives down by the sea shore There are many of these shore spirits, who run about with a pointed skin hood on their heads, their breeches are queerly short, and made of bear skin, they wear long boots with a black pattern, and coats of sealskin. Their feet are twisted upward, and they seem to walk only on their heels They hold their hands in such a fashion that the thumb is always bent in over the palm, their arms are held raised up on high with the hands together, and incessantly stroking the head They are bright and cheerful when one calls them, and resemble most of all sweet little live dolls, they are no taller than the length of a man's arm

"My second helping spirit was a shark One day when I was out in my kayak, it came swimming up to me, lay alongside quite silently and whispered my name I was greatly astonished, for I had never seen a shark before, they are very rare in these waters Afterwards it helped me with my hunting, and was always near me when I had need of it These two, the shore spirit and the shark, were my principal helpers, and they could aid me in everything I wished The song I generally sang when calling them was of few words, as follows

> Joy, joy
> Joy, joy!
> I see a little shore spirit,
> A little aua,
> I myself am also aua,
> The shore spirit's namesake,
> Joy, joy!

"These words I would keep on repeating, until I burst into tears, overwhelmed by a great dread, then I would tremble all over, crying only 'Ah-a-a-a-a, joy, joy! Now I will go home, joy, joy!'

"Once I lost a son, and felt that I could never again leave the spot where I had laid his body I was like a mountain spirit, afraid of human kind We stayed for a long time up inland, and my helping spirits forsook me, for they do not like live human beings to dwell upon any sorrow But one day the song about joy came to me all of itself and quite unexpectedly.

I felt once more a longing for my fellow-men, my helping spirits returned to me, and I was myself once more " [86]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " . concerning the intercession and invocation of . . . the saints, who reign together with Christ, [and] offer up their own prayers to God for men it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them, and to have recourse to the prayers, aid and help for obtaining benefits from God [as patron saints] " [87]

[ILA] The divinities of the community are common property, there is no man who can claim them as his own As at Kasenga, for example, where Shimunenga belongs to the whole community and all, whether chief or slaves, put their trust in him for what they need They do not rely upon him in case of ordinary sickness—that is a matter for the family divinities—but for wealth, for victory in war, for protection against lions and in pestilence, against all things that fight against them they trust him, saying, "Shimunenga, our *muzhimo,* will save us " In all communities it is just the same, they have one, or two, or three demigods If a lion is killed the chief takes it to Shimunenga's grave and the *muzhimo* is grateful for it shows the trust his people have in him—a trust shown in the offering If one kills a leopard he does the same, taking the head to show that it is the great *muzhimo* of the community who gave the good fortune to kill that fierce beast If there should be a pestilence, all the people have faith that this *muzhimo* will remove it so that they die not Every community that God created is the same, there is none that has not its *muzhimo* to whom offerings are made The divinities of men are not assimilated, a man who is not your relation does not join you in making offerings to your divinities; he would be doing wrong But it is otherwise with the communal demigod none refrains from calling upon him, he belongs to all In a household there are various divinities, a husband prays to his, a wife prays to hers, but as members of a community they all pray to one and the same demigod [88]

[UNITED STATES] "It is a noble land that God has given us; a land that can feed and clothe the world, a land whose coastlines would inclose half the countries of Europe, a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe, a greater England with a nobler destiny.

"It is a mighty people that He has planted on this soil, a people sprung from the most masterful blood of history; a people perpetually revitalized by the virile, man-producing working-folk of all the earth; a people imperial by virtue of their power, by right of their institutions, by authority of their Heaven-directed purposes—the propagandists and not the misers of liberty

"It is a glorious history our God has bestowed upon His chosen people; a history heroic with faith in our mission and our future, a history of

[86] K Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos,* tr. W. Worster (*Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition,* 7.1) (Copenhagen, 1929), pp 118–20.

[87] Council of Trent, *Conc Trid ,* Sessio XXV, "De invocatione, veneratione, et reliquiis sanctorum, et sacris imaginibus."

[88] Smith and Dale, *op cit ,* II, pp. 180–81

statesmen who flung the boundaries of the Republic out into unexplored lands and savage wilderness, a history of soldiers who carried the flag across blazing deserts and through the ranks of hostile mountains, even to the gates of sunset, a history of a multiplying people who overran a continent in half a century, a history of prophets who saw the consequences of evils inherited from the past and of martyrs who died to save us from them, a history divinely logical, in the process of whose tremendous reasoning we find ourselves today "[89]

The social interaction between spirit and man is so primary that each has a friend upon whom he can rely. In addition, the guardian spirit of a group increases the solidarity of that group (14) Within the group the members participate in a common ritual as contrasted with the different rituals of non-members, and the guardian spirit of the group becomes a symbol of the unity of the group and its difference from other groups

[ZULU] "Black people do not worship all Amatongo indifferently, that is, all the dead of their tribe Speaking generally, the head of each house is worshipped by the children of that house, for they do not know the ancients who are dead, nor their laud-giving names, nor their names But their father whom they knew is the head by whom they begin and end in their prayer, for they know him best, and his love for his children, they remember his kindness to them whilst he was living, they compare his treatment of them whilst he was living, support themselves by it, and say, 'He will still treat us in the same way now he is dead We do not know why he should regard others besides us, he will regard us only'

"So it is then although they worship the many Amatongo of their tribe, making a great fence around them for their protection, yet their father is far before all others when they worship the Amatongo Their father is a great treasure to them even when he is dead And those of his children who are already grown up know him thoroughly, his gentleness, and his bravery And if there is illness in the village, the eldest son lauds him with the laud-giving names which he gained when fighting with the enemy, and at the same time lauds all the other Amatongo, the son reproves the father, saying, 'We for our parts may just die Who are you looking after? Let us die all of us, that we may see into whose house you will enter You will eat grasshoppers, you will no longer be invited to go any where, if you destroy your own village'

"After that, because they have worshipped him, they take courage saying, 'He has heard, he will come and treat our diseases, and they will cease.'

"Such, then, is the faith which children have in the Itongo which is their father.

"And if there is a chief wife of a village, who has given birth to children,

[89] A J Beveridge, *The Meaning of the Times* (Indianapolis, 1908), pp 47–48

and if her husband is not dead, her Itongo is much reverenced by her husband and all the children And that chief wife becomes an Itongo which takes great care of the village But it is the father especially that is the head of the village " [90]

[HEBREW] "Thou shalt have no other gods before me " [91]

" . thou shalt worship no other god for the Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God " [92]

"Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, nor do after their works but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and quite break down their images [93]

(g) A *police spirit* sees to it that everything in the universe, including the spirits, keeps to its allotted role and performs the set of actions involved in that role It is a means of social control, reinforcing the set of customs involved in the roles found in the society

[MAORI] "The Pou-tiri-ao, of the heavens and the planes of those heavens are eleven in number They have been appointed by the Whatukuras [messenger spirits] of Io [the supreme being] to the heavens and planes, with all pertaining to them Now, the following is obvious to the thoughts; the sun causes death, in that his rays kill growing things, it is not the case that he produces good only The moon also causes destruction to earthly things, the wind does likewise, as do the trees But I will be brief Hence, there is nothing in the world without evil, and, hence, also all things have evil as well as good

"This was the reason that the Pou-tiri-ao were appointed to all things to take care that they run their courses properly, and lest the things of this world quarreled among themselves, and to prevent anger, which was wrong according to the ideas of the Pou-tiri-ao, to help forward the good, and the life that was approved by the Pou-tiri-ao, to maintain the existence of good in each thing in this world Everything whether of the Earth itself or the waters thereof, each had its guardian Pou-tiri-ao Should the Pou-tiri-ao perceive anything in the world going wrong, or changing its purpose, its life, its form, its proceedings, they diverted it, put a stop or an end to it If no Pou-tiri-aos had been appointed in the world, the growth, the life, the death, of all things would have been a perpetual struggle, and consequently growth and life in this world would have been wasted It was for these reasons that Io gave these powers to the Pou-tiri-aos " [94]

[GREECE] "She [i e , Night] bare the Destinies and ruthless avenging Fates . . who give men at their birth both evil and good to have, and they pursue the transgressions of men and of gods and these goddesses

[90] H Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* [1870] (Folk-Lore Society, *Publications,* 15) (Natal, 1870 [i e , London, 1885]), pp 144–46

[91] *Old Testament, Exodus,* 20 3 [E = 8th cent B C ?]

[92] *Ibid ,* 34 14 [J] [93] *Ibid ,* 23 24 [E]

[94] Smith, *op cit ,* I, pp 109–10

never cease from their dread anger until they punish the sinner with a sore penalty. Also deadly Night bare Nemesis to afflict mortal man "[95]

(*h*) Most people in every society believe in the existence of a number of spirits

[RUSSIA] A peasant, it is said, was once asked by a priest if he could name the three Persons of the Trinity, and replied without a moment's hesitation, "How can one not know that, Batushka ['Little Father']? Of course it is the Saviour, the Mother of God, and Saint Nicholas the miracle worker!"[96]

But there are sometimes a few for whom there is a *universal spirit*, a single spirit in the universe who alone exists For secure and reflective people this may be satisfactory, inasmuch as it orders the environment by referring all phenomena back to a single source

[HINDU] "I am the origin of all, all issues forth from me "[97]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things "[98]

But insecure human beings cannot afford the luxury of monotheism, they want more concrete and immediate help than can be gotten from an abstract and distant universal spirit

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I saw tonight what I never saw before, a prodigious sea with immense billows coming upon a vessel, so as that it seemed hardly possible to escape . I prayer fervently to *God* While I prayed, I was disturbed by the objections against a particular providence and against hoping that the petitions of an individual would have any influence with the Divinity, objections which have been often made, and which Dr. Hakesworth has lately revived in his preface to the *Voyages to the South Seas*, but Dr Ogden's excellent doctrine on the efficacy of intercession prevailed. I was really in very great fear this night "[99]

The earliest known instance of a universal spirit is found in Egypt in the 14th century B C , [100] at present it occurs among people scattered over the world

[95] Hesiod (8th cent B C), Theogonia, 217–21, in *Carmina*, ed A Rzach, Leipzig, 1908, 2nd ed , tr H G Evelyn White (London, 1929) Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harvard University Press

[96] D M Wallace, *Russia* [1877] (New York, 1905, rev ed), p 59

[97] *Bhagavadgita*, 10 8

[98] Paul, *Epistolae*, "Romans," 11 36, *vide ibid* , "I Corinthians," 15 28

[99] J Boswell (1740–1795), *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, ed F A Pottle and C H Bennett (New York, 1936), pp 219–50

[100] [EGYPT] "I have come with praise to the Aten [sun], the living and sole god, Lord of rays for giving light [*or*, Creator of light] Dawning in heaven and

[AKIKUYU] We were riding home one evening with a particularly glorious sunset lighting up the summit of Mount Kenya, which rose above a belt of golden cloud, when our friend Wa-ma-heu volunteered, "God (N'gai) lives on Kenya. The Swahilis (Mohammedans) and the missionaries say that he lives in the sky, but they are wrong He has no father nor mother, nor wife nor children, he is all alone" In answer to a question, "He has no messengers ('askaris'), he does all his own work" Another time he told us, "God does not eat He is neither a child nor an old man, he is the same today as he was yesterday" [101]

[UNITED STATES] "Unitarians are very modest when it comes to speaking of the Infinite Spirit 'in whom we live and move and have our being' To believe in, to have a lively consciousness of God, they do not consider it needful to assume a detailed familiarity They shrink from frequent repetition of the name and also from using any word or phrase that suggests an anthropomorphic conception Unitarians most commonly speak of God as Father, not because that is an adequate or exact term, but because it suggests the finest, the most universal, the most unselfish elements a man can conceive of or aspire to Perhaps the term is generally used by them because it suggests that this overshadowing, transfusing spirit is all the time prompting, tempting man to grow up into the divine likeness, just as the noblest of human fathers prompts his child to grow up in the likeness of the father's noblest self Whether a distinct personality shall be ascribed to the idea of the Divine Fatherhood is a matter which each must decide for himself

"The Unitarian idea of Jesus is that he is in all respects a human being They hold that the idea that Jesus was 'a man and something more' makes his 'life of singular purity, elevation, courage, sanity and devotion' worthless as an example to beings who are *only men* Also a Christ 'conceived of the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary' adds no distinction or force to anything Jesus said or did or was . . They insist, without any sort of reservation that Jesus was an historical person, that he was the son of Joseph and Mary This they set forth not as a dogma but as a belief imposed upon them by such facts as are known The Unitarians accept the verdict of history that Jesus was a man They agree that he may have manifested an unusual degree of divinity or godlikeness—divinity as they understand it refers to the quality of a person's character and not to the nature of the body—that he may have possessed unusual spiritual gifts and psychical powers but they hold this does not warrant them in regarding him as being other than human There is no disposition among Unitarians to take each and every idea ascribed by the Gospel writers to Jesus and attribute something like infallible authority to such ideas It is less the

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illumining the Two Lands [i e, Egypt], he gives life to all that he has created, he puts darkness to flight and sends his rays so that every land is filled with his love"—*Hymn of Tutu*, in N de G Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* (Archaeological Survey of Egypt, *Memoirs*, 13–18) (London, 1903–08), VI, pp 25-27 [XVIII Dynasty]

[101] Routledge, *op cit*, pp 225–226

words of Jesus than the spirit he put into all his deeds and relationships which they revere and accept as constituting the 'leadership of Jesus' The popular idea that Jesus died on the cross as a divine sacrifice finds no place in Unitarian belief. He is Leader rather than Saviour Instead of believing that by his death he opens the way to a heaven above they believe that the ethical principles according to which Jesus lived point the way whereby man may make this world heavenly Because the life of Jesus was a man's life, his gospel a man's gospel, Unitarians insist that it is a gospel which every man can and ought to live." [102]

Tendencies toward monotheism are found among those who combine the roles of various spirits, either through henotheism or fusion. In *henotheism* one spirit, usually the supreme being, is given most of the roles belonging to the other spirits in the pantheon

[WINNEBAGO] "When Weshgishega was growing up his father coaxed him to fast He told him that when Earthmaker had created the various spirits, all the good ones he had created, were placed in charge of something The gift of bestowing upon man life and victory in war he gave to some, to others, the gift of hunting-powers Whatever powers the Indians needed in order to live, these he placed in the hands of various spirits

"Thus Weshgishega fasted and tried to obtain something from the spirits But as he fasted he kept thinking to himself, 'Long ago Earthmaker created all the different spirits and he put every one of them in control of something, so people say He himself must therefore be much more powerful than all the others As holy as these spirits are, so assuredly, Earthmaker must be mightier, holier ' So he thought He tried to be blessed by Earthmaker He thought to himself, 'What kind of being is he?' As he fasted Weshgishega thought to himself, 'Not even any of the spirits whom Earthmaker created has really known Earthmaker as he actually is, not one of the spirits has he even blessed I wonder, however, whether Earthmaker would bless me? This is what I am thinking of ' So he put himself into a most pitiable condition and uttered his cry to the spirits He could not stop 'From Earthmaker do I wish to obtain knowledge If he does not bless me during my fasting I shall assuredly die ' So, to the utmost of his power, he did fast He wished to be blessed only by Earthmaker

"At first he fasted four days, then six, then eight, then ten and finally twelve days After that he broke his fast Yet it was quite clear that he had obtained no knowledge, quite clear that he had not been blessed So he gave up his fasting and when he reached the age of early manhood he married

"He took his wife, and the two of them moved to an out of the way place There they lived, he and his wife

"Here he commenced to fast, his wife with him He wished to be blessed by Earthmaker This time he felt that most assuredly would he die if Earthmaker did not appear before him in his fasting 'Never has it been

[102] C Graves, *A History of Unitarianism* (Boston, 1923), pp 28–31

told that such a thing could happen, that Earthmaker would bless any one. Yet I shall continue even if I have to die.'

"After a while a child was born to him. It was a boy. He addressed his wife and asked her advice, saying that they ought to sacrifice their child to Earthmaker. She consented. To Earthmaker therefore they prepared to sacrifice their child. They constructed a platform and placed their child upon it. Then both of them wept bitterly. In the night time when the man slept, Earthmaker took pity on him and appeared to him. The man looked at him. He thought, 'This, most certainly, is Earthmaker.' He wore a soldier's uniform and carried a high cocked hat on his head. He had a very pleasing appearance. Weshgishega looked at him and wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. The figure took one step, then another, and finally disappeared, uttering a cry. It was not Earthmaker, it was a pigeon. The bad spirits were fooling Weshgishega.

"Now even more than before did his heart ache, even more than before was his heart wound up in the desire to be blessed by Earthmaker. Now again he fasted and again apparently Earthmaker appeared to him. 'Human being, I bless you. Long have you made your cry for a blessing. I am Earthmaker.' When Weshgishega looked at him, he saw that he was pleasing in appearance. He looked very handsome and his dress was nice to look upon. He wondered whether this really was Earthmaker. As he looked at the figure it became smaller and smaller and when finally he looked, he noticed that it was a bird.

"Then his heart ached even more than before. Bitterly did he cry. Now, for the third time, Earthmaker blessed him saying, 'Human being, you have tried to be blessed by Earthmaker and you have caused yourself great suffering. I am Earthmaker and I bless you. You will never be in want of anything, you will be able to understand the languages of your neighbors, you will have a long life, indeed, with everything do I bless you.' But, from the very first, this figure did not inspire Weshgishega with confidence and he thought to himself, 'Somebody must be fooling me.' And so it was, it was a bird.

"Then most assuredly did he think that he wished to die for he felt that all the bad birds in the world were trying to make fun of him.

"Earthmaker, above where he sits, knew of all this. He heard the man's voice and he said, 'O Weshgishega, you are crying. I shall come to the earth for you. Your father has told me all.' Then when Weshgishega looked, he saw a ray of light extending very distinctly from the sky down to the earth. To the camp it extended. 'Weshgishega, you said that you wanted to see me. That, however, cannot be. But I am the ray of light. You have seen me.'

"Not with any war powers did Earthmaker bless him, only with life." [103]

In *fusion* the different spirits are taken to be different roles of the same person, or, to put it another way, different aspects of the same thing.

[103] Crashing Thunder, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–23.

[TETON DAKOTA] [Question] . . there are eight *Wakan Tanka*, are there? [Answer] No, there is but one

[Q] You have named eight and say there is but one How can this be? [A] That is right I have named eight There are four, Wi [i e, *Wakan Tanka Kin*, Sun], *Skan* [i e, *Taku Skanskan*, Sky] *Inyan* [Rock], and *Maka* [Earth]

[Q] You named four others, the Moon, the Wind, the Winged, and the Beautiful Woman, and said they were *Wakan Tanka*, did you not? [A] Yes But these four are the same as the *Wakan Tanka* The Sun and the Moon are the same, the *Skan* and the Wind are the same, the Rock and the Winged are the same, and the Earth and the Beautiful Woman are the same. These eight are only one The shamans know how this is, but the people do not know It is *wakan* (a mystery) [104]

"The word *Wakan Tanka* means all of the *wakan* beings because they are all as if one" [105]

[UNITED STATES] "I believe in one God the Father . . . And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God Being of one substance with the Father And I believe in the Holy Ghost, The Lord, and Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father (and the Son), Who with the Father and Son together is worshipped and glorified" [106]

"There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the Maker, and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost" [107]

Fusion reaches its limits in *pantheism*, at which point the material universe itself becomes an aspect of a universal spirit.

[HINDU] "Ushasta Chakrayana asked 'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'tell me the Brahman which is visible, not invisible, the Self (atman), who is within all'

"Yagnavalkya replied· 'This, thy Self, who is within all'

" 'Which Self, O Yagnavalkya, is within all?'

"Yagnavalyka replied 'He who breathes in the up-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all He who breathes in the down-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all He who breathes in the on-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all He who breathes in the out-breathing, he is thy Self, and within all This is thy Self, who is within all'

"Ushasta Chakrayana said 'As one might say, this is a cow, this is a horse, thus has this been explained by thee Tell me the Brahman which is visible, not invisible, the Self, who is within all'

"Yagnavalkya replied 'Thou couldst not see the true seer of sight, thou couldst not hear the true hearer of hearing, nor perceive the perceiver of

[104] Walker, *op cit*, pp 154–55

[105] Walker, *ibid*, p 152

[106] *Nicene Creed* The filioque clause, put in parentheses, does not appear in the original, but was added later by the Western church

[107] Protestant Episcopal Church, *op cit*, "Articles of religion"

perception, nor know the knower of knowledge This is *thy* Self, who is within all ' " [108]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "There cannot be, nor be conceived to be, any other substance besides God

"It follows . . . That the *thing extended* and the *thing thinking* are attributes of God, or affections of attributes of God " [109]

Incarnations

An *incarnation* is a material symbol of mana

[BYZANTIUM] " sacred things in sensible forms are copies of things intelligible, to which they lead and shew the way, and things intelligible are source and science of things hierarchical cognizable by the senses." [110]

Dogmatically, it is a material thing which contains either mana alone, or a spirit

[DAHOMEY] What is a *vodu*? The native translates the term by the word "god," yet within a shrine will point to a particular spot where a large jar is imbedded and will say that the *vodu* is there Quite apart from the concept of *vodu* which regards it as a deity the fact remains that a *vodu* is also thought of by the Dahomean as something which is localized, and that a spirit, while philosophically conceived as existing everywhere in space, must also have definite places to which it can be summoned, where it can be commanded by the proper formulae to aid its worshippers, and from which it can go forth to achieve those things desired of it According to one account it is the god himself who indicates the place where the temple to a given *vodu* is to be established by giving a sign by which it is recognized that a shrine is to be built One example given of such a sign was the appearance of the shoot of a *loko* tree inside a house It is not believed that the *loko* can be planted, hence its appearance in such a place would be regarded as the demand of some deity that a shrine be established to him by the person in whose house the shoot appears When such an event occurs, a diviner is called and he determines the particular deity who lives in the tree The growing shoot is transplanted, a temple is built near it, and a chief-priest is appointed from the membership of the family, or in the days of the monarchy, was named before the King Once established, the succession to the priesthood would be handed down within the family If the god, when asked for favors, granted them and thus proved his powers, or if the sib whom he favored with this manifestation prospered

[108] *Brhadaranyakopanisad,* 3 4 [*ante* 500 B C], in *Upanisad,* tr F M Muller (*Sacred Books of the East,* 1, 15) (Oxford, 1879–84)

[109] B Spinoza, *Ethica,* I 14

[110] Pseudo Dionysius Areopagita (6th cent), *De ecclesiastica hierarchia,* 2 3 2 (col 397), in *Opera omnia,* ed B Corder (*Patrologiae Series Graeca,* 3–4) (Paris, 1857), tr J Parker (London, 1899)

and became powerful, it was held that the deity was a potent one, and outsiders would come to worship and learn the cult of this god, so that gradually the deity became one of the great "public" *vodu* [111]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "And because that Christ, our Redeemer, declared that which he offered under the species of bread to be truly his own body, therefore has it ever been a firm belief in the Church of God, and this holy Synod doth now declare it anew, that, by the consecration of the bread and of the wine, a conversion is made of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of his blood, which conversion is, by the holy Catholic Church, suitably and properly called Transsubstantiation " [112]

Mana is more or less amorphous, and spirits are often endowed with well-nigh incomprehensible characteristics

[UNITED STATES] "God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the Maker, and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible " [113]

Therefore incarnations make it possible for man to apprehend them [114] (15)

[HINDU] "Vajra said By you the Supreme God (Purusha) has been described as devoid of form, small and *rasa* [flavor] and destitute of sound and touch, so how can this form be made of him?

"Markandeya replied *Prakrti* and *Vikrti* come into existence through the variation in the form of the Supreme Soul That form of him which is scarcely to be seen was called *Prakrti* The whole universe should be known as the *Vikrti* transformation of Him, endowed with form Worship and meditation of the Supreme Being are possible only when He is endowed with form The form of the Supreme deity, as he manifests himself should be worshipped according to rites Because the invisible condition is apprehended with great difficulty by the corporeal beings, by the Supreme Lord, through His own will was shown that form and the gods too point

111 Herskovits, *op cit*, II, pp 170–71

112 Council of Trent, Sessio XIII, "De transsubstantiatione," 4

113 Protestant Episcopal Church, *op cit*, "Articles of religion," 1

114 It follows, then, that material embodiments need no further incarnations [SYRIA] "In the body of the temple, as you enter, there stands on the left hand side, a throne for the Sun god, but there is no image upon it, for the effigies of the Sun and Moon are not exhibited I have learnt, however, the reasons of this practice They say that religion does not forbid making effigies of the other deities, for the outward form of these deities is known to all, but the Sun and Moon are plain for all to see, and all men behold them What boots it therefore to make effigies of those deities who offer themselves for all to gaze on?"—Lucian (2nd cent A D), *De dea Syria*, 31, in *Opera*, ed N Lilen, Leipzig, 1907–, tr H A Strong (London, 1913)

out that form of Him in His various manifestations For this reason God is worshipped endowed with form " [115]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "[Jesus] is the image [*eikon*] of the invisible God " [116]
" . the unmeasurable Father was Himself subjected to measure in the Son; for the Son is the measure of the Father, since He also comprehends him " [117]

Besides, people usually feel that a thing is somehow more real if it is corporeal, [118] incarnations have this property while the mana and spirits they symbolize do not

It seems that just about anything material can be an incarnation inanimate or animate, plant or animal—all are used

[KHAND] The Khonds use neither temples nor images in their worship They cannot comprehend, and regard as absurd, the idea of building a house in honour of a deity, or in the expectation that he will be peculiarly present in any place resembling a human habitation Groves kept sacred from the axe, hoar rocks, the tops of hills, fountains, and the banks of streams, are in their eyes the fittest places for worship [119]

[WESTERN EUROPE] *"Gods House is the house of Prayer,* It is his Court of Requests, There he receives petitions, there he gives Order upon them " [120]

[AINU] When those Ainu hunters who are acquainted with the cult of the mountains are about to start on a hunting expedition, they first, after having worshipped at the *nusa,* go and select a large tree and worship its spirit, saying, "O thou great possessor of the soil, we have come to kill animals, please help us O see that we meet with no accidents, and prosper thou us " After this has been done they set out fully expecting to kill many bears and deer [121]

[HEBREW] " the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush and he looked, and, behold, the bush was not consumed " [122]

115 *Visnudharmottara* [7th cent A D], tr S Kramrisch (Calcutta, 1928, 2nd ed), 3 16 1–8

116 Paul, *Epistolae,* "Colossians," 1 15

117 Irenaeus (2nd cent A D), *Contra haereses,* 4 4 2, in *Opera omnia,* ed R Massueti (*Patrologia Graeca,* 7), Paris, 1857, tr A Roberts and W H Rambaut (Buffalo, 1885)

118 [WESTERN EUROPE] "The other disciples said unto him [Thomas], we have seen the Lord But he said unto them, Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe "—*New Testament, John,* 20 25 [*ca* 100 A D]

119 S C Macpherson, "An account of the religion of the Khonds in Orissa," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* (old ser) 13 (1852), (pp 216–74) pp 235–36

120 J Donne (1573–1631), *LXXX Sermons* (London, 1640), 68 (p 692)

121 J Batchelor, *The Ainu and Their Folklore* [1892], (London, 1901), pp 379–80

122 *Old Testament, Exodus,* 13 2 [JF]

[ZULU] "The snakes into which men turn are not many, they are distinct and well known They are the black Imamba, and the green Imamba, which is called Inyandezulu Chiefs turn into these Common people turn into the Umthlwazi, and chieftainesses Another snake is called Ubulube or Inkwakwa, and another Umzingandhlu, common people turn into these only

"These snakes are known to be human beings when they enter a hut, they do not usually enter by the doorway Perhaps they enter when no one is there, and go to the upper part of the hut, and stay there coiled up A snake of this kind does not eat frogs or mice, it remains quiet, until someone sees it and calls others, it is not afraid so as to run away, and it is left alone Some say, 'Let it be killed' Others say, 'What, kill a man?'

"If the snake has a scar on the side, someone, who knew a certain dead man of that place who also had such a scar, comes forward and says, 'It is So-and-so Do you not see the scar on his side?' It is left alone, and they go to sleep

"During the night the chief of the village dreams, and the dead man says to him, 'Do you now wish to kill me? Do you already forget me? I thought I would come and ask for food, and do you kill me? I am So-and-so'

"In the morning he tells his dreams, and says, 'Let a sinoffering be sacrificed, lest the Itongo [ghost] be angry and kill us' They fetch a bullock or goat, and pray and eat the flesh They look, and the snake is no longer there It has now entirely disappeared

"A mere snake, when it comes into a hut, looks from side to side, and is afraid of men, and it is killed because it is known to be a wild snake

"A snake is also known by its mere appearance to be an animal, even though it does not look from side to side, because it is neither an Imamba that is a man, nor the Inyandezulu, which is known to be a man Those which are men and those which are not, are distinguished by their colour The Puffadder, the Ivuzamanzi, the Inthlangwana, and the grey and spotted Imamba, are known to be mere beasts It is impossible for them to be ever men, they never become men, they are always beasts And those which are men are always men, as soon as they are seen they are known to be men, and truly they speak in dreams, and even if they do not, it is known that they are men

"Those which are men are known by their frequenting huts, and by their not eating mice, and by their not being frightened at the noise of men, they are always observed not to be afraid of the shadow of a man, neither does a snake that is an Itongo excite fear in men, and there is no feeling of alarm as though there was a wild beast in the house, but there is a happy feeling, and it is felt that the chief of the village has come When men see it, it is as though it said as they look at it, 'Be not afraid It is I' So they are able at all times to associate with it

"If it has been killed by someone who is ignorant, it comes to life again, and has the marks of the rod on its body by which it was killed, and complains in a dream of the treatment it has received And after that a sin-offering is sacrificed This, then, is how snakes are distinguished

"He who had a scar is recognised by that, and he who had but one eye is recognised by the snake into which he has turned having one eye also, and another is recognised by the marks of injuries, and a lame man is known by the lameness of the snake That is how they are known, for men usually have some marks, and the snakes into which they turn have similar marks The man who had no mark speaks in dreams And if it is seen that it is an Itongo, but it has no mark, it is said to be a man, but we do not know who it is He reveals himself by speaking This is how they are known

"Again, if a snake which is an Itongo lies on its back, with its belly upwards, it is a cause of alarm, and it is said something of consequence is about to happen,—or, the village is about to be destroyed The people sacrifice and pray, and go to a diviner, and he tells them why the Itongo has done as it has They do as they are directed

"If a snake coils around a vessel and will not allow anyone to take it, the people bring a sacrifice and worship, and it goes away

"And if a snake which is an Itongo enters a house rapidly [Rapidly, or rather, without any shame,—arbitrarily, as one that has a right to do as he likes, whose will is his law], it is known to be the Itongo of a man who was a liar whilst he lived And he is still a liar They sacrifice something to such an Itongo

"This is what I know about the Amatongo" [123]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I saw the Spirit descending from heaven like a dove" [124]

Human incarnations are particularly interesting In this case the environment is humanized, not by a belief in mere anthropomorphic spirits, but by the use of living human beings Consequently, the group has the benefits of the combined effects of anthropomorphic spirits and incarnations

[MARQUESAS] . the term Atua . refers to living men who claim the title and attributes of the deity not through a professed inspiration, or possession by a supernatural influence or power, but in their own right of godship, as those who control the elements, impart fruitfulness to the productions of the earth, or smite them with blasting and sterility, and who exercise the prerogatives of the deity in scattering disease, and wielding the shafts of death They are few in number, not more than one or two at farthest on an island, and live in . seclusion and mysticism

The honors and powers of this class do not appear to be always hereditary, though they sometimes are, and its perpetuity depends principally on those who have ambition enough to aim at it, and at the same time talent and art sufficient to succeed

[W P] Crook gives the following account of an Atua "He is now of great age, and has lived from early life at Hanateitema, in a large house

[123] H Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, pp 196–200
[124] *New Testament, John*, 1 32

surrounded by an enclosure called the A In the house is an altar, and from the beams within, and upon the trees around it, are human carcasses, suspended with their heads downward, and scalped No one enters the premises but his servant, except when human sacrifices are offered Of these, more are offered to him than to any other of their gods and he frequently seats himself on an elevated scaffolding in front of his house, and calls for two or three at a time He is invoked in all parts of the island, and offerings every where are made to him, and sent to Hanateiteina " [125]

[UNITED STATES] "I am here to convey this Message of Love, and transmit the Spirit of My Presence to the World, that they too, as well as you, might be partakers of the Christ Characteristics,—My Nature,—and be endowed with Power from on High . . it is not necessary to come where I am Personally, as I am Omnipresent . My Mission is to encourage you and to Speak Words of optimism . see and learn and know, just what GOD is Doing among men " [126]

Further, if the human incarnation is one of the elite, it has the added effect that was discussed under elite ghosts, namely, it acts as a social control by reinforcing and sanctioning the value system and other customs of the group A typical example of this is the divine king, first found in Mesopotamia during the Akkadian Dynasty [127]

[MALAY] The theory of the king as the Divine Man is held perhaps as strongly in the Malay region as in any other part of the world, a fact which is strikingly emphasised by the alleged right of Malay monarchs *"to slay at pleasure, without being guilty of a crime"* Not only is the king's person considered sacred, but the sanctity of his body is believed to communicate itself to his regalia, and to slay those who break the royal taboos Thus it is firmly believed that any one who seriously offends the royal person, who touches (even for a moment) or who imitates (even with the king's permission) the chief objects of the regalia, or who wrongfully makes use of any of the insignia or privileges of royalty, will be kena daulat, i e, struck dead, by a quasi-electric discharge of that Divine Power which the Malays suppose to reside in the king's person, and which is called "Daulat" or "Royal Sanctity "

But the extraordinary strength of the Malay belief in the supernatural powers of the regalia of their sovereigns can only be thoroughly realised after a study of their romances, in which their kings are credited with all the attributes of inferior gods, whose birth, as indeed every subsequent act of their after life, is attended by the most amazing prodigies

[125] C S Stewart, *A Visit to the South Seas* (New York, 1831), I, pp 267–69

[126] G Baker (Father Divine), *"A Message to the Faithful,"* [Los Angeles] *California Eagle*, Jan 11, 1935

[127] [AGADE] "The divine Naram-Sin, the mighty, the god of Agade, king of the four regions "—G A Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (*Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions*, 1) (New Haven, 1929), 16 [26th cent B C], *vide ibid*, 1–3, 5, 8–13, 15–19, 20–23

They are usually invulnerable, and are gifted with miraculous powers, such as that of transforming themselves, and of returning to (or recalling others to) life, in fact they have, in every way, less of the man about them and more of the god .

In addition to the sanctity of the regalia, the king as the divine man, possesses an infinite multitude of prerogatives which enter into almost every act of his private life, and thus completely separate him from the generality of his fellowmen

It must not be forgotten, too, in discussing the divine attributes of the Malay king, that he is firmly believed to possess a personal influence over the works of nature, such as the growth of the crops and the bearing of fruit-trees .

I may add that royal blood is supposed by many Malays to be white, and this is the pivot on which the plot of not a few Malay folk-tales is made to turn . .

A flagrant infringement of any of the prerogatives of the Sultan, such as those I have described, is certain, it is thought, to prove fatal, more or less immediately

Thus the death of Penghulu Mohit, a well known Malay headman of the Klang district, in Selangor, which took place while I was in charge of that district, was at the time very generally attributed by the local Malays to his usurpation of certain royal privileges or prerogatives on the occasion of his daughter's wedding One of these was his acceptance of gift-buffaloes, decorated after the royal fashion, which were presented to him as wedding gifts in his daughter's honour These buffaloes had a covering of cloth put over them, their horns covered, and a crescent-shaped breast-ornament (dokoh) hung about their necks Thus dressed they were taken to Mohit's house in solemn procession It was, at the time, considered significant that the very first of these gift-buffaloes, which had been brought overland from Jugra, where the Sultan lived, had died on arrival, and whatever the cause may have been, it is a fact that Mohit's mother died a day or two after the conclusion of the wedding ceremonies, and that Mohit himself was taken ill almost immediately and died only about a fortnight later [128]

[WESTERN EUROPE] *"At the Healing*

Prevent us, O Lord, &c

The Gospel (*for Ascension-day*), S Mark xvl 14–20

Let us pray

Lord, have mercy upon us, &c.

Our Father, &c.

Then shall the infirm persons, one by one, be presented to the Queen upon their knees, and as every one is presented and while the Queen is laying her hands upon them, and putting the gold about their necks, the Chaplain that officiates, turning himself to her Majesty, shall say these words following

God give a blessing to this work, and grant that *these* sick *persons* on

[128] W W Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900), pp 23–24, 29, 32, 36–39

whom the Queen lays her hands may recover, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

After all have been presented, the Chaplain shall say,

O Lord, save thy servants, &c. (*the Versicles from the Commination Service*)

Let us pray.

O Almighty God, who art the Giver of all health, and the aid of them that seek to thee for succour, we call upon thee for thy help and goodness mercifully to be showed upon these thy servants, that they being healed of their infirmities may give thanks unto thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord Amen.

Then the Chaplain, standing with his face towards them that come to be healed, shall say,

The Almighty Lord, who is most strong, &c (*from the Visitation of the Sick*)

The grace of our Lord, &c" [129]

Finally, not only can human beings be incarnations, but also their behavior and artifacts can have mana

[POLAR ESKIMO] Magic formulae, "serratit," are "words dating from the earliest days, the days when men's vital sap was stronger, and tongues had 'tangeq' (i.e , power)" [130]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "It being shown that there is a great power in the affections of the soul, you must know, moreover, that there is no less virtue in words and the names of things, and greatest of all in speeches and motions" [131]

[TETON DAKOTA] "The *Wicasa Wakan* or priests, speak for all the *Wakan* [supernatural] beings *Wakan Tanka* gives them the power that makes them *Wakan* and by which they can put *ton* into anything Each priest has an object for himself into which *ton* [mana] has been put This is called a *Wasicun* A *Wasicun* is one of the *Wakan* beings It is the least of them, but if its *ton* is from a powerful being it may be more powerful than many of the *Wakan* beings This *Wasicun* is what the priests do their work with, but the white people call it the medicine bag, which is a mistake, for there are no medicines in it A medicine bag is a bag that doctors have their medicines in If a man has a *Wasicun* he may pray to it, for it is the same as the *Wakan* being whose *ton* (*wan*) is in it" [132]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " . . the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of

[129] Church of England, *Book of Common Prayer* [1710], "At the healing," in F Proctor, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, Rev W H Frere (London, 1902, rev. ed), pp. 253–54 The earliest form is, "The ceremonies for . . healing . . . in the time of Henry VII," in *Monumenta ritualia ecclesiae anglicanae*, ed W. Maskell (Oxford, 1882, 2nd ed), III, pp. 386–90

[130] Rasmussen, *op cit*, p 140

[131] Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, I 69.

[132] Walker, *op cit*, p 153

God, and of the other saints, are to be had and retained particularly in temples, and due honour and veneration are to be given them." [133]

Sanctification and desanctification

The processes by which material things become supernatural symbols or lose their symbolic characteristics are *sanctification* and *desanctification*. Dogmatically speaking, the former process makes a thing an incarnation, while as a result of the latter it ceases to be such. The processes can be subdivided according to whether mana or spirit is involved. Putting mana into a thing is *consecration*, taking it out, *deconsecration*.

[AZANDE] When fashioning a rubbing-board [used in divination] a man is subject to taboos. He must abstain for two days from sexual relations and from the same foods prohibited in connexion with the poison oracle, fish, elephant, *mboyo, morombida*, &c. before he commences to manufacture it. He cuts it with an adze, fashioning the bottom part before the upper part. He then blackens it by rubbing the surface with a red-hot spear. The carving of the board is only part of the process of manufacture. It is still nothing but two pieces of carved wood and has to be endowed with mystical potency, i.e., the wood has to be transformed into an oracle. This is done by two actions. In the first place the table is anointed with medicine derived from roots which have been boiled, their juices then mixed with oil and boiled again and, during this second boiling, stirred and addressed in the pot. I was told that the owner says over the pot:

> "This is my rubbing-board oracle which I am going to doctor. When I consult it on a man's behalf may it speak the truth, may it foretell the death (threatened death) of a man. May it reveal things to me, may it not hide things from me. May it not lose its potency. If a man eats tabooed food, such as elephant (and comes near my oracle), may it not lose its potency."

He then takes the mixture off the fire and rubs some of it into them. The remainder of the oil and juices he mixes with ashes of various plants and rubs them on to the face of the table. The incisions may be partly the cause of the lid of the oracle sticking or running smoothly on the table according to the direction of pressure.

In the second place the oracle has to be buried. It has been doctored, but the medicines have to be given time to sink in and there is still "coldness" about it which must be removed. It is wrapped up in a new barkcloth or perhaps in the skin of a small animal like a small bushbuck and is placed in a hole dug in the centre of a path. The earth is well trodden down to disguise the fact that something has been buried there, because if a man notices that the earth has been disturbed he will go round the

[133] Council of Trent, Sessio XXV, "De invocatione, veneratione, et reliquiis sanctorum, et sacris imaginibus."

spot in fear of sorcery, and this will spoil the preparation of the oracle, because it is passers-by who "take away all 'coldness' from the rubbing board in the centre of the path" as they pass over it. After two days the owner digs it up. I have heard that instead of burying the board a man may scrape the runners of a plant called *kundugbate* and bind them to the table, where they remain for two days so that they can "rise on the table of the rubbing-board" (as smoke rises).

He now tests it by rubbing the wooden lid backwards and forwards on the table. He says to it: "Rubbing-board, if you will speak the truth to people stick." It sticks in declaration of its potency and powers of discrimination. The owner then addresses the oracle, saying, "Rubbing-board, I take a little wealth to redeem you with it. You speak the truth to me. I take ashes to hold your legs with them. You speak the truth to me." He then places a knife before it as a payment. Since the knife is taken away again Azande say, "He deceives the rubbing board with a knife." He then binds barkcloth round it and places it under his veranda. The rubbing-board is ready for use.[134]

[UNITED STATES] [Consecration of bread and wine at communion.]

". . . we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and, of thy almighty goodness, vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy Word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine." [135]

[AZANDE] Once a medicine has been put into operation and its soul has been dispatched on its errand it is only under the control of the magician subject to certain conditions. If it is moral magic and it is being used for immoral purposes or against an imaginary criminal it may turn upon the man who performed the rite which brought it into action. It may also slay a magician who sends it on a mission and breaks the taboos which condition the accomplishment of the mission. When a potent medicine has done its work it must be destroyed lest it continue to function when its objective has been attained and, seeing no further objective, turns upon the magician.

The destruction of medicines which have become dangerous through failure to observe the conditions of their use is known as *gberesa ngua,* to spoil the magic, and is usually carried out by immersing them in the brackish waters of a marsh beneath aquatic plants. A witch or thief, if he can obtain the medicines, will destroy them in this way and escape punishment for his crime. The withdrawal from action of a medicine that has achieved its purpose is called *buguza ngua* or, in reference to the person or thing it was made to protect, they say that he, or it, is cleansed (*zundu*). Thus vengeance-medicine is destroyed, when a witch has been slain, by eating various antidotes. Those who have been observing taboos may then sleep again with their wives and eat foods which were prohibited while the medicine was tracking down the victim. Thus, also, when powerful

[134] E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande,* pp. 363–64.

[135] Protestant Episcopal Church, *op. cit.*, "Holy communion," "The invocation."

medicines have been employed to protect an eleusine cultivation the crop must be cleansed before it can be eaten This is generally done by the magician blowing mouthfuls of water over the standing eleusine

"A man places medicine in his cultivation, perhaps ngbasu (bagbuduma) medicine, and waits Witches are frightened to go near his crops The crops flourish on account of the medicine, for witchcraft departs from them Thus they flourish on account of the medicine When it is certain that witches will not attempt again to bewitch the crops their owner summons the magician who made the medicine and gives him a spear The magician cleanses the cultivation, and after they have thus cancelled the medicine they may commence to harvest the crop The owner may then eat the produce of his cultivations, because a man must not leave medicine at work in his cultivation, in those cultivations in which one makes magic, and proceed to eat of their produce lest the medicines slay him It is for this reason that they cancel the medicines made to protect cultivations "

Medicines are destroyed by cold and damp Hence, placing them in cold marsh water or blowing cold water over doctored crops takes away the potency of medicines Heat is associated with strength and cold and damp with weakness For the same reason important medicines made in the open are generally protected from rain by a small grass shelter, or by an inverted pot, or are hidden in the hole of a tree

It seems also that dirt is often associated with medicines, and that cleansing of the body may lead to loss of magical potency [136]

[UNITED STATES] [Deconsecration of a church]

" this fabric is hereby forever secularized, and the Sentence [of Consecration] . is voided and revoked, and this place, heretofore a holy place, and sacred to the preaching of God's holy Word, and the ministration of his holy Sacraments, is hereby pronounced secular and unconsecrated " [137]

Introducing a spirit is *possession*, extracting it, *exorcism*

[MALAY]

"Peace be unto you, Penglima Lenggang Laut!
Of no ordinary beauty
Is the Vessel of Penglima Lenggang Laut!
The Vessel that is called 'The Yellow Spirit-boat,'
The Vessel that is overlaid with vermilion and ivory,
The Vessel that is gilded all over,
Whose Mast is named 'Prince Mendela,'
Whose Shrouds are named 'The Shrouds that are silvered'
Whose Oars are named 'The Feet of the Centipede'
(And whose Oarsmen are twice seven in number)

[136] Evans Pritchard, *op cit* , pp 460–62

[137] Protestant Episcopal Church, U S A , *Book of Offices* (New York, 1940), p 41

Whose Side is named 'Civet-cat Fencing,'
Whose Rudder is named 'The Pendulous Bees'-nest,'
Whose Galleries are named 'Struggling Pythons,'
Whose Pennon flaps against the deckhouse,
Whose Streamers sport in the wind,
And whose Standard waves so bravely
Come hither, good sir, come hither, my master,
It is just the right moment to veer your vessel
Master of the Anchor, heave up the anchor,
Master of the Foretop, spread the sails,
Master of the Helm, turn the helm,
Oarsmen, bend your oars,
Whither is our vessel yawing to?
The vessel whose starting-place is the Navel of the Seas,
And that yaws towards the Sea where the 'Pauh Janggi' grows,
Sporting among the surge and breakers,
Sporting among the surge and following the wave-ridges
It were well to hasten, O Penglima Lenggang Laut,
Be not careless or slothful,
Linger not by inlet or river-reach,
Dally not with mistress or courtesan,
But descend and enter into your embodiment."[138]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "*Epistemon* ... they [i.e., witches] can make some to be possessed with spirites, & so becom verie Daemoniacques ... spirites ... enter within them and possesse them.

"*Philomathes* ... whereby shal these possessed folks be discerned fra them that ar trubled with a natural Phrensie or Manie ... .

"*Epistemon* ... there are divers symptomes, whereby that heavie trouble may be discerned from a naturall sicknesse, and speciallie three ... I account the one of them to be the incredible strength of the possessed creature, which will farre exceede the strength of six of the wightest and wodest of any other men that are not so troubled. The next is the boldning up so far of the patients breast and bellie, with such an unnaturall sturring and vehement agitation within them. And such an ironie hardnes of his sinnowes so stiffelie bended out, that it were not possible to prick out as it were the skinne of anie other person so far: so mightely works the Devil in all the members and senses of his body, he being locallie within the same, suppose of his soule and affectiones thereof, hee have no more power then of any other mans. The last is, the speaking of sundrie languages, which the patient is knowen by them that were acquainte with him never to have learned, and that with an uncouth and hollowe voice, and al the time of his speaking, a greater motion being in his breast then in his mouth."[139]

[138] Skeat, *op. cit.*, p. 439.
[139] James I, *Daemonologie* [1597], ed. G. B. Harrison (*Bodley Head Quartos*, 9) (London, 1924), pp. 47, 57, 70–71.

[BAGANDA] "(Capturing of ghosts. This was done when people were sick. The ghost catchers used one of their party to catch the ghost of the sick person.) They sang songs and the man on the floor began to cry and to utter phrases depicting the ghost. 'Why are you after me? Why do you want to kill me? I had better run away from her,' he would cry. When the ghosts seized him the others would clap a large flat jar over his mouth. He would say, 'Ghosts, come out of my friend and enter the jar.' He then would vomit into the jar, continuing to protest his innocence of any offense. Then the fortune-teller tied a leaf without a hole over the mouth of the jar. 'Since you have killed people all these days I have captured you,' he said." [140]

[NORTH AFRICA] "An *Inscription to the Great Spirit* [Primal Man] Drawn upon the Letter

"I call thee, the headless one, that didst create earth and heaven, that didst create night and day, thee the creator of light and darkness. Thou art Osoronnophris ["Revealer of Good Things"], whom no man hath seen at any time, thou art Iabas, thou art Iapos, thou hast distinguished the just and the unjust, thou didst make female and male, thou didst produce seeds and fruits, thou didst make men to love one another and to hate one another. I am Moses thy prophet, to whom thou didst commit thy mysteries, the ceremonies of Israel, thou didst produce the moist and the dry and all manner of food. Listen to me. I am an angel of Phapro Osoronnophris, this is thy true name, handed down to the prophets of Israel. Listen to me, Arbathiao [the four *Iao* (Hebrew, *Jahveh*] *reibetathelebersetha* [*lacuna*] *blatha, abeuebenphi, chitasoe ib* [*lacuna*] *thiao*, hear me and drive away this spirit.

"I call thee the terrible and invisible god residing in the empty wind, *ariogogorobriao, sochou, modorio, ooo, ape,* thou headless one, deliver such an one from the spirit that possesses him, *balbnabaoth, assadonai* [Hebrew *adonoi*, "lord"], *aphniao, iaotholeth, abrasax* [Hebrew, "blessed one," i.e., God], *aeoou* strong one, headless one, deliver such an one from the spirit that possesses him *mabarraio ioel* [Hebrew, Joel] *kotha athorebalo, abraoth,* deliver such an one, *abaoth basum isak* [Hebrew, Isaac] *sabaoth* [Hebrew, *tsebaoth*, "army"]. This is the lord of the gods, this is the lord of the world, this is he whom the winds fear, this is he who made voice by his commandment, lord of all things, king, ruler, helper, save his soul *ieou pur iou pur iaot iaeo io ou abrasax sabriam oo uu eu oo uu adonaie edeedu* angel of God *anlala lai gaia apa diachanna chorum* I am the headless spirit, having sight in my feet, strong, the immortal fire, I am the truth, I am he that hateth that ill-deeds should be done in the world, I am he that lighteneth and thundereth, I am he whose sweat is the shower that falleth upon the earth that it may teem, I am he whose mouth ever burneth, I am the begetter and the bringer forth (?), I am the Grace of the World, my name is the heart girt with a serpent. Come forth and follow.—The celebration of the preceding ceremony.—Write the names upon a piece of new paper, and having extended it over your forehead from one temple to the other, ad-

[140] A. Kagwa, *The Customs of the Baganda*, p. 127.

dress yourself turning towards the north to the six names, sayings —Make all the spirits subject to me, so that every spirit of heaven and of the air, upon the earth and under the earth, on dry land and in the water, and every spell and scourge of God, may be obedient to me—And all the spirits shall be obedient to you" [141]

There are two kinds of partial deconsecration which ought to be mentioned at least *lustration,* which takes away part of a thing's mana, (16) and *transfer,* which communicates it to something else

[TETON DAKOTA] "A man's *Ni* is his life It is the same as his breath and that which gives him his strength It is the *Ni* which keeps the inside of a man clean If the *Ni* is weak, he cannot perform this office and if it goes away the man dies *Niya* is the ghost or spirit which is given to a man at birth and is that which causes the *Ni* The Lakota have a ceremony which they call *Ini kaga* or *Inipi* The white people call it taking a sweat bath The idea of the Lakota is that the *Inipi* makes man's spirit strong so that it may cleanse all within the body and so that the *Ni* may drive from his body all that makes him tired or that causes disease or that causes him to have evil thoughts The ceremony must be performed in a *ini ti* or what the white people call a sweatlodge The *ini ti* must be made according to Lakota custom, otherwise, the ceremony would be of no avail" [142]

[UNITED STATES] "I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins" —*Nicene Creed*

"Regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy congregation, sanctify this Water to the mystical washing away of sin, and grant that this Child . . now to be baptized therein, may receive the fulness of thy grace, and ever remain in the number of thy faithful children" [143]

[PAPAGO] "When we came home that year there was sickness at Mesquite Root It was a bad sickness that came to everybody in the whole village, sent by an evil medicine man We all had it my father, my mother, all my brothers and sisters The singers gathered in the big house and sang You understand now that our way to cure everything and to take care of everything, is to sing

"Then the medicine men took branches of a kind of cholla cactus Oh, very thorny that cactus is, covered with white thorns, and people say they jump out at you and catch you, so hard they stick Everything in the world sticks to that cactus, so we say the sickness will stick to it, too The medicine men went with their branches into every house, gathering up the sickness on those thorns They took the sickness away and buried it at the north of the village" [144]

141 *British Museum Papyrus* 46, 96–172 [4th cent A D], in *Greek Papyri in the British Museum,* ed F G Kenyon *et al* (London, 1893–1917), I, pp 64–81, tr C W Goodwin (Cambridge, 1852)

142 Walker, *op cit*, p 156

143 Protestant Episcopal Church, *op cit*, "Holy Baptism"

144 R Underhill, *The Autobiography of a Papago Woman (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association,* 46) (Menasha, Wis, 1936), p 23

[UNITED STATES] If you swabbed the throat of a child having diphtheria with a rag doll, and then threw the swab away, the disease would leave the child.[145]

Historical References

(1) "In connection with every religion, whether ancient or modern, we find on the one hand certain beliefs, and on the other certain institutions, ritual practices and rules of conduct."—W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* [1889], ed. S. A. Cook (*Burnett Lectures*, 1888–89) (London, 1927, 3rd ed.), p. 16

(2) "... there is a Providence, which keeps in its eye the smallest things, and without whose will and permission nothing can happen."—J. W. von Goethe, quot. J. P. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, ed. L. Geiger (Leipzig, 1902), p. 194, tr. J. Oxenford (London, 1892)

(3) "Poetry in the beginning was nothing else but a hidden theology and instruction in godly things."—M. Opitz, *Buch von der deutschen Poeterei* [1624], ed. W. Braune (*Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts*, 1) (Halle, 1882), 2 (p. 8)

(4) "The Melanesian mind is entirely possessed by the belief in a supernatural power or influence, called almost universally *mana*. This is what works to effect anything which is beyond the ordinary power of man, outside the common processes of nature; it is present in the atmosphere of life, attaches itself to persons and to things, and is manifested by results which can only be ascribed to its operation."—R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 118–19

(5) "I believe that a triangle, if only it had the power of speech, would say . . . that God is eminently triangular, and a circle would say that the Divine Nature is eminently circular, and in this way each thing would ascribe its own attributes to God, and make itself like unto God, while all else would appear to it deformed."—B. Spinoza, *Epistolae*, 56 (p. 260), in *Opera*, IV, pp. 1–342; tr. A. Wolf (London, 1928)

(6) "As the *causes*, which bestow happiness or misery, are, in general, very little known and very uncertain, our anxious concern endeavours to attain a determinate idea of them, and finds no better expedient than to represent them as intelligent voluntary agents, like ourselves, only somewhat superior in power and wisdom."—D. Hume, "The natural history of religion [1757]," p. 327, in *Essays*, ed. T. H. Green & T. H. Grose (London, 1875), II, pp. 307–63

(7) "Manes-worship ... Its principles are not difficult to understand, for they plainly keep up the social relations of the living world. The dead ancestor, now passed into a deity, simply goes on protecting his own family and receiving suit and service from them as of old; the dead chief still watches over his own tribe, still holds his authority by helping friends and

[145] Army Medical Museum, Washington, D. C., "Medical Superstitions" exhibit

harming enemies, still rewards the right and sharply punishes the wrong" —Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* II, p. 113

(8) "The deities of the vulgar are so little superior to human creatures, that, where men are affected with strong sentiments of veneration or gratitude for any hero or public benefactor, nothing can be more natural than to convert him into a god, and fill the heavens, after this manner, with continual recruits from among mankind . . The same principles naturally deify mortals, superior in power, courage, or understanding, and produce hero-worship "—Hume, "The natural history of religion," pp 327–28

(9) "The limited influence of these agents, and their great proximity to human weakness, introduces the various distribution and division of their authority, and thereby give rise to allegory."—*Ibid*, p 327.

(10) "Nature had only made things, that is, beings without value, man, in giving to them the form of his own personality, has elevated them into images of liberty and intelligence, and in this way communicated to them a part of the value which belongs to himself."—V Cousin, *Cours de l' histoire de la philosophie moderne, Deuxieme serie* [1828–29] (Paris, 1847, rev ed), I, p 6, tr. O. W Wright (New York, 1852)

(11) "The different religions of the world tell us, each in its own fashion, what is the plan and meaning of this universe "—L Stephen, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* [1876] (London, 1902, 3rd ed), II, p 1

(12) ". . every scientific explanation of a natural phenomenon is a hypothesis that there is something in nature to which the human reason is analogous "—C S Peirce (1839–1914), *Collected Papers,* ed C Hartshorn & P Weiss (Cambridge, Mass, 1931–), I, 316, *vide ibid*, II, 713, V, 47, 536

(13) "The laws obeyed are regarded as having always existed, and usages really new are confounded with the really old "—H S Maine, *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions* [1875] (New York, 1888), p 389.

(14) "The vast political effect of a common faith in developing the idea of exclusive nationality . . . is apt to have its outward manifestation in hostility to those of another creed "—Tylor, *op cit*, II, pp 370–71

(15) ". . . as an invisible spiritual intelligence is an object too refined for vulgar apprehensions, men naturally affix it to some sensible representation; such as either the more conspicuous parts of nature, or the statues, images, and pictures, which a more refined age forms of its divinities "—Hume, "The natural history of religion," p 328

(16) " acts of ceremonial purification of Lustration It is the transition from practical to symbolic cleansing."—Tylor, *op cit*, II, p 429

VIII

THE SUPERNATURALISTIC WORLD VIEW: RITUAL

Nature of ritual

When confronted by an important but apparently insoluble problem situation to which they must adjust, some animals become passive, but most act with a good deal of intensity[1] Man is no exception We find that under such conditions there is a certain satisfaction in behaving just for the sake of doing something, if for no other reason, few things are more frustrating than not being able to act at all when faced with an important problem

[WESTERN EUROPE] [A newsman at a battlefront in World War II reported]

"My feeling was not fear but that of having nothing to do among all these active people Who can remain calm when someone is shooting at you? Who can be indifferent when you are the only one who cannot fight? And here, as later in Sevastopol, I realized that the most unpleasant sensation in the war is to observe " [2]

Unfortunately, the biological factors involved in this phenomenon are not well understood But at any rate, from a naturalistic point of view, it sheds a little light on why, when a man cannot adjust to an important situation by altering the environment itself, he may be content to exercise symbolic control over it.

[POLAR ESKIMO] "The world is so great, and we know so little

"We do not all understand the hidden things, but we believe the people who say they do We believe our Angakut, our magicians, and we believe them because we wish to live long, and because we do not want to expose

[1] I P Pavlov, *Conditioned Reflexes*, tr G V Anrep (Oxford, 1927), pp. 284–319, 397–401, *idem*, *Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes*, tr W H Gantt (New York, 1928–41), I, pp 339–62

[2] B Voyetekhov, *The Last Days of Sevastopol*, tr R Parker and V M Genne (New York, 1943), p 29

ourselves to the danger of famine and starvation We believe, in order to make our lives and our food secure If we did not believe the magicians, the animals we hunt would make themselves invisible to us, if we did not follow their advice, we should fall ill and die " [3]

[UNITED STATES] "At least to pray is left, is left " [4]

In these symbolic adjustments man takes his technology as the point of departure If he cannot adjust by using his naturalistic behavior as original responses to his environment, he uses these responses symbolically And the body of customs by which a society exercises such symbolic controls is its *ritual,* or supernatural practice In effect, then, ritual is the symbolic use of technology in the realm of the naturalistically uncontrollable. It follows that ritual supplements technology

[GREECE] "Prayer indeed is good, but while calling on the gods a man should himself lend a hand " [5]

[UNITED STATES]

"Faith is a fine invention
For gentlemen who see;
But microscopes are prudent
In an emergency!" [6]

Therefore, when man cannot adjust naturalistically he turns to the supernatural to fill the gap.[7] (1)

In daily fishing a Manus man makes no special appeal to his Sir Ghost, unless he has caught little or nothing over several days But in the times of the spawning of great shoals of fish in the lagoons special appeal is made . [A fisherman was asked] "Can Sir Ghost make the fish many?" He scorned such notion of miracle or magic "No ghost can make many None can make one fish inshore But if Sir Ghost is angry with me he can hide the fish by driving them out to sea into deep water instead " [8]

[UNITED STATES] "With my heart full of gratitude, I wish to express my thanks to Christian Science for what it has done and is doing for me

"When this Science came into my life, I was in a state of semi-invalidism Having tried many different medical treatments, with no re-

[3] K Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North*, pp 102–23

[4] E Dickinson, *Poems,* p 176

[5] [Hippocrates] *De victu,* 4 87, in *Opera,* ed Littré, VI, pp 462–663

[6] Dickinson, *op cit*, p 28

[7] Since supernaturalism starts where naturalism leaves off, as it were, an increase in the sphere of the latter is at the expense of the former Thus Darwin's wife said about *The Descent of Man,* "I think it will be very interesting, but that I shall dislike it very much as again putting God further off"—*E Darwin A Century of Family Letters,* ed H Litchfield (London, 1915), II, p 196.

[8] R F Fortune, *Manus Religion* (*Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society,* 3) (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 140–42

sults, I had reached the place where I no longer had confidence in the use of medicine

"I consulted three physicians and they all said the same thing, that there were fibroid tumors, that the abdomen was full of adhesions, and that I could never hope for relief without an operation I then went to the family physician, who also recommended an operation but said a complete recovery was very doubtful In a miserable mental state, I was willing to try anything that promised a little relief This physician advised waiting until a current influenza epidemic subsided before going to the hospital

"It was during this period of waiting, when I was with my parents in a near-by town, that Christian Science was presented to me by a practitioner of that place I shall never forget the first explanations she gave me concerning Science that God is Love, and that God lovingly cares for His creation She told me of many healings, and I knew that if others were healed through the application of this wonderful truth I too could be healed

"I very soon purchased a copy of the Christian Science textbook, 'Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures' by Mary Baker Eddy, and in a very short time I was healed through the reading of this book This occurred over twenty years ago, and there has been no return of these ailments I found God to be the great Physician I have experienced many beautiful healings which have come about by my turning unreservedly to God and adhering strictly to the teaching of Christian Science It is very comforting to know that God is an ever-available support " [9]

The dogmatic explanation of ritual is that phenomena are produced by mana and therefore the phenomena can be changed by influencing the mana

[MANUS] Manipulation of the skull [of a dead ancestor] is, of course, manipulation of Sir Ghost, and the skull is the corporeal handle that places the incorporeal ghost in the power of mortals [10]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " when words are uttered with profound thought and great desire, and right intention, and strong confidence, they have great virtue For when these four join, the substance of the rational soul is strongly excited to radiate its own species and virtues from itself into its own body and outside things " [11]

Since ritual is used where technology breaks down, it is applied to important situations, since trifling problems are simply ignored As a result, ritual is directed toward situations with high social value

[9] *Christian Science Journal*, 60 (1942), p. 491 [10] Fortune, *op cit*, p 15

[11] Roger Bacon, *Opus tertium*, p 96, in *Opera inedita*, ed J S Brewer (*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, 15) (London, 1859), pp 1–310

[TODA] The milking and churning operations of the dairy form the basis of the greater part of the religious ritual of the Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial The sacred animals are attended by men especially set apart who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred animals is churned daily in dairies which may be regarded as the Toda temples and are so regarded by the people themselves The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual and ceremonies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes [12]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not for every one, to wit baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, and matrimony " [13]

And inasmuch as high social value is symbolized by ceremony, ritual behavior tends to be ceremonial The conditions and effects of ceremony in general which were analyzed in Chapter IV apply in the special case of ritual Besides, ritual has an added effect Ritual customs are commonly backed by a supernatural sanction, thus the usual social controls which make ceremony so traditional are given added support in the case of ritual That is why ritual is usually the most conservative body of customs found in a culture (2) Indeed, ritual and tradition are so closely associated that the relationship is often reversed and a thing's sacredness becomes proportional to its age

[ARUNTA] the Churinga [sacred bullroarers] are made of stone or wood, but neither is held more sacred than the other, the value of any particular one depends upon its past history and association with any special Alchera ancestor There are often wooden ones, evidently of great antiquity, pieced together with sinew of kangaroo or emu to prevent them from falling to pieces through decay of the less durable portions, and with holes carefully filled up with porcupine grass resin, which are just as highly prized as the stone ones It may, indeed, be said that the value of any particular Churinga in the eyes of a native often varies inversely with its value from a decorative point of view the more obliterated the design, the more it has been patched with resin and bound together with sinew, the more highly is it valued—in fact the minutely careful way in which they have been thus preserved, throughout a long series of years and during constant use, shows the value that is placed upon them by the natives [14]

[12] W H R Rivers, *The Todas*, p 39, *vide ibid*, Chaps 3–11
[13] Council of Trent, "Professio fidei," I
[14] B Spencer and F J Gillen, *The Arunta* I, p 123

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Seeing then that either chance is certain, or nature uncertain, how much more reverent and better it is to accept the teaching of our elders as the priest of truth, to maintain the religions handed down to us . for indeed antiquity is wont to attach to ceremonies and to temples a sanctity proportioned to the length of their continuance "[15]

Supplication

There are two kinds of ritual supplication and magic

Supplication is ritual in the form of social symbolic responses to the environment. (3) Man takes the techniques by which he influences the people around him, and extends them into the realm of the technologically uncontrollable (4)

[DOBU] Once when Magile (the woman who did the woman's ritual in my garden) was charming over a bundle of smouldering green leaves in my garden her son said to me·

"The Trobianders charm out aloud Here, on the contrary, we murmur underbreath The yams hear They say among themselves 'this is our language—not loud like everyday talk ' You must understand that yams are persons Alo recently told you of it If we call aloud the yams say 'how is this—are they fighting among themselves ' But when we charm softly they listen to our speech attentively They grow big for our calling on them "

Alo had recently told me a legend in which the yams figured as persons I had not known whether this was a figurative device of legend or an expression of a fact of literal belief The statement of Magile's son, Kinosi, pointed to the latter alternative Some nights later I said to Alo

"Kinosi said in the garden yams are persons How is this?"

"Yams are persons," said Alo—"what else? Like women they give birth to children As my grandmother gave birth to children, among them my mother, as she gave birth to me and as my daughter will bear children, and they my grandchildren, when I am dead—such is also the way of yams "

"But," I said, "how is it yams are persons? Do persons stay still always?"

Alo had his counter-statement

"At night they come forth from the earth and roam about For this reason, if we approach a garden at night we tread very quietly Just as if we startle a man with an abrupt shout—or with a dead snake concealed behind our back—he starts back in fear and later is angry—so we approach a garden very quietly at night We do not dig the harvest when the sun is low in the morning (the usual time for garden work) We wait till the sun has mounted Then we know they are back If we dig in the early morning how should we find yams? Nothing would be there We do not dig early. It is *bomama* (our sacred prohibition) of the garden "

This statement proved to be no spontaneous argument, but a direct statement of traditional belief I enquired if the vine and the root tubers

[15] Minucius Felix, *Octavius* [*ca* 240 A D], ed J P Waltzing (Leipzig, 1912), 6 1, 3, tr G H Rendall (London, 1931)

walked about at nights entire My enquiry was cast in all seriousness and received with all seriousness

"No! The vines remain You may see them steadfast any night in the garden The tubers alone emerge from the ground and walk the bush tracks in the night"

Later I was to learn, in complete accordance with these early statements, that incantations based upon the believed mobility of yams in the night were generally practised Later, too, I heard several casual references to the nocturnal prowlings of yams One man peering out of my house into the pouring rain one night said, as an example of this

"This is the moon of deepest darkness It is the *kaniana* of the yams The yams their time Now they roam in the forest" (*Kaniana* is rain produced as a by-product of certain supernatural events)

Later I learned again that the comparison between human child-bearing and yam seed fertility is in its most literal sense insisted upon Each *susu* family line has its own line of seed It is pictured that one human family line has its one seed family line that will grow for it But that seed line will not grow for a stranger family line, just as if the retainers of one house will work for the descendants of the blood of that house, but not for another house, the retainers and their descendants after them Seed yams are not inherited outside the *susu* or given away outside the *susu*—this fact assumes in native expression an aspect of a human line of descent that is served and can be served only by one certain yam line of descent—the faithful retainers of the human line, faithless to other human family lines

After I had arrived at this stage, I once said, in the hope that provocation might elucidate matters further, that one man (whom I did not name) had told me that yams were not persons This statement was strictly untrue. My two informants both assumed the extremely disgusted expression which means emphatic negation, and Alo said curtly and forcibly

"Yams are persons, with ears If we charm they hear"

Next day he showed me the ears, organs of hearing, the several tendril buds about the growing point of the vine The growing point buds are no more ears than an ear of corn is an organ of hearing In Dubu the ears of the vine are most literally organs of hearing, however

In the *elowaila,* the winding of the vines about the stick, some only of the plants are charmed The remainder are wound without further ceremony I said to Kinosi

"Some of the plants you charm—others not What of the others? How will they grow as big as those charmed?"

To which Kinosi

"Seedling yams are as men They have understood One says 'that there he charms What about me?' O he is angry and he shoots up strongly"

At a rite with burning green leaves and so producing a cloud of smoke, the charmer's husband said

"The yams see it They snuff it in to get its odour They forsake the *kebudi* (stick for the climbing tendrils), climb over it, and trail down again"

It will be apparent from these various statements that the yams are treated as highly personal beings The word *tomot* is used freely of them *Tomot* is the only word that covers man, woman, and child, irrespective of age or sex It also connotes native as opposed to belonging to the white man when used adjectively This latter usage contains the prevalent idea that the white man is "another kind," not really a human person in the native sense, but a being with different qualities from the native

The Dobuan will class yams with his own people as personal beings, but he excludes white men In fact, he has indeed the more friendly feeling for the yams [16]

[UNITED STATES]

"Prayer is the little implement
Through which men reach
Where presence is denied them
They fling their speech

By means of it in God's ear,
If then He hear,
This sums the apparatus
Comprised in prayer " [17]

The advantage of supplication is that by means of it man can respond to the rest of his environment in the same way as he does to human beings, which simplifies adjustment But it has one drawback. We find that no matter how much we try to control other people's behavior, we often fail So many factors influence the complex human organism that its behavior is relatively variable, and besides, it is hard to apprehend all the factors A common explanation for this unpredictability is that man's actions depend upon his own will ("freedom of the will") And, by extension, the same limitation holds true when man supplicates, he can try to mollify the environment by social acts toward it, but the results cannot be guaranteed—the actions of the environment depend upon its own will

Thus, the basic belief on which supplication proceeds is that phenomena can be modified through social interaction with them Whatever behavior is effective with human beings also works here

Ordinarily, supplication involves social interaction with spirits This interaction is commonly mediated or indirect, but it can also be direct

[CARIBOU ESKIMO] these people know the qilaneq they use a special staff, an ordinary stick to which the shaman belt is tied A piece of skin is then laid over the shaman belt itself, and the spirit comes

[16] R F Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu* (New York, 1932), pp 107–09 Published and copyrighted by E P Dutton & Co , Inc , New York

[17] Dickinson, *op cit* , p 39

up . . through the ground When a spirit, for instance qaluheraut, was to be summoned, the charm for this form of qilaneq was "you must now enlighten these people who wish to know what is hidden, come here, qaluheraut, come" This was repeated time after time until the staff became so heavy that one could not longer lift either it or the shaman belt . As soon as the shaman staff becomes heavy, it means that the spirit is present, and its advice may then be asked [It answers as follows when the stick becomes heavy, the answer is "Yes", when light, "No "] [18]

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . there was to be seen in the churchyard, against the high altar, a great stone four square, like unto a marble stone, and in the midst thereof was like an anvil of steel a foot on high, and therein stuck a fair sword naked by the point, and the letters there were written in gold about the sword that said thus Whoso pulleth out this sword of this stone and anvil, is rightwise king born of all England . . And when they saw the scripture some assayed, such as would have been king But none might stir the sword nor move it He is not here, said the Archbishop, that shall achieve the sword, but doubt not God will make him known . . .

"And at the feast of Pentecost all manner of men assayed to pull at the sword that would assay, but none might prevail but Arthur, and pulled it out afore all the lords and common that were there, wherefore all the common cried at once, We will have Arthur unto our king for we all see that it is God's will that he shall be our king" [19]

[TI TON DAKOTA] "The *Wicasa Wakan* or priests, speak for all the *Wakan* beings

"When *Wakan Tanka* wishes one of mankind to do something he makes his wishes known either in a vision or through a shaman" [20]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "God directs the tongue of his Ministers" [21]

"Who but my selfe can conceive the sweetnesse of that salutation, when the Spirit of God sayes to me in a morning, Go forth to day and preach . What a Coronation is our taking of Orders, by which God makes us a Royall Priesthood? And what an inthronization is the comming up into a Pulpit, where God invests his servants with his Ordinance, as with a Cloud, and then presses that Cloud with a *Vae si non*, woe be unto thee, if thou doe not preach, and then enables him to preach peace, mercy, consolation, to the whole Congregation That God should appeare in a Cloud, upon the Mercy Seat, as he promises *Moses* he will doe, That from so poore a man as stands here, wrapped up in clouds of infirmity, and in clouds of iniquity, God should drop, raine, poure downe his dew, and sweeten that dew with his honey, and crust that honied dew into Manna, and multiply

[18] K Rasmussen, *Observations on the Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos*, tr W E Calvert (*Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, 7.2) (Copenhagen, 1930), pp 60–61.

[19] T Malory, *La morte d'Arthur* [1470?], ed H O Sommer (London, 1889–91), 1 5, 7, mod vers E Strachey and A W Pollard (London, 1900) *Vide Merlin*, ed G Paris and J Ulrich (Société des Anciens Textes Français, *Publications*, 24) (Paris, 1886), I, pp 134–42

[20] J R Walker, *Sun Dance*, p 153

[21] J Donne (1573–1631), *LXXX Sermons* (London, 1640), 12 (p 113).

that Manna into Gomers, and fill those Gomers every day, and give every particular man his Gomer, give every soule in the Congregation, consolation by me, That when I call to God for grace here, God should give me grace for grace, Grace in a power to derive grace upon others, and that this Oyle, this Balsamum should flow to the hem of the garment, even upon them that stand under me, That when mine eyes looke up to Heaven, the eyes of all should looke up upon me, and God should open my mouth, to give them meat in due season This is that which ministerially and instrumentally he hath committed to me, to shed his consolation upon you, upon you all, Not as his Almoner to drop his consolation upon one soule, nor as his Treasurer to issue his consolation to a whole Congregation, but as his Ophir, as his Indies, to derive his gold, his precious consolation upon the King himselfe "[22]

[MANIKA] John stood still He was talking inwardly to his family *midzimu,* to his father, Chavafambira's, spirit "You cannot talk to spirits in the ordinary way," he explained to me "You just talk in a hum, with your lips hardly moving, so that no one can notice your talk" And the father soon spoke to him from within himself (John feels his father right inside himself when he talks to him) . .

For some time he stood staring into the darkness, then a feeling of deep inner satisfaction began to come upon him He felt the presence of his father, his protector and guide, whose life and spirit he was destined to perpetuate

John told me that his father would often come back from the dead to speak with him For John, as for all Africans, there is no rigid dividing-line between the living and the dead he has no conception of "another world" The dead continue to exist in this world in the form of *midzimu,* the spirits of the ancestors, and John believes implicitly that the *midzimu* come and speak to him, giving him advice and help This is an interesting form of what psychologists call an introjection of an object By this mechanism John was able to retain his lost father and mother who were so dear and important to him

"I stood very still, listening attentively to my father's voice that was so pleasing to my heart My father was pleased with me He said that rain would come And the same night, Doctor, I was awakened from a dream by lightning and thunder The lightning was so strong, it looked to me like a black ox in the sky flicking his white tufted tail And in no time the strong rain came"

. The whole basis of the practice of medicine was shattered unless identification, feeling of oneness with the father, with the ancestral spirits, were preserved And there was, further, the ritual of digging, preparing, and mixing[23]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "One day, having prayed for some time, and implored our Lord to help me to please Him in all things, I began the hymn,

[22] *Ibid*, 73 (pp 745–46)

[23] W Sachs, *Black Hamlet* (London, 1937), pp 21–23, 103 Copyright 1947 by Wulf Sachs Reprinted by permission of Little, Brown & Company

and as I was saying it, I fell into a trance—so suddenly, that I was, as it were, carried out of myself I could have no doubt about it, for it was most plain

"This was the first time that our Lord bestowed on me the grace of ecstasy I heard these words 'I will not have thee converse with men, but with angels' This made me wonder very much, for the commotion of my spirit was great, and these words were uttered in the very depth of my soul They made me afraid,—though, on the other hand, they gave me great comfort, which, when I had lost the fear,—caused, I believe, by the strangeness of the visitation,—remained with me

"It will be as well, I think, to explain these locutions of God, and to describe what the soul feels when it receives them, in order that you, my father, may understand the matter, for ever since that time of which I am speaking, when our Lord granted me that grace, it has been an ordinary occurrence until now, as will appear by what I have yet to say

"The words are very distinctly formed, but by the bodily ear they are not heard They are, however, much more clearly understood than they would be if they were heard by the ear .

"These locutions are so frequent, that I cannot count them, many of them are reproaches, and He sends them when I fall into imperfections They are enough to destroy a soul .

"I was in prayer one day,—it was the feast of the glorious St Peter, when I saw Christ close by me, or, to speak more correctly, felt Him, for I saw nothing with the eyes of the body, nothing with the eyes of the soul He seemed to me to be close beside me, and I saw, too, as I believe, that it was He who was speaking to me As I was utterly ignorant that such a vision was possible, I was extremely afraid at first, and did nothing but weep, however, when He spoke to me but one word to reassure me, I recovered myself, and was, as usual, calm and comforted, without any fear whatever Jesus Christ seemed to be by my side continually, and, as the vision was not imaginary, I saw no form, but I had a most distinct feeling that He was always on my right hand, a witness of all I did, and never at any time, if I was but slightly recollected, or not too much distracted, could I be ignorant of His near presence

"For if I say that I see Him neither with the eyes of the body, nor with those of the soul,—because it was not an imaginary vision,—how is it that I can understand and maintain that He stands beside me, and be more certain of it than if I saw Him? If it be supposed that it is as if a person were blind, or in the dark, and therefore unable to see another who is close to him, the comparison is not exact There is a certain likelihood about it, however, but not much, because the other senses tell him who is blind of that presence he hears the other speaker move, or he touches him, but in these visions there is nothing like this The darkness is not felt, only He renders Himself present to the soul by a certain knowledge of Himself which is more clear than the sun I do not mean that we now see either a sun or any brightness, only that there is a light not seen, which illumines the understanding so that the soul may have the fruition of so great a good. This vision brings with it great blessings .

"This vision, though imaginary, I never saw with my bodily eyes, nor, indeed, any other, but only with the eyes of the soul Those who understand these things better than I do, say that the intellectual vision is more perfect than this, and this, the imaginary vision, much more perfect than those visions which are seen by the bodily eyes " [24]

Now, you will recall that a group is a collection of socially interacting individuals, and since the living people and anthropomorphic spirits interact socially, they are all considered to be members of the same group (5)

[MANUS] A Manus village shelters not only the mortal natives, but also the ghosts of natives who were recently mortal The names of ghosts are on the lips of the living almost as often as the names of their mortal comrades These ghosts are not far off in some distant abode of their own They share the houses of the village with the mortals

Moreover each ghost has its own house or abode, often the house where it lived as a mortal Personality survives death in Manus A man's house is still his after death If he is a member of the native constabulary appointed by the Australian Administration, he is still a policeman among the ghosts after his death There he receives the periodic visits of a ghostly white District Officer of a ghostly Administration and collects the ghostly taxes paid by his fellow ghosts, taxes from which he, by virtue of his office, is exempt as mortal and as ghost If he cut a notable figure as a mortal, he cuts a notable figure as a ghost His mortal interests are his ghostly interests In the minds of mortals surviving him nothing of him is lost except his visible presence, his corporeal part To his relatives he is kinder as a ghost then he is to persons not related to him, or but distantly related As a ghost he is severe to those of his mortal kin who flout the traditional ways of his people, just as he was as a mortal There is but one difference As a ghost he knows the secrets of his mortal kin, not with omniscience, it is true, but at least with multiscience Little secret sin is hidden from him He has lost one disadvantage of mortality [25]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "A church is a Company, Religion is Religation, a binding of men together in one manner of Worship, and Worship is an exteriour service, and that exteriour service is the *Venite exultemus,* to come and rejoyce in the presence of God " [26]

" the *sociablenesse,* the *communicablenesse* of God; He loves holy meetings, he loves the *communion of Saints,* the *household of the faithful Deliciae ejus, says Solomon, his delight is to be with the Sons of men,* and that the Sons of men should be with him Religion is not a *melancholy,*

[24] Teresa (1515–1582), *Vida,* 21 6–7, 25 1–2, 26 3, 27 3, 5, 28 5, in *Obras,* ed Silverio de Santa Teresa (Burgos, 1915–24), I (The sections of the chapters are according to the 2nd edition, Burgos, 1930), tr D Lewis, rev. B Zimmerman (London, 1916)

[25] Fortune, *Manus Religion,* pp 9–10

[26] J Donne, *Fifty Sermons* (London, 1649), 50 (p 169)

the spirit of God is not a *dampe*, the Church is not a *grave* it is a fold, it is an *Arke*, it is a *net*, it is a *city*, it is a *kingdome*, not onely a house, but a house that hath *many mansions* in it still it is a *plurall* thing, consisting of *many* and very good *grammarians* amongst the *Hebrews*, have thought, and said, that that *name*, by which God notifies himself to the world, in the very beginning of *Genesis*, which is *Elohim*, as it is a *plurall* word there, so it hath no *singular* they say we cannot name God, but *plurally* so sociable, so communicable, so extensive, so derivative of himself, is God, and so manifold are the beames, and the emanations that flow out from him " [27]

They depend upon each other for their adjustments—spirits on man (6) as well as man on spirits

[MAORI] " gods . . die unless there are *tohungas* [shamans] to keep them alive." Here we have a thoroughly Maori idea, but it is not new. The sentiment is almost identical with that which an ancient writer puts in the mouth of a heathen deity—"When the people cease to believe in you as gods, you are dead " [28]

[UNITED STATES] "O Lord we bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear, beseeching thee to grant them continual growth in thy love and service " [29]

Amongst the Arunta people the *Arumburinga* [a kind of spirit] is supposed to watch over the individual who, in human form, is the reincarnation of its "double," the other half of itself The *Arumburingas* of men who are closely allied to one another—such, for example, as children of the same father—will take a special interest in all of them They spend much of their time at the *Pertalchera* [churinga storehouse] watching over the Churinga [a slab associated with the spirit of an individual] or resting in the Knanja [totem] tree or rock Often they accompany their human representative or keep watch over the woman into whom the *Kuruna* [the spirit of which the Arumburinga is one part and that of the individual the other] has entered, before her child is born After he, or she, is born, a man's, or woman's, *Arumburinga* is not supposed to watch over him, or her, continuously, but only in a more or less general way The idea in this respect is a vague one, but if, to take a special example, a man be out hunting and has his eye fixed on his prey, and, for some reason, apparently without any cause, he suddenly looks down and sees a snake, just where he was about to tread, then he knows at once that his *Arumburinga* is with him and prompted him to look down suddenly [30]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " all the saints, who have departed from this life, having such a degree of affection for those who are in this world, if they

[27] *Ibid*, 32 (p 280)

[28] W E Gudgeon, "The tipu-kura, and other manifestations of the spirit world," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 15 (1906), (pp 27–57) p 27

[29] Protestant Episcopal Church, *Book of Common Prayer*, "Holy communion," "Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church "

[30] Spencer and Gillen, *op cit*, II, p 122

are dedicated to care for the latter's safety, and to aid them both by prayers and by their intervention with God, it would not be unbefitting" [31]

The related roles of spirits and man therefore involve the usual reciprocal rights and duties.

[MANUS] Each adult Manus male has his own individual ghost and that ghost has him The relationship between the two is peculiar, but the verb of possession which I have used is the parallel of the Manus way of reference Ghosts are frequently referred to, not only by name, but also as "Sir Ghost of mine," "Sir Ghost of thine," or "Sir Ghost of his" It is known everywhere that X's Sir Ghost is his dead brother Y, who died under such and such circumstances so many years ago, and so the charting of the separate associations between individual mortals and individual ghosts into so many pairs is common knowledge

A better way to describe the yoked relationship between an individual mortal and his own individual Sir Ghost is to state that the two are close relatives who preserve a compact between them for their mutual advantage In this sense they own each other and one of them by breaking the terms of the compact can cause the other to disown him

I shall have to use translations of the special terms which the Manus use to distinguish the two parties to the compact A ghost which has entered into a compact with a man is Sir Ghost to that man, the man is ward or mortal ward to his Sir Ghost Thus I shall use Sir Ghost as a term radically different from ghost, in implying always a relationship to a certain ward Sir Ghost is Sir Ghost to one man only, to other men he is a ghost merely

Sir Ghost may be father and his ward, son, or Sir Ghost may be son, and his ward, father, or they may be brothers, they may stand in the mother's brother sister's son relationship A few men have taken dead white men as their Sir Ghosts, but this is plainly a new development and not general Only the ghost of a male can be a Sir Ghost

The terms of the compact between ward and Sir Ghost include first that ward take part in the rites over the mortal remains which Sir Ghost left behind him It may seem at first that this action might be prompted by sufficiently natural motives of familial piety and sorrow So it is, but that does not prevent it from being rationalized later as being a part of a compact It is a common feeling in Melanesia that a mourner deserves payment [32]

[UNITED STATES] "I desire my Lord God, our heavenly Father, who is the giver of all goodness, to send his grace unto me, and to all people, that we may worship him, serve him, and obey him, as we ought to do And I pray unto God, that he will send us all things that are needful both for our

[31] Origen (185?–254?), *Homiliae in Canticum canticorum*, 3 (p 191) in *Werke*, ed P Koetschau *et al* (*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, 2–3, 6, *et passim*) (Leipzig, 1899–1930), VIII, pp 26–241

[32] Fortune, *Manus Religion*, pp 12–13

souls and bodies, and that he will be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins, and that it will please him to save and defend us in all dangers both of soul and body, and that he will keep us from all sin and wickedness, and from our spiritual enemy, and from everlasting death And this I trust he will do of his mercy and goodness, through our Lord Jesus Christ

"My duty towards God is To believe in him, to fear him, And to love him with all my heart, with all my mind, with all my soul, and with all my strength To worship him, to give him Thanks To put my whole trust in him, to call upon him To honour his holy Name and his Word And to serve him truly all the days of my life " [33]

Supplication, therefore, has two effects (*a*) It provides socialized responses for environmental adjustments (*b*) It strengthens the solidarity of the group by recognizing parts of the environment as members of the group, and increasing the cooperation between members, both human and non-human (7)

Like other kinds of social interaction, supplication can be temporary or permanent A temporary adjustment is made by an *appeal,* which is a social response to the non-human environment in order to modify a particular situation [34]—by analogy with our behavior toward people when we want something special from them The suppliant makes requests (prayer), (8) engages in gift exchange (sacrifice), (9) and orders things C O D (vow)

[GREECE] He [Pythagoras] forbids us to pray for ourselves, because we do not know what will help us—Diogenes Laertius (3rd cent A D ?), *De vitis philosophorum,* ed R D Hicks (London, 1925), 8 9 Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harvard University Press

[MASAI] "The old men's prayer in time of drought

"If there is no rain, the old men light a bonfire of cordia wood, into which is thrown the medicine-man's charm called olokora They then encircle the fire and sing as follows

Solo The black god! ho!
Chorus God, water us!
O the of the uttermost parts of the earth!
Solo The black god! ho!
Chorus God, water us!" [35]

[33] Protestant Episcopal Church, *op cit ,* "A Catechism "

[34] An appeal is reasonable enough in cultures where spirits have limited knowledge but is oddly illogical in societies such as our own that believe in omniscient spirits In the latter case the spirits are all knowing in contrast to man with his limited knowledge, yet in supplication ignorant man presumes to give omniscient spirits advice on how they should run the universe

[35] A C Hollis, *The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), p 348

[UNITED STATES] "O God, heavenly Father, who by thy Son Jesus Christ has promised to all those who seek thy kingdom, and the righteousness thereof, all things necessary to their bodily sustenance, Send us, we beseech thee, in this our necessity, such moderate rain and showers, that we may receive the fruits of the earth to our comfort, and to thy honour, through Jesus Christ our Lord *Amen*" [36]

[THONGA] In the Maluleke clan the sacrifice made for a sick person is as follows —the headman takes beer, which has been specially prepared for the gods and is very much diluted, the beer called *byala bosila*, and a twig of male nkanye He orders the patient to sit near the altar, and after dipping the twig into the beer, sucks it and says the following words

Phaa! this is byala bosila, you Makhima! Take it and convey it to your father Mashakadzi, call each other and come together here to drink! Let all disease depart! Heal this man! [37]

[UNITED STATES] "Candles are commonly used to burn before shrines towards which the faithful wish to show special devotion" [38]

[DAHOMEY] There are no public ceremonies attendant upon planting, only the usual offerings of palm-oil for the guardian spirit of the field, who is asked to see that good crops are again vouchsafed the cultivator The spirit receives his rewards when this care has been demonstrated by the size of the crop, for to quote one Dahomean, "It is then we return thanks for what the gods have given us, the Dahomean does not give gifts in advance" [39]

[HEBREW] "And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, So that I come again to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God And this stone, which I have set for a pillar, shall be God's house and of all that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee" [40]

He flatters, threatens, tries to become the object of sympathy, and uses trickery

[EGYPT] "Praise giving to the Lord of the Two Lands,
Amenophis, to whom is given life,
In (?) the temple Merymeet of Menkheprure [i e , Thutmose IV],
The good living God.
He saves him that is in the Netherworld
He gives air to him that he loves

[36] Protestant Episcopal Church, *op cit*, "Prayers," 'For rain"
[37] H A Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, II, p 369
[38] H Thurston, "Candles," p 217b, in *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1907–12), III, pp 216–48
[39] M J Herskovits, *Dahomey*, I, p 36
[40] *Old Testament, Genesis*, 28 20–22 [E]

Whoso enters to thee, with troubled heart,
He comes forth rejoicing and exulting
Great and little come to thee because of thy name,
When it is heard that thy name is mighty.
Whoso fills his heart with thee is glad
Woe to whomso attacks thee!" [41]

[HEBREW] 'I will praise thee, O Lord, with my whole heart, I will shew forth all thy marvellous works

"I will be glad and rejoice in thee I will sing praises to thy name, O thou most High." [42]

[MANUS] If at any time Sir Ghost appears not to be giving what had been asked of him, his ward will easily be fired to anger He will then threaten Sir Ghost with a final breaking of their compact Does Sir Ghost wish to be thrown out of the house into the open, "to be washed by all rains, scorched by all suns," to have his name called upon by no one, to be homeless and forgotten? If Sir Ghost continues to withhold good fortune from him, then out Sir Ghost must go

"Such threats are not carried out unless Sir Ghost fails signally in his part of the compact" [43]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "[In 993 or 994] Rome was devoured by a conflagration During which fire, the flames caught the beams of St Peter's church, beginning to creep under the bronze tiles and lick the carpenters' work. When this became known to the whole multitude that stood by, then, finding no possible device for averting this disaster, they turned with one accord and, crying with a terrible voice, hastened to the Confession even of the Chief of the Apostles, crying upon him with curses that, if he watched not over his own, nor showed himself a very present defender of his church, many throughout the world would fall away from their profession of faith Whereupon the devouring flames straightway left those beams of pine and died away" [44]

[CROW] [Every man wanted a supernatural vision] Most probably he would set out for a lonely mountain peak, fast, thirst, and wail there The Crow word for the enterprise is biricisam, which means, "not drinking water" Almost naked, the god seeker covered himself with a buffalo robe at night as he lay on his back facing the east, his restingplace being framed by rocks Rising at daybreak, he sat down towards the east As soon as the sun rose, he laid his left forefinger on a stick and chopped off a joint This he put on a buffalo chip and held it out towards the Sun, whom he addressed as follows "Uncle you see me I am pitiable Here is a part of my body, I give it to you, eat it Give me something good Let me live

[41] A Erman, "Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt," *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1911, (pp 1086–1110) H [XIX Dynasty = 1580–1350 B C], tr B Gunn (London, 1916)

[42] *Old Testament, Psalms*, 9 1–2 [*ca* 450 B C]

[43] Fortune, *Manus Religion*, p 15

[44] Rodulfus Glaber (d *post* 1046), *Historiarum*, ed M Prou (*Collection de textes*, 1) (Paris, 1886), 2 7 13, tr G G Coulton (Cambridge, 1928)

to old age, may I own a horse, may I capture a gun, may I strike a coup. Make me a chief Let me get good fortune without trouble " [45]

[UNITED STATES] "Turn thou us, O good Lord, and so shall we be turned Be favourable, O Lord, Be favourable to thy people, Who turn to thee in weeping, fasting, and praying, For thou art a merciful God, Full of compassion, Longsuffering, and of great pity Thou sparest when we deserve punishment, And in thy wrath thinkest upon mercy Spare thy people, good Lord, spare them, And let not thine heritage be brought to confusion Hear us, O Lord, for thy mercy is great, And after the multitude of thy mercies look upon us, Through the merits and mediation of thy blessed Son, Jesus Christ our Lord Amen " [46]

[CHINA] The kitchen god, *zonchen*, is the supernatural inspector of the household, sent by the emperor of heaven His duty is to watch the daily life of the house and to report to his superior at the end of each year The god is represented by a paper inscription, bought from the shop in the town and placed in the little palace on the stove He receives sacrifices twice a month, regularly at the first day and the fifteenth day, and on other occasions. . . The first dish of each seasonal food will also be shared with the god The sacrifice is made by laying dishes on the platform before his little palace, lighting a pair of candles and burning a bundle of incense as an invocation

At the end of the year, the twenty-fourth day of the twelfth month, a farewell sacrifice will be made This sacrifice consists of a big feast and takes place in the front room After the feast the paper inscription will be burnt with the pine sticks and a paper chair Through the fire, as indicated by the flame, the god returns back to heaven In this annual audience with the emperor, he will make a report about his findings on the particular house in his charge Based on the report, the fortune of the household will be decided

The criterion for pleasing and displeasing the god, a very important daily control of human behaviour, is the observance and non-observance of certain taboos

The idea of a well organized supernatural kingdom complicated the connection between human actions and supernatural interference The breaking of any taboo does not automatically provoke certain consequences directed by the supernatural powers They must come through the supernatural administrative machinery Therefore if anyone can prevent the inspector, the kitchen god, from seeing or reporting, the taboo can be broken with impunity The supernatural agents or the spirits are not conceived as absolutely omnipotent and omnipresent They are actually invisible human beings with very similar human sentiments and desires Since they are very human, they also commit all human weaknesses and follies. Thus, all the human methods, which can be used towards any human policemen, such as cheating, lying, bribing, and even physical bullying, can also be used in dealing with the supernatural inspector.

[45] R H Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, pp 239–40

[46] Protestant Episcopal Church, *op cit*, "A penitential office"

In the last farewell feast before the kitchen god returns to his heavenly office, the people prepare a kind of cake made of sticky rice This cake is a favourite of the god It is believed that when the god eats the cake, his mouth will be stuck together, and when the heavenly emperor asks for his annual report, which is an oral one, he can only nod his head without saying anything Therefore no unfavourable report will be possible But it is not regarded as so certain a remedy as to be an infallible safeguard against any taboo breaking [47]

Permanent adjustments are brought about through *worship* which is an attempt to establish primary relations with the non-human environment (10)—after all, it is the duty of a friend to help you whenever he can

[EGYPT] "Praise thy god incessantly, that he may favor thee every day, and that he may ordain thy bones, which are in thy body, into the godsacre Offer unto him with loving heart, that he may give thee food of his giving. A man loves him who serves him, and his god (doth) likewise " [48]

[CHINA] "The ruler and his wife take alternate parts in presenting these offerings, all being done to please the souls of the departed, and constituting a union of the living with the disembodied and unseen

"The idea in the border sacrifices to Heaven and Earth is that they should give expression to the loving feeling towards the spirits, the ceremonies of the autumnal and summer services in the ancestral temple give expression to the loving feeling towards all in the circle of the kindred, the ceremony of putting down food by the deceased serves to express the loving feeling towards those who are dead and for whom they are mourning, the ceremonies of the archery fetes and the drinking at them express the loving feeling towards all in the district and neighbourhood, the ceremonies of festal entertainments express the loving feeling towards visitors and guests " [49]

The most common forms of worship are intimate conversation with a spirit, (11) eating with the spirit (communion), (12) and giving the spirit his share in a general economic distribution (oblation)

[CROW] "I had lost a little girl, a beautiful baby girl," she said "I had been mourning for more than two moons I had slept little, sometimes lying down alone in the hills at night, and always on hard places I ate only enough to keep me alive, hoping for a medicine-dream, a vision, that would help me to live and to help others One morning, after a night

[47] H T Fei, *Peasant Life in China* (New York, 1939), pp 99–101 Published by E P Dutton & Co , Inc , New York

[48] *Chester Beatty Papyrus IV,* verso, 4 [XIX Dynasty], in *Chester Beatty Papyri II–XIX,* ed A H Gardiner (*Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum,* 3) London, 1935

[49] *Li Chi,* 7 1 11, 25 6

spent on a high cliff, when I was returning to my lodge to pack things for a long move, I saw a woman ahead of me. She was walking fast, as though she hoped to reach my lodge before I could get there But suddenly she stopped and stood still, looking down at the ground I thought I knew her, thought that she was a woman who had died four years before I felt afraid I stopped, my heart beating fast 'Come here, daughter' Her words seemed to draw me toward her against my will

"Walking a few steps I saw that she was not a real woman, but that she was a Person (apparition), and that she was standing beside an ant-hill

"'Come here, daughter' Again I walked toward her when I did not wish to move Stopping by her side, I did not try to look into her face My heart was nearly choking me 'Rake up the edges of this ant-hill and ask for the things that you wish, daughter,' the Person said, and then she was gone Only the ant-hill was there, and a wind was blowing I saw the grass tremble, as I was trembling, when I raked up the edges of the ant-hill, as the Person had told me Then I made my wish, 'Give me good luck, and a good life,' I said aloud, looking at the hills

"I was weak In my lodge there were no bed-robes for me, because I had long ago destroyed all my comfortable things But now, in this medicine-dream, I entered a beautiful white lodge, with a war-eagle at the head He did not speak to me, and yet I have often seen him since that day And even now the ants help me I listen to them always They are my medicine, these busy, powerful little people, the ants" [50]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " . mental prayer is nothing else, in my opinion, but being on terms of friendship with God, frequently conversing in secret with Him Who, we know, loves us" [51]

[VEDDA] [After a sacrifice to the ancestor spirits] all present, constituting the men, women and children of the group, eat the offering, usually on the spot on which the invocation took place, though this is not absolutely necessary, for on one occasion at Sitala Manniya when a rain squall threatened, the food was quickly carried to the cave a few hundred yards distant from the dancing ground

It was clear that this eating of the food which had been offered to the *yaku* [spirits of the dead] was an act of communion, and an essential part of the ceremony which was thought to bring health and good fortune, for some communities even anointed the heads of their dogs with the milk of the offering, explaining that this was done because of their value This was the case at Hennebedda, while the patriarch of the Godatalawa Veddas explained that some of the offering was always given to their dogs to eat, for the reason that they depended upon them in hunting In one *Nae Yaku* ceremony (Bandaraduwa) the shaman fed the nearest relatives of the dead man immediately after the *yaku* left him, holding the bowl containing the offering to their mouths, while among the Sitala Wanniya Veddas, not only did the shaman while still possessed, feed the children of the group

[50] F B Linderman, *Red Mother* (New York, 1932), pp 165–66
[51] Teresa, *op cit*, 8 7

from the bowl and smear its content over their faces, but a number of members of the group, including the grandchildren of the dead man whose *yaku* possessed the shaman at the time, placed a small portion of the offering in the shaman's mouth . . at Sitala Wanniya . . there could be no closer communion between the quick and the dead than that implied in the invocation, which is fully carried into effect by every member of the community sharing in the food that has been offered to the *yaku*

"Salutation! Salutation! Part [of our] relatives having called [you] in time (i e, at the right time) [we] give you white rice [You] eat [and] drink. Do not think any wrong (i e, do not form an unfavourable opinion of us). We also eat and drink [the same food]" [52]

[UNITED STATES] " . . it is your duty to receive the Communion in remembrance of the sacrifice of his death, as he himself hath commanded which if ye shall neglect to do, consider with yourselves how great is your ingratitude to God, and how sore punishment hangeth over your heads for the same, when ye wilfully abstain from the Lord's Table, and separate from your brethren, who come to feed on the banquet of that most heavenly food" [53]

[IROQUOIS] "Great Spirit, who dwellest alone, listen now to the words of thy people here assembled The smoke of our offering [of tobacco] arises Give kind attention to our words, as they arise to thee in the smoke We thank thee for this return of the planting season. Give to us a good season, that our crops may be plentiful

"Continue to listen, for the smoke yet arises (Throwing on tobacco) Preserve us from all pestilential diseases Give strength to us all that we may not fall Preserve our old men among us, and protect the young Help us to celebrate with feeling the ceremonies of this season Guide the minds of thy people, that they may remember thee in all their actions *Na ho* ['I have done']" [54]

[UNITED STATES] " *the Priest . shall . . . begin the Offertory* .

"The Deacons, Church-wardens, or other fit persons appointed for that purpose, shall receive the Alms for the Poor, and other Offerings of the People, in a decent Basin to be provided by the Parish, and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the Holy Table . .

"Then shall the Priest say,

"Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church

"Almighty and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle has taught us to make prayers, and supplications, and to give thanks for all men, We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our (*alms and*) oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy Divine Majesty, beseeching thee to inspire continually the Universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity, and concord And grant that all those who do confess

[52] Seligmann, *The Veddas*, pp 130–31

[53] Protestant Episcopal Church, *op cit*, "Holy communion," "The exhortations," 3

[54] L H Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, I, p 188

thy holy Name may agree in the truth of thy holy Word, and live in unity and godly love

"We beseech thee also, so to direct and dispose the hearts of all Christian Rulers, that they may truly and impartially administer justice, to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion, and virtue

"Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops and other Ministers, that they may, both by their life and doctrine, set forth thy true and lively Word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy Sacraments

"And to all thy People give thy heavenly grace, and especially to this congregation here present, that, with meek heart and due reverence, they may hear, and receive thy holy Word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life

"And we most humbly beseech thee, of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those who, in this transitory life, are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity

"And we also bless thy holy Name for all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fears, beseeching thee to grant them continual growth in thy love and service, and to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen*"[55]

Magic

Magic is ritual in the form of non-social symbolic responses to the environment

In magic, man takes his technology as the point of departure. When he finds himself confronted by a situation to which he cannot adjust naturalistically, he substitutes for naturalistic technology symbols consisting of those things which he can control He uses his technology upon these controllable things, and in so far as they are symbols of the technologically uncontrollable his success in the realm of the former are projected into that of the latter. For example, man cannot regulate the weather, but he can control the water content of a piece of fruit So he applies his technology to the fruit and dries it by holding it over a fire And by taking the factors which determine the water content of the fruit as symbols of the factors which stop rain, his control over the water content of the fruit is projected into control over the rain Thus, the things which are used as magical symbols are those which man can control technologically In turn, the symbol that is actually chosen in a given case is usually something which either is similar to (imitation), (13)

[55] Protestant Episcopal Church, *op cit*, "Holy communion"

or has been in contact with (contagion), (14) the technologically uncontrollable associate it stands for.

[AINU] "Should a man or woman have a quarrel, and desire to compass their enemies' hurt by magic, he or she should procure some mugwort, and make an image to represent his enemy's body. This image is called *imosh*. When made, a hole should be dug in the ground not far from the house, and the image cursed and placed in it upside down. The prayer to be used at such times is as follows:—

" 'O demon who art called *toipuk-ui-chiri*, i.e., "under-ground-bird-demon," I give this image of the person I hate to thee: take his soul and carry it together with his body to hell: oh turn thou mine enemy into one of thy own kind: make a devil of him.'

"If this be done, the person who has been cursed will fall sick and die. His body will rot away as the image decomposes.

"Another way of avenging oneself on an enemy is to place the image beneath the trunk of a rotten tree. After being thus buried the following prayer should be said:—'O demon, make the body of the man represented by this image to rot with this tree, and let his life gradually fade away with it. O thou demon named *tokumrari tumunchi*—hear me, and quickly take his soul, and turn it into one of thy own kind.' If this prayer be said with earnestness, the Ainu will soon die—yea, his body will rot with the tree and he will perish from off the earth." [56]

[UNITED STATES] [Captions to accompany photographs.] Ozark "witch-woman" makes doll of dirt and beeswax, names it after her enemy. She drives nails into the doll's body to "hurt" corresponding parts of enemy's body. . .

Placing a skull on a Bible and muttering secret spells, a jealous wife hopes to separate her husband from another woman. The dolls represent the adulterous pair.[57]

[AINU] Thus, for example, should a woman desire to get rid of her spouse by death, she may kill him in the following way: "She should take his headdress, wrap it up in a bag in the shape of a corpse ready prepared for burial, dig a deep hole and place it in it. She should then pray, saying: 'When this headdress and bag rot, may my husband also die and rot with them. It is for this I am now digging his grave. O thou demon named *Toiko-shirimpuk*, hear me. Be quick and take the soul of this man, and make it into one of thine own kind.' If this prayer be said, her husband will die in a very short time." [58]

[UNITED STATES] One Los Angeles shaman takes a drop of blood from his movie clients and instructs them to phone him when headaches, depression, or bad luck sets in. He then places the drop of blood under a secret "power-giving" machine and bombards it with "health rays" which sup-

[56] J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore*, pp. 329–30.

[57] V. Randolph and D. F. Fox, "Ozark superstitions," *Life*, 6 (1939), no. 25, pp. 82–83. Copyright Time Inc., 1939.

[58] Batchelor, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

posedly soar through the ether into the body of the troubled customer This medicine man is revered for his genius by his movie clientele [59]

Some European cave paintings [60] dating from Upper Pleistocene 3 may have been used for magical purposes, if so, they represent the earliest examples of magic known

Dogmatically, magical symbols are incarnations which have some of the mana of their associates And since phenomena are produced by mana, influencing the symbols affects the mana, which in turn modifies the phenomena How changing a symbol can have any effect on its associate is then no more mysterious than action at a distance in mechanics

How do Azande think their medicines work? They do not think very much about the matter It is an accepted fact that the more potent medicines achieve their purposes The best proof of this is experience, particularly the mystical evidence of oracular revelations Nevertheless, Azande see that the action of medicines is unlike the action of empirical techniques and that there is something mysterious about it that has to be accounted for It must be remembered that a man who is a magician is also well acquainted with the technical operations of arts and crafts A man makes vengeance-magic and it kills a witch What is happening between these two events? Azande say that the *mbisimo ngua*, "the soul of the medicine," has gone out to seek its victim

The virtue of a medicine is sometimes spoken of as its soul, and is believed to rise in steam and smoke when it is being cooked Therefore people place their faces in the steam so that the magical virtue may enter into them Likewise, Azande say that when they cook vengeance-medicines the soul of the medicine goes up in the smoke from the fire and from on high surveys the neighbourhood for the witch it goes forth to seek Major Larken records that evil influences may be borne by smoke, so it is inadvisable to destroy an evil object by burning it, since its potency is thereby distributed over the country-side [61]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Magic is a faculty of wonderful virtue, full of most high mysteries, containing the most profound contemplation of most secret things, together with the nature, power, quality, substance and virtues thereof, as also the knowledge of whole Nature, and it doth instruct us *concerning the differing and agreement of things amongst themselves*, whence it produceth its wonderful effects, by uniting the virtues of things through the application of them one to the other, and to their inferior

[59] L C Rosten, *Hollywood* (New York, 1941), p 227

[60] H Alcade del Rio *et al*, *Les cavernes de la région cantabrique* (Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, *Peintures et gravures murales des cavernes paléolithiques*, 3) (Monaco, 1911), pls 39, 42, 44, 76

[61] E E Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, pp 463, 465

suitable subjects, joining and knitting them together thoroughly by the powers and virtues of the superior Bodies" [62]

Magic has an advantage over supplication It uses symbols which can be controlled technologically, and by analogy, if a man can, for all practical purposes, regulate all the factors playing upon the symbols he can also control the situation which they stand for Therefore there is a greater degree of predictability possible in magic than is found in supplication (15) Usually such a high degree of control can be achieved only over things which do not have complex human characteristics, such magic is *enchantment* and has been illustrated in the examples given so far However, some magic can completely control the factors influencing anthropomorphic spirits, this is *conjuration*. The best known case is Aladdin's lamp:

[ISLAM] [The spirit in a lamp says] "Tell me what thou dost want of me, here am I, thy slave, and the slave of him that holdeth the Lamp, not I only, but all the slaves of the Wonderful Lamp which is in thy hand." [63]

[NORTH AFRICA] "A Spell for Beholding a Deity Oneself

"*Eeim, to, eim, alalep, barbariath, menebreio, arbathiaoth, iouel, iael, oueneite, mesommias* Let the god whom I inquire of come to me, and let him not depart until I dismiss him *Ouinaouz, soul, zasoul, ouhot, nooumbiaou, thabiat, beriaou, achthiri, marai, elpheon, tabaoth, kirasina, lampsoure, iaboe, ablamathanalba* [Hebrew, 'you are our father'], Akrammachamarei [one of a Gnostic triad of spirits] in a brazen cup with oil, and anoint your right eye with water from a boat that has been wrecked, and the left mixing some Coptic *stibium* with the water And if you cannot find water from a boat that has been wrecked, take some from a wicker-wherry that has been submerged" [64]

Temporary adjustment is made by *sorcery*, which is brief technological control over a magical symbol in order to modify a transitory situation

[VEDDA] Handuna . filling the palm of his hands with . . . [coco nut] milk . . went to Kaira and said: "The sambar [deer] you shall shoot shall bleed like this milk dripping" [65]

[UNITED STATES] In other counties [of Pennsylvania] there are numerous pow-wowers [shamans], but in the region of the Seven Mountains there is only one effective pow-wower left. Even the townspeople believe in his power Did he not restore to rest that baby girl down the valley? She could

[62] Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, 1 2

[63] *The Thousand and One Nights*, tr E W Lane, ed S Lane Poole (London, 1906), IV, p 343

[64] *British Museum Papyrus*, 46, 53–69 [4th cent A D]

[65] Seligmann, *op cit*, p 225.

not sleep, she could not rest, she fretted continually The pow-wower found special remedies for her special case, which he recognized instantly The mother must meet her husband at the door, and without speaking to him must seize his vest from off his back, and run quickly to wrap the baby in it

The husband objected, thought his wife was mad, they struggled, but she won the vest, wrapped the sobbing and exhausted child in the warm garment, and lo and behold it slept at once, slept for twenty-four hours and was cured [66]

Permanent adjustment is brought about through the use of *charms*, i.e., magical symbols which are subjected to continuous technological control in order to produce lasting phenomena

[WESTERN EUROPE] "When the Soul of the World by its virtue doth make all things that are naturally generated or artificially made to be fruitful, by infusing into them celestial properties for the working of some wonderful effects, then things themselves—not only when applied by suffumigations, or collyries, or ointments, or potions, or any other such like way, but also when they, being conveniently wrapped up, are bound to or hanged about the neck, or in any other way applied, although by never so easy a contact—do impress their virtue upon us By these alligations, therefore, suspensions, wrappings up, applications, and contacts, the accidents of the body and mind are changed into sickness, health, boldness, fear, sadness, and joy, and the like They render them that carry them gracious or terrible, acceptable or rejected, honored and beloved or hateful and abominable Now these kinds of passions are conceived to be by the above said to be infused, and not otherwise, like what is manifest in the grafting of trees, where the vital virtue is sent and communicated from the trunk to the twig grafted into it by way of contact and alligation . . if the fish called stella, or starfish, as they say, being fastened with the blood of a fox and a brass nail to a gate, evil medicines can do no hurt to any in such house Now, by these examples, we see how, by certain alligations of certain things, as also suspensions, or by a simple contact, or the connection or continuation of any thread, we may be able to receive some virtues thereby It is necessary that we know the certain rule of Alligation and Suspension, and the manner which the Art requires, viz, that they be done under a certain and suitable Constellation, and that they be done with wire, or *silken threads*, with hair, or sinews of certain animals And things that are to be wrapped up must be done in the leaves of herbs, or the skins of animals, or *fine cloths*, and the like, according to the suitableness of things—as, if you would procure the Solary virtue of any thing, this being wrapped up in bay leaves, or the skin of a lion, hang it about thy neck with a golden thread, or a silken thread of a yellow color, whilst the

[66] A S Malkus, "Hill hawks of Pennsylvania still believe in witchcraft," *New York Times*, June 24, 1923, Sec 8, (pp 1, 10) p 10

Sun rules in the heaven—so thou shalt be endued with the Solary virtue of that thing." [67]

If the charm is consecrated, it is an *amulet*, if possessed, a *fetish*.

[UNITED STATES] A string of pearls, given to her as a talisman by her husband, a bomber pilot, were sought today by Mrs. Arthur C. McDermott after she discovered they had dropped from her while she was shopping.

The necklace, which was so fashioned that it also could be worn as a bracelet, reached her on Christmas Eve from New Guinea, where her husband is stationed. In an accompanying note he had written that he always would be safe so long as she wore them.

"I pray that they come back to me. . . . I don't want my husband to be in danger one day," she said. [68]

[JUKUN] A favourite charm is a particular species of koko-yam, which is specially grown by dispensers of charms. Before issuing the charm, the owner offers rites to the indwelling spirit of the tuber, pouring over it libations of beer and the blood of a pullet. He then takes some of the yams, and boils them together with the flesh of the chicken, adding some benniseed soup. Some of this mixture is offered to the plant, and some to the person seeking the charm. As the owner hands the mixture to the latter, he says: "To-day I am giving you a defence mixture against weapons. Just as the koko yam is a slippery substance, so may all weapons glance aside when they touch your body."

Some of the mixture may be sewn up in cloth and worn on the arm, and during a melee, the owner keeps saying to himself "It is nothing at all. Koko yam!" Spears and arrows will then fall harmlessly at his side. Knife thrusts will have no effect. During a hunting battue, if the owner of the charm is outrun by a companion as he nears the quarry he has merely to twist the charm and his companion will stumble. This charm enables a handcuffed prisoner to escape from the judicial authorities. [69]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "He [the Devil] will permit himselfe to be conjured, for the space of so many yeres, ether in a tablet or a ring, or such like thing, which they may easely carrie about with them." [70]

Revelation

Chapter V showed that actions are based upon beliefs, and that beliefs are concerned with anticipated events. In naturalism, our anticipations are determined by the probability that a set of material factors, and the related phenomenon in which they seem to be involved, will both occur and be related with the same frequency in our future experiences as they have in the past. By contrast,

[67] Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia*, I. 46.
[68] *New York Times*, Jan. 30, 1944.
[69] C. K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom*, p. 305.
[70] James I, *Daemonologie*, p. 20.

supernatural anticipations are based upon symbolic information, or *revelation,* which is either supplicatory or magical

[CHINA] "What is it that the Yi [a book on divination] does? The Yi opens up the knowledge of the issues of things, accomplishes the undertakings of men, and embraces under it the way of all things under the sky This and nothing more is what the Yi does Thereby the sages, through divination by it, would give their proper course to the aims of all under the sky, would give stability to their undertakings, and determine their doubts

"Therefore, when a superior man is about to take action of a more private or of a public character, he asks the Yi, making his inquiry in words It receives his order, and the answer comes as the echo's response Be the subject remote or near, mysterious or deep, he forthwith knows of what kind will be the coming result If the Yi were not the most exquisite thing under heaven, would it be concerned in such an operation as this?" [71]

[UNITED STATES] *Mrs McLaren* We believe going in the seance, laying their hands on mine and becoming in tune with them, in a good many we have a feeling that the spirit of our Great Creator comes down and impresses me what to say I do not know what I am saying at the time .

Mr Houston Your work is character reading?

Mrs McLaren I do not know what it is If I were to tell you, I would not know It just comes to me All my life I have known things before they happened, and I have been directed by unseen forces I call it spirit of God, and I was asked by medium who was my guide I said "God" [72]

In supplicatory revelation man learns what to anticipate by a communication from the spirits—either direct, mediated, or indirect.

[MASAI] "When the Masai see a comet, they know that a great trouble will befall them, the cattle will die, there will be a famine, and then people will join the enemies " [73]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I do not think that many mysteries ascribed to our own inventions have been the courteous revelations of Spirits, for those noble essences in Heaven bear a friendly regard unto their fellow Natures on Earth, and therefore believe that those many prodigies and ominous prognosticks, which fore-run the ruines of States, Princes, and private persons, are the charitable premonitions of good Angels which more careless enquiries term but the effects of chance and nature " [74]

Magical divination uses naturalistic anticipations, but in a symbolic way The relation between one set of phenomena is taken as the

[71] *I Ching,* tr J Legge (*Sacred Books of the East,* 16) (Oxford, 1882), Appendix III, 1 11 66, 1 10 60 [Han Dynasty = 202 B C–A D 220]

[72] U S Congress, House Committee on the District of Columbia, *Fortune Telling* (Washington, 1926), pp 89 91

[73] Hollis, *op cit*, p 277 [74] T Browne, *Religio Medici,* 1 31

symbol of the relation between another set of phenomena associated with it And by learning the outcome of the former, the events in the latter are anticipated

[HINDU] " the causality of the good omen consists in this that it being observed, the completion must necessarily follow So it has been said· 'Because of the rule that the end necessarily results from an act, complete in all its parts, according to the Veda' Hence an alternative cause also is certainly a cause, for the idea of a cause in the Veda refers only to the uniformity of immediateness or to the immediate sequence of the effect It is perverse to suppose a difference in kind in the effects, in the case of a plurality of causes Where causality has to be deduced from sequence (i e, cause to effect) as well as from antecedence (i e, from effect to cause) there the rule of antecedence to the effect should be observed, but not in the Veda also, where the question of (arguing from effect to cause or) regression or reversion does not figure as a weighty consideration Thus there is no violation of the rule that the omen being observed in all its parts, the completion necessarily follows " [75]

[UNITED STATES] "Intuition is . . the power to read every whole as a symbol of a basic quality of life . The wholly intuitive man lives in a world of consciously perceived symbols, in a world of souls, full of significance The combination of all these symbols at every moment constitutes another symbol, the seed-symbol of the moment it follows that, by law of cosmic inheritance, the quality of that moment determines the basic quality of the wholes issued therefrom And as the ordered revolution of the celestial bodies is the great symbol of natural and cosmic order, it follows that the pattern made by these celestial bodies at any moment can be taken as the root-symbol of the wholeness (selfhood and destiny) of every whole born at that moment

"We must now add that the revolutions of Sun, planets and stars are not the only material which may be used as symbols for an intuitive revelation of the soul of the moment Theoretically everything can serve as a basis for symbolism, provided (1) that the interpreter is able to meet every symbolic situation as a whole with the wholeness of his own selfhood, thus with fully developed intuition, (2) that this intuition, if it is to be communicated, operates according to . . principles which may be briefly described as of functional consistency " [76]

[TIV] "If a man is going on a journey, and a francolin flies up in front of him, he stands still in his tracks in a state of doubt and fear He may go straight home and give up his journey, or he may be brave enough to go on But sometimes when this happens things turn out well for him, and in that case he makes a note of it Similarly, for one person it is a bad sign when a dove flies past his face with a whirring sound, but for another it means good luck, and he goes on The Tiv also fear the crab, and a man who meets one will go home and tell the people that he has had to return

[75] Samkaramisra, *Vaisesikasutropaskara*, 1 1 1

[76] D Rudhyar, *The Astrology of Personality* (New York, 1936), pp 78–79

because the crab stopped him But the thing they fear most is the chameleon, anyone who finds one of these in his path will certainly turn back Other bad signs are the snapping of a twig in front of a small bird called *kpancokolaya*

"If a python comes into a house it is a very bad sign The owner of the house will leave the place and go to live amongst his mother's kindred saying that the *mbatsav* are killing him And there is another snake called the *iveriwese* which is chiefly nocturnal in its habits if a Tiv sees this on the road in the daytime he goes to the diviner, or sometimes runs away to his mother's home If a man picks up a dead Nile perch in the water he eats it sorrowfully, because it forecasts his own death Or if he goes into the bush and comes across some guinea fowl's eggs, he knows that death is near, and goes round visiting diviners in very low spirits On account of these things the minds of the Tiv are never at rest" [77]

[UNITED STATES] [People believe]

That if a young woman can hold a lighted match in her fingers until it completely burns up, it is a sign that her young man really loves her . . .

That when a dog howls in the middle of the night, it is a sure sign that someone is going to die

That if, while promenading, a girl and her escort walk on either side of a water hydrant or other obstruction instead of both walking 'round it on the same side, they will have a misunderstanding before the month is over [78]

SACREDNESS

Sacredness is supernatural value Anything is *sacred* if it can be used in making a supernaturalistic adjustment; (16) if it cannot be so used, it is *secular*

[UNITED STATES] "Holiness . . . appeared to me to be of a sweet, pleasant, charming, serene, calm nature, which brought an inexpressible purity, brightness, peacefulness and ravishment to the soul In other words, that it made the soul like a field or garden of God, with all manner of pleasant flowers; all pleasant, delightful, and undisturbed, enjoying a sweet calm, and the gently vivifying beams of the sun" [79]

Corroboration is testing the value of anything by trying to use it in supernatural adjustment. The problem is to see whether control of the symbols themselves is duplicated in control of the phenomena they stand for

[77] Akiga, *Story*, pp 335–36

[78] G J Nathan, *The New American Credo* [1921] (New York, 1927, rev ed), 227, 257, 355

[79] J Edwards (1703–1758), "Personal narrative," p 18, in *Works*, ed. S. E. Dwight (New York, 1829–30), I, pp 14–23

[ZULU] ". . among black men the real meaning of dreams is not known

"For some dreams have every appearance of reality, but they are not true, others point out something which is about to happen For among black men it is supposed that if a man dream of a great assembly, where they are dancing, if there is anyone ill, we have no confidence that he will get well, but immediately the man who dreamt of the dance is much alarmed, and if he is not a man of the same village as that where the man is ill, he continually listens, expecting to hear the funeral wail And al though the wail is not heard on the same day, he is still fearful and without confidence

"But a dream which produces confidence among black men, when any one is ill, is one in which they dream that someone is dead and about to be buried, and that they see the earth poured into the grave, and hear the funeral lamentation for him, and see the destruction of all his things during the night They say of such a dream, 'Because we have dreamt of his death he will not die'

"We do not understand how this happens For as regards living and dying, it would appear proper that he who is about to die should die, if when he is ill people dream he is dead, and he who is about to live should live, if people dream that he is well But in truth I have seen both I have dreamt of a wedding-dance, and the man died, again, I have dreamt of the death of a sick man, but he got well For example, when some years ago our Teacher was ill, I dreamt that he was dead, and that he had died at Pietermaritzburg But he was not buried in a grave, but was placed in the middle of a house which was white inside, and it was full of dead men, and he was placed on the top of the dead men, his head was directed towards the east, and his hair covered his eyes This I saw in my sleep When I awoke, I waited, saying, 'Let me look out for the letter which will come shortly, it will come and say, "O, it is so, he is dead" ' I did not wait for that, but saw it was already really true, and at once wept during the rest of the night, I was afraid for a letter to come, thinking it would tell us of his death I longed that it might be a long time before it arrived My eyes remained full of tears because of the dream But when the letter came it was not so But I heard it said, 'Our Teacher has sent for the waggon to go to Pietermaritzburg, to fetch him' So I said, 'O, truly, to dream of death does not show that death will take place'

"I have not yet come to a certain conclusion that this is true, for some dream of death, and death occurs, and sometimes of health, and the person lives And I do not say that a dream turns out to be true; sometimes I dream of something, and in fact the thing happens as I have dreamed But I speak especially of the death or life of one who is ill, that the event turns out different from what it ought to, and goes by contraries

"People say, summer dreams are true, but they do not say they are always true, but they say that summer dreams do not usually miss the mark But they say the winter is bad, and produces confused imaginations, that is, very many unintelligible dreams And therefore it is said that winter causes bad dreams, and if a man has dreamed and tells another, he

will at once answer him, saying, 'O, So-and-so, that is nothing but the confused imaginations caused by the winter.' He says thus because there is no sense in the dream. In like manner it is said there is not much that is false in the dreams of summer. But when the winter comes the people begin to be afraid that the winter will bring much rubbish, that is, false dreams." [80]

Earlier it was argued that the supernatural approach is used in situations which have high social value. Since sacred things are symbols of these important situations, they too have high social value. You will recall that in Chapter III it was stated that responses to important things tend to be ceremonialized. As a result, sacred things themselves are treated ceremonially. (17)

[ZUNI] The mask [of the *katcina*, i.e., spirit] is the corporeal substance of the god and in donning it the wearer, through a miracle akin to that of the Mass in Roman Catholic ritual, becomes the god.[81]

There are a number of special taboos relating to the wearing of masks—a man while wearing a mask must not speak, he must not give anything away, he must not engage in any defiling activity. A man wearing a mask or katcina body paint is teckwi [taboo] to others, and must not be touched, approached, or stared at.[82]

There is always a certain feeling of danger in wearing a mask. In putting on a mask the wearer always addresses it in prayer: "Do not cause me any serious trouble." A man wearing a mask or, in katcina dances without masks, one wearing katcina body paint, is untouchable. He is dangerous to others until his paint has been washed off. Zunis watching katcinas dance shrink from them as they pass through narrow passages, in order not to touch their bodies.[83]

[UNITED STATES] In most sacred situations men take off their hats, bow their heads, or kneel.

Historical References

(1) "In what depends on the known or the regular course of nature, the mind trusts to itself, but in strange and uncommon situations, it is the dupe of its own perplexity, and, instead of relying on its prudence or courage, has recourse to divination, and a variety of observances, that, for being irrational, are always the more reverenced. Superstition being founded in doubts and anxiety, is fostered by ignorance and mystery. Its maxims, in the mean time, are not always confounded with those of common life, nor does its weakness or folly always prevent the watchfulness, penetration,

[80] H. Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, pp. 236–39.

[81] Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuni Ceremonialism," p. 517.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 503.

[83] Bunzel, "Zuni Katcinas," *Annual Report of the [U.S.] Bureau of American Ethnology*, 47 (1929–30), (pp. 837–1086) p. 846.

and courage, men are accustomed to employ in the management of common affairs"—A Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, pp. 164–65

(2) ". religious ceremonies are marvels of permanence, holding substantially the same form and meaning through age after age"—E B Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p 363

(3) " religion . presupposes a moral sentiment or a relation of sympathy and of love between sentient and feeble beings, and the supreme cause on which they depend for their modifications and for their very existence The moral sentiment associated with the notion or the idea of a power, of an infinite goodness, increases in stature and elevation in the same proportion that the tender and loving care of the wisest and best of fathers surpasses the power and intelligence of man The goodness of divine providence is a superhuman goodness"—Maine de Biran, "Fragments relatifs aux fondements de la morale et de la religion" [1818], p 48, in *Oeuvres inédites*, ed E Naville (Paris, 1859), III, pp. 1–66

(4) " . for the worship which naturally men exhibit to powers invisible, it can be no other, but such expressions of their reverence, as they would use towards men, gifts, petitions, thanks, submission of body, considerate addresses, sober behavior, premeditated words, swearing, that is, assuring one another of their promises, by invoking them"—T. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, I 12 (p. 98)

(5) "The circle into which a man was born was not simply a group of kinsfolk and fellow-citizens, but embraced also certain divine beings, the gods of the family and of the state, which to the ancient mind were as much a part of the particular community with which they stood connected as the human members of the social circle Every social act had a reference to the gods as well as to men, for the social body was not made up of men only, but of gods and men . The fundamental conception of ancient religion is the solidarity of the gods and their worshippers as part of one society"—W R Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, pp 29–30, 32

(6) "The gods stood as much in need of their worshippers as the worshippers in need of them The benefits conferred were mutual. If the gods made the earth to bring forth abundantly, the flocks and herds to teem, and the human race to multiply, they expected that a portion of their bounty should be returned to them in the shape of tithe or tribute. On this tithe, indeed, they subsisted, and without it they would starve. Their divine bellies had to be filled, and their divine reproductive energies to be recruited, hence men had to give of their meat and drink to them, and to sacrifice for their benefit what is most manly in man and womanly in woman"—J G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* [1890] (London, 1911–15, 3rd ed), I, Pt. 1, p 31.

(7) "In rejoicing before his god a man rejoiced with and for the welfare of his kindred, his neighbours and his country, and, in renewing by a solemn act of worship the bond that united him to his god, he also renewed the bonds of family social and national obligation."—Smith, *op cit*, p 623, *cf ibid.*, p 269.

(8) " . prayer is a request made to a deity as if he were a man"—Tylor, *op cit*, II, p 375

(9) ". . sacrifice is a gift made to a deity as if he were a man"—*Idem*

(10) "A periodical clan sacrifice held for the purpose of refreshing and renewing a bond between the tribesmen and their god, which by lapse of time may seem to have been worn out"—Smith, *op cit*, p. 317.

(11) "Prayer, 'the soul's sincere desire, uttered or unexpressed', is the address of personal spirit to personal spirit So far as it is actually addressed to disembodied or deified human souls, it is simply an extension of the daily intercourse between man and man, while the worshipper who looks up to other divine beings, spiritual after the nature of his own spirit though of place and power in the universe far beyond his own, still has his mind in a state where prayer is a reasonable and practical act"—Tylor, *op cit*, II, p 364

(12) "Communion, in which the god and his worshippers unite by partaking together of . a sacred victim"—Smith, *op cit*, pp 226–27.

(13) "Magical arts in which the connexion is that of mere analogy or symbolism are endlessly numerous"—Tylor, *op cit*, I, p 117

(14) "[Contagious magic consists of] the practices whereby a distant person is to be affected by acting on something closely associated with him—his property clothes he has worn, and above all cuttings of his hair and nails"—*Ibid*, I, p 116.

(15) "[Magical] power is a direct power over nature in general, and is not to be likened to the indirect power, which we exercise by means of implements over natural objects in their separate forms . . Here the power over nature acts in a direct way It is thus magic or sorcery. . .

"There has been an inclination on the part of some . . to consider prayer too as magic, because man seeks to make it effectual, not through mediation, but by starting direct from Spirit The distinction here, however, is that man appeals to an absolute will, for which even the individual or unit is an object of care, and which can either grant the prayer or not, and which in so acting is determined by general purposes of good Magic, however, in the general sense, simply amounts to this,—that man has the mastery as he is in his natural state, as possessed of passions and desires" —G W F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen uber die Philosophie der Religion* [1821–27], II, pp. 79–80, in *Samtliche Werke*, ed G Lasson *et al* (Leipzig, 1905–), XII–XIV, tr. E B Spiers and J B Sanderson (London, 1895)

(16) "The idea of holiness comes into prominence wherever the gods come into touch with men, it is not so much a thing that characterises the gods and divine things in themselves, as the most general notion that governs their relations with humanity"—Smith, *op cit*, p 142

(17) "Common things are such as men have license to use freely at their own good pleasure without fear of supernatural penalties, while holy things may be used only in prescribed ways and under definite restrictions, on pain of the anger of the gods"—*Ibid*, p 150.

IX

THE ESTHETIC WORLD VIEW

Estheticism is the environmental approach which achieves adjustment by finding situations to which one's responses are themselves satisfying, i e , are an end in themselves rather than a means to an end (1) A society's esthetic theory is its esthetics The esthetic practices of a society which embrace customarily and intrinsically satisfying behavior are its play, while those through which it changes parts of the environment into the kinds of situations which elicit intrinsically satisfying responses are its art.

ESTHETICS

Nature of esthetics

Esthetics is esthetic theory It is the body of customs by which a society defines the nature and effects of the situations which elicit satisfying responses

Very little is known about comparative esthetics. Explicit statements on esthetics are scarce in any society, in fact, the United States takes care of the matter with a special cliché, "I don't know anything about art, but I know what I like " As a result, most esthetic data has to be inferences based on implicit judgments which are derived from peoples' preferences But not much has been done with this either. Therefore the discussion will necessarily be scrappy.

Esthetics of play

You will recall that behavior is performed in order to satisfy motives Also that in the process of adjusting we are usually forced by circumstances to engage or persist in an activity to satisfy a dominant motive, even though many other motives are inhibited mean while For instance, a man will take a job as dishwasher, even

though he dislikes the work, in order to get enough money to live on Or a scientist may enjoy his research, but there are times he would rather take a walk or read a novel, yet he goes on because he must earn a living, or finish a paper for a professional meeting In other words, we often carry on an activity, not in order to satisfy the motive which is part of the activity itself, but for the sake of incentives, i e , to satisfy other motives which are extraneous to the activity, and in terms of which that goal which is a part of the activity is only a means to an end rather than an end in itself. Thus, in the cases just given, the dishwasher and scientist are working for the money or prestige they will get if the dishes are washed or the problem is solved, and not for the sake of having the dishes washed or the scientific question answered.

We necessarily inhibit so many subordinate motives in satisfying most dominant motives that life becomes monotonous and we feel bored, as was shown in Chapter III That is why most cultures recognize the importance of play

[IROQUOIS] "The Great Spirit knew the Indian could not live without some amusement, therefore he originated the idea of dancing, which he gave to them " [1]

[UNITED STATES] "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy " [2]

Play is behavior which itself satisfies a motive It is performed for its own sake, rather than as a means to reaching some "goal" in the ordinary sense of the word. In other words, the behavior itself is the goal

[GREECE] "Now those activities are desirable in themselves from which nothing is sought beyond the activity . Pleasant amusements . are thought to be of this nature, we choose them not for the sake of other things " [3]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "But while the primary actions of the faculties, bodily and mental, with their accompanying gratifications, are thus obviously related to proximate ends that imply ulterior benefits, those actions of them which constitute play, and those which yield the aesthetic gratifications, do not refer to ulterior benefits—the proximate ends are the only ends " [4]

But this does not mean that play activities do not have "goals" as well For behavior to be effective, it must be directed and organized,

[1] L H Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, I, p 183

[2] W. G Smith, *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, p 39

[3] Aristotle, *Ethica nicomachea* ed I Bywater (Oxford, 1894), 1176 b 6–9

[4] H Spencer, *The Principles of Psychology* [1872] (New York, 1897), II, p 628

consequently a "goal" is needed toward which the behavior can be directed and in terms of which it can be organized However, the difference between play and work lies in the fact that in the former the "goal" is primarily a means of directing and organizing the behavior, the behavior itself being the end of the activity, and the activity is almost as satisfying if the "goal" is never reached. If you go walking with a friend, you will usually decide to walk toward a certain point, for example, toward a river, rather than wander aimlessly, but if something comes up—you become tired or come across something interesting on the way—you do not lose any of your enjoyment because you turn back before you ever get to the river On the other hand, in work the whole point to the activity is reaching the goal, and "A miss is as good as a mile." [5] If you are going to the river in order to get a pail of water, no matter what you do on the way, if you never actually reach the river and get the water you have wasted your time and effort as far as that particular activity is concerned.

The esthetics of play, then, is a customary analysis of the characteristics of intrinsically satisfying kinds of behavior and their effects.

Esthetics of art

It has been stated that environmental approaches are the means by which man orders his experience An *art object* is anything which is so well organized that the experiences elicited by it are also ordered and therefore intrinsically satisfying

Art objects are either natural or artificial. Sometimes people are confronted by a situation which happens to be so well ordered from a human point of view that experiencing the situation is itself satisfying.

[HOPI] [Dream] "I was a girl again and my girl friend and I went for a walk It was the day after the dance. Our hair was all done up in squash blossom And we had our black manta dresses on We sat on the rim on the west just out skirt of the village. We watched the beautiful sunset Then we decide to come home "

[Another dream] "To my great surprise there were many many people of all kinds Indians, white people and even animals were all standing neatly and orderly against the high mesa wall And different colors of hairs, faces, and clothing makes a beautiful picture." [6]

[5] Smith, *op cit*, p 22 [6] D Eggan MS.

[UNITED STATES] "We delight in finding some . . . arrangement in the face of nature herself, we choose our place for looking at her features, we place ourselves so as to emphasize some of these abstract properties of things, we so place ourselves that we can most feel certain curves, certain perpendiculars, certain horizontals, certain arrangements of triangular spaces For a rough example, in looking at a waterfall, we may choose some place whence we can feel the under curve and the masses of the upper water, their curves and breaking, and the return curves of the splashing water We may take into our sight a tall cliff or a tree on one side, so as to have the illusion of depth or height increased." [7]

But usually the environment is not that suitable, and in such a case man produces a *work of art*, i e , an artificial art object. By virtue of the fact that in making his art object the artist imposes an order on it which is pleasing to him, the work of art has the kind of order which satisfies human beings

Architectonics is artistic order (2)

[GREECE] "The Chief forms of beauty are order and symmetry and definiteness" [8]

"Beauty is a matter of size and order " [9]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " . . . there is a musick where ever this is a harmony, order, or proportion " [10]

And since the basis of order is unity and regularity, this is found in art objects. Artistic unity has two components, harmony and autonomy.

[GREECE] "The construction of . . . stories . . . should be based on a single action, one that is a complete whole in itself, with a beginning, middle, and end, so as to enable the work to produce its own proper pleasure with all the organic unity of a living creature " [11]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "He [the artist] is the first from whose mind come the parts grown together into one ever-living whole " [12]

Harmony is internal unity—all the parts cooperate to elicit a unified response (3)

[GREECE] " . . . in poetry the story, as an imitation of action, must represent one action, a complete whole, with its several incidents so closely connected that the transposal or withdrawal of any one of them will dis-

[7] J. LaFarge, *Considerations on Painting* (New York, 1896), pp 212–13

[8] Aristotle, *Metaphysica*, ed W D Ross (Oxford, 1921), 1078a 36–b1.

[9] Aristotle, *De poetica*, 1450b 36–37 [10] T Browne, *Religio Medici*, 2 9

[11] Aristotle, *De poetica*, 1459a 19–21

[12] J W von Goethe, "Von deutscher Baukunst [1773]," p 288, in *Samtlichen Werke*, I, pp 286–93, tr ed J E Spingarn (New York, 1921)

join and dislocate the whole For that which makes no perceptible difference by its presence or absence is no real part of the whole " [13]

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . . whose parts are so joyned, and knitt together, as nothing in the structure can be chang'd, or taken away, without impairing, or troubling the whole, of which there is a proportionable magnitude in the members " [14]

Autonomy is external unity, the art object is complete and independent, so that it does not rely upon anything outside itself for its effect.

[GREECE] ". . a tragedy is an imitation of an action that is complete in itself, as a whole of some magnitude " [15]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "It is a great advantage for a work of art to be self included and complete " [16]

Artistic regularity has reference to the way the parts of the art object interact with each other It is not necessary that this interaction reproduce that which occurs in the universe as a whole All that is required is that the parts interact in such a way that when the art object is experienced, the kinds of interaction which are found in it seem to be inevitable

[GREECE] " the poet's function is to describe, not the thing that has happened, but the kind of thing that might happen, i e, what is possible as being probable or necessary The distinction between historian and poet is not in the one writing prose and the other verse—you might put the work of Herodotus into verse, and it would still be a species of history, it consists really in this, that the one describes the thing that has been, and the other a kind of thing that might be " [17]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Genius is only busied with events that are rooted in one another, that form a chain of cause and effect To reduce the latter to the former, to weigh the latter against the former, everywhere to exclude chance, to cause everything that occurs to occur so that it could not have happened otherwise, this is the part of genius when it works in the domains of history and converts the useless treasures of memory into nourishment for the soul " [18]

[13] Aristotle, *De poetica*, 1451a 31–35

[14] B Jonson, *Discoveries*, ed G B Harrison (*Bodley Head Quartos*, 5) (London, 1923), p 101

[15] Aristotle, *De poetica*, 1450b 23–25

[16] Goethe, "Aufsatze aus den Propylaen," p 47, in *Samtliche Werke*, XII, pp 22–181, tr ed Spingarn (New York, 1921)

[17] Aristotle, *De poetica*, 1451a 36–b5, *vide ibid*, 1452a 13–21, 1451a 26–36, 1461b 11–14

[18] G E Lessing, *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* [1767–68], 1 30 (p 308), in *Samtliche Schriften*, ed K Lachmann and F Muncker (Stuttgart, 1886–1924, 3rd ed), IX, p 179–X, p 221, tr H Zimmern (London, 1890)

Artistic regularity depends upon repetition and contrast *Repetition,* the recurrence of similar characteristics, provides the foundation for regularity.

[CHINA] "Rhyme must harmonize with rhyme in exactly the same way as a string of perfectly matched pearls" [19]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " by means of symmetry they rendered easy for the eye an insight into relations, and thus a complicated work was made comprehensible Through symmetry and opposition slight deviations were made productive of the sharpest contrasts" [20]

Contrast, the juxtaposition of different characteristics, sets off and thus emphasizes the repetitions, and provides variety (4)

[CHINA] "Thus, with multitudinous variations and constant changes, one creates movement in painting" [21]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Contrasts rouse the power of comparison by opposition" [22]

So far as artistic order as a whole is concerned, the architectonics are characterized by proportion and balance (5) *Proportion* is emphasizing each part of the whole according to its relative importance in the total effect (6)

[CHINA] "In painting a landscape attention must first be given to the large mountain which may be called the master peak When this is decided upon, other details come next the perspective and proportion should be worked out in relation to the master peak, which will dominate the whole region—that is why it is called the master peak Figuratively speaking, its relation to the others should be that of an emperor to his subjects, a master to his servants

"In painting stones and trees, the first consideration should be given to a large pine tree, which may be called the aged master The aged master having been decided upon, an artist may proceed to the other details For example, curious nests, small plants, little flowers, parasitic plants, and split stones all provide subsidiary details in the painting of a mountain Hence the pine tree is called the aged master, and its relation to the others is that of a personage of high virtue to lesser man" [23]

[19] Su Shih (1036–1101), *Prose—Poetry,* tr C D L Clark (Shanghai, 1935), p 233

[20] Goethe, "Aufsatze aus den Propylaen," p 47

[21] Wang Wei, *Su Hua,* p 45, in *The Spirit of the Brush,* tr S Sakanishi, pp 41–45

[22] J Reynolds (1723–1792), *Discourses,* 8 (p 131), in *Literary Works,* ed H W Beechy (London, 1855, 2nd ed)

[23] Kuo Hsi (11th cent), *An Essay on Landscape Painting,* tr S Sakanishi (London, 1935), pp 53–54

Balance is dynamic equilibrium—it is the poise that results from arousing and resolving conflicting responses

[GREECE] "Every tragedy is in part Complication and in part Denouement" [24]

[UNITED STATES] "The beautiful object possesses those qualities which bring the personality into a state of unity and self-completeness . .

". a combination of favorable stimulation and repose . . . characterize the aesthetic feeling

". . . The only aesthetic repose is that in which stimulation resulting in impulse to movement or action is checked or compensated for by its antagonistic impulse, inhibition of action, or action returning upon itself, combined with heightening of tone But this is *tension, equilibrium,* or *balance of forces,* which is thus seen to be *a general condition of all aesthetic experience* . grounded in the very demand for the union of repose with activity . and unity for a living being can only be equilibrium . Equilibrium, in greater or less excursions from the centre, is . the ultimate nature of organic life The perfect equilibrium, that is, equilibrium with heightened tone, will then give the perfect moment .

"This diffusion of stimulation, the equilibrium of impulses, life-enhancement through repose!—this is the aesthetic experience. .

"Now a beautiful object is first of all a unified object In it all impulses of soul and sense are bound to react upon one another, and to lead back to one another And all the elements, which in contemplation we reproduce in the form of motor impulses, are bound to make a closed circle of these suggested energies The symmetrical picture calls out a set of motor impulses which 'balance'—a system of energies reacting on one centre, the sonnet takes us out on one wave of rhythm and of thought, to bring us back on another to the same point, the sonata does the same in melody In the 'whirling circle' of the drama, not a word or an act that is not indissolubly linked with before and after Thus the unity of a work of art makes of the system of suggested energies which form the foreground of attention an impregnable, an invulnerable circle . . .

". . the unity of the object is constituted just by the inhibition of all tendency to movement through the balance or centrality of impulses suggested by it In other words, the balance of impulses makes us feel the object a unity And this balance of impulses, this inhibition of movement, corresponding to unity, is what we know as aesthetic repose

"The tension of those mutually antagonistic impulses make balance, and so unity" [25]

By eliciting such opposing responses, an art object satisfies many motives, by fusing these responses into an ordered unit, it organizes

[24] Aristotle, *De poetica,* 1455b 24

[25] E D Puffer, *The Psychology of Beauty* (Boston, 1905), pp. 49–51, 55, 77–79, 86

them rather than producing a chaotic aggregate of conflicting responses Balance gives life to the order, a static equilibrium produces something that is architectonically dead

[CHINA] "The 'dragon veins' [the life-carrying lines or arteries of the composition] are the source of vitality and strength in painting They may be slanting or straight, complete or fragmentary, broken up or continuous, hidden or exposed They may be said to form the style " [26]

An art object, then, is that which satisfies a motive by the mere fact of being experienced

[HINDU] "As for any simple man of little intelligence who says that from dramas, which distil joy, the gain is knowledge only, as in the case of history and the like—homage to him, for he has averted his face from what is delightful!" [27]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " beautiful things are those which please when seen " [28]

Ideal architectonics are so rare that when we do find it we are overwhelmingly gratified

[ZUNI] I have heard women say of the mourning ceremonies of the Ca'lako, "We all cry It is so beautiful that our hearts hurt " [29]

[UNITED STATES] "If I read a book and it makes my whole body so cold no fire can ever warm me, I know *that* it is poetry If I feel physically as if the top of my head were taken off, I know *that* is poetry These are the only ways I know it Is there any other way?" [30]

PLAY AND ART

Man's life is often a struggle with his environment He cannot satisfy all his motives, and the most important ones tend to be gratified at the expense of the others. But the latter are also important, if they are not satisfied the people become maladjusted (7)

[GREECE] ". we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil, we have regular games and sacrifices through-

[26] Wang Yuan-ch'i (1642–1715), *Yü-ch' uang man-pi*, p 204, in O Siren, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting* (Peiping, 1936), pp 202–08

[27] Dhanamjaya (10th cent), *Dasarupa*, ed G C O Haas (Columbia U, *Indo Iranian Series*, 7) (New York, 1912), 1 6

[28] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, 1 5 4

[29] R Bunzel, "Introduction to Zuni ceremonialism," p 509

[30] E Dickinson, *Letters*, ed M L Todd (New York, 1931, new ed), p 286 Published by Harper & Brothers

out the year, our homes are beautiful and elegant, and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy "[31]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "The pursuit of falconry enables nobles and rulers disturbed and worried by the cares of state to find relief in the pleasures of the chase "[32]

Consequently, under the pressure of satisfying other dominant motives these may be inhibited, but they are satisfied whenever conditions permit The extent to which this is possible depends upon the society's naturalism Whenever the technology provides for the basic necessities of life, esthetic practices have an opportunity to flourish (8)

[MAORI] The fine carving and infinite pains taken in the ornamentation of the perch [used in snaring birds] were quite unnecessary from the strictly utilitarian and practical point of view The reason for the expenditure of so much labour and trouble was evidently the innate desire of the brown craftsman to turn out work of good quality and neat finish, and to exhibit his skill in wood carving and the expert handling of tools He preferred to see what an English carpenter would call "a good job" In order to satisfy his craftsman's feelings and to command public appreciation, he was willing to spend many times the amount of labour necessary to produce the final economic result—the efficient snaring of birds[33]

PLAY

Customary play is any way of behaving which the group considers to be intrinsically satisfying[34] The earliest known artifacts used in play date from the Early Gerzean of Egypt

[EGYPT] Clay gaming table The clay of which the table and pieces were made is quite unbaked The table stands on four stumpy legs . . The top of this slab is edged with a row of small holes made with a reed, down the centre run two other lines, and at right angles to these five lines, the whole surface being thus divided into eighteen squares in three lines of six each. In the rubbish near the table and also at the other end of the grave [in which the table was found] were found nine small and two larger cubes of unbaked clay The two larger ones are slightly hollow underneath, and there is some doubt as to whether these belong to the table or

[31] Thucydides (471?–400? B C), *De bello peloponnesiaco*, ed C Hude (Leipzig, 1913–25, ed mai), 2 38, tr B Jowett (Oxford, 1900, 2nd ed)

[32] Frederick II, *De arte venandi cum avibus*, prol

[33] R Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (New York, 1929), p 141

[34] Here we are only concerned with adult play

not But it is extremely probable that the smaller pieces are "men" used in some game played on these eighteen squares . . Our present knowledge does not tell us how the game was played, but it seems to be a sort of draughts[35]

There are many ways of classifying play, but only those which have social implications need be considered here One is into individual and group play Individual play tends to make the person self-sufficient, group play increases his dependence on others and therefore strengthens group solidarity

[UNITED STATES] Book reading in Middletown today means overwhelmingly, if we exclude school-books and Bibles, the reading of public library books Over 40,000 volumes are available in the library . . Middletown drew out approximately 6,500 public library books for each thousand of its population during 1924 . Four hundred and fifty-eight persons in each 1,000 were library card-holders in 1923[36]

[CARIBOU ESKIMO] Young men compete in various forms of athletics One of the commonest forms of trying strength is to pull arms the contestants *facing each other, the right foot advanced and placed against* that of the opponent They hook their right arms, or hold each other's right wrist and try to pull each other off their balance They do the same with the fingers A third method consists in laying one's arm round the opponent's neck, putting the forefinger in the corner of his mouth and pulling Hanbury illustrates a trial of strength consisting in the contestants lying face downwards, head to head, with a strap behind the neck, each trying to pull the opponent's head towards him A pair of handles for trials of strength consists of two round sticks connected by a skin strap Each man takes his handle and pulls

Three kinds of athletics are practised on an outstretched thong From the roof of the snow house two thongs hang down, each with a loop at the bottom, in these the athlete sits and turns over and over . In the open air a thong is stretched, from the thong hang two loops, through which the hands are inserted, seizing the thong with an overhand grip, one swings forward at arm's length and round about the thong Some tie a knife to the thong in order to show their skill An exercise which is called nimratarneq is a forward turning round the thong, which is held with a right over-grip and a left under-grip

Skipping and wrestling are common sports[37]

Play groups, in turn, are primary or secondary. Primary group play subjects the participants to common experiences and thus strength-

[35] E. R Ayrton and W L S Loat, *Pre Dynastic Cemetery at el Mahasna (Publications of the Egypt Exploration Fund, Memoirs,* 31) (London, 1911), p. 30, *vide ibid*, pl 17, figs 1, 4 [Early Gerzean]

[36] R S and H M Lynd, *Middletown* (New York, 1929), pp 229–30

[37] K Birket-Smith, *The Caribou Eskimos,* I, pp 272–73

ens their solidarity, because of the nature of the interaction in secondary groups, this is minimal in secondary group play.

[ROME] He [i e, Julius Caesar, in 45 B C] gave entertainments of divers kinds a combat of gladiators and also stage-plays in every ward all over the city [of Rome], performed too by actors of all languages, as well as races in the circus, athletic contests, and a sham sea-fight In the gladiatorial contest in the Forum, Furius Leptinus, a man of praetorian stock, and Quintus Calpenus, a former senator and pleader at the bar, fought to a finish A Pyrrhic dance was performed by the sons of the princes of Asia and Bithynia During the plays Decimus Laberius, a Roman knight, acted a farce of his own composition, and having been presented with five hundred thousand sesterces and a gold ring [in token of his restoration to the rank of knight, which he forfeited by appearing on the stage], passed from the stage through the orchestra and took his place in the fourteen rows [reserved for knights] For the races the circus was lengthened at either end and a broad canal was dug all about it, then the young men of the highest rank drove four-horse and two-horse chariots and rode pairs of horses, vaulting from one to the other The game called Troy was performed by two troops, of younger and of older boys Combats with wild beasts were presented on five successive days, and last of all there was a battle between two opposing armies, in which five hundred foot soldiers, twenty elephants, and thirty horsemen engaged on each side To make room for this, the goals were taken down and in their place two camps were pitched over against each other The athletic competitions lasted for five days in a temporary stadium built for the purpose in the region of the Campus Martius For the naval battle a pool was dug in the lesser Codeta and there was a contest of ships of two, three, and four banks of oars, belonging to the Tyrian and Egyptian fleets, manned by a large force of fighting men Such a throng flocked to all these shows from every quarter, that many strangers had to lodge in tents pitched in the streets or along the roads, and the press was often such that many were crushed to death, including two senators [38]

[UNITED STATES] For fifty years the fortunes of professional baseball teams have been eagerly followed by enthusiastic supporters of the game More than ten million people attended the games of the two major baseball leagues during the season of 1930, approximately a million increase over 1920 An annual attendance at professional games of at least 20,000,000 places it in the first rank of American sports When we consider the additional millions who attend semi-professional and amateur games played in public parks and elsewhere, the large numbers who follow the games through the radio and the sports pages of the newspapers, and the crowds around the bulletin boards of newspaper offices watching the play-by-play report of the games, it is quite clear that baseball during six months of each

[38] Suetonius (*ca* 69–*post* A D 121), *De vita Caesarum*, ed M Ihm (Leipzig, 1907, ed mai), I 39 tr J C Rolfe (London, 1914) Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harvard University Press

year provides a very considerable share of the passive amusement of the nation [39]

Also, the social interaction involved in group play is either harmonious or opposed. When the interaction is harmonious, group play strengthens the solidarity of the group as a whole, if opposition takes place, group play channelizes competition and conflict in the manner discussed in Chapter II

[UNITED STATES] The leading daily paper in Middletown in 1923 reported for the months of January, July, and October respectively eighty-two, 104, and 155 parties of all kinds, including picnics, dinner parties, and so on [40]

[CHINA]

> "The cups are pushed aside and we face each other at chess
> The rival pawns are marshalled rank against rank" [41]

In addition, when the opponents themselves form teams (opposing sub-groups), oppositional group play strengthens the solidarity within each sub-group to a degree that is proportional to the opposition between the teams

[CARIBOU ESKIMO] Young men and girls often play ball The ball is of skin and varies in size according to whether it is to be used as a football or a handball The former are large and filled with moss, the other smaller and filled with sand [Both types are made of caribou skin] .

Football . is played without any other rules than that each side must keep the ball away from its goal The Coast Padlimiut asserted that they did not play football A game which corresponds to rounders is called anauligarneq Four stones are placed as bays, for instance

[39] J F Steiner, *Americans at Play* (*Recent Social Trends in the United States, Monographs*) (New York, 1933), pp 83–84, 86 By permission Copyright, 1933, by McGraw Hill Book Co , Inc

[40] Lynd, *op cit*, p 278

[41] Anonymous, "The golden palace" [1st cent B C], in Waley, *Translations from the Chinese*, p 26 This, by the way, is the earliest reference to chess known to me It is seven centuries earlier than the first Hindu source

[HINDU] "The rainy season, even the fate of rain, played, as if with chessmen coloured with lac, with yellow and green frogs jumping in the black enclosures of the irrigated fields"—Subandhu (6th cent), *Vasavadatta*, ed L H Gray (Columbia U , *Indo-Iranian Series*, 8) (New York, 1913), 281

The players divide into two sides One of the players throws the ball in the air, and the others try to catch it, and the one who succeeds puts his side in to bat One player stands at X and one of the opposing side drives the ball back to the bowler with an improvised bat, for instance a snow beater, and runs quickly to the first bay, the other side trying to hit him with the ball Then the next player takes the bat and runs to the first bay while the first player goes on to the second bay, and so on If a player is hit with the ball while running between two bays his side is out, there is no counting of points

A ball game which is played in summer by young men and girls is called aitaliaq, sides are taken according to sex The one side tries to take the ball from the other, who throws it from player to player The ball may only be taken in one hand [42]

Play can also be divided into informal and ceremonial Informal play tends to be more satisfying, for it may be undertaken whenever one feels in the mood Ceremonial play may not be as free, but it is enhanced by its rarity, and reinforces the value system of the group by not only symbolizing the high social value of the ceremonial situation, but making the ceremony intrinsically satisfying as well.

[UNITED STATES] Dancing is today a universal skill among the young, their social life, particularly among the high school group, is increasingly built about it The old round of informal Christmas holiday pleasantries has been largely crowded out by a rigid ritual of fourteen annual formal dances, the principal public celebration of Thanksgiving Day consists in three dances—an annual matinee by one of the fraternities and two evening dances [43]

Finally, every society categorizes play on the basis of its mores. Play which is right is *recreation*, play which is wrong is *vice*.

ART

We have already seen that though it sometimes happens that people find a natural situation which is intrinsically satisfying, the environment is usually not that suitable Therefore, most art objects are artificial, and the technological means used in producing works of art constitute the group's *craftsmanship*.

[CHINA] "A painter should be master over and not a slave to his brush He should be master over and not a slave to his ink Brush and ink are

[42] Birket Smith, *op cit*, I, pp 273–74 [43] Lynd, *op cit*, p 282

trivial things, but if an artist does not handle them with freedom, how can he be expected to attain to the heights of skill." [44]

[UNITED STATES] "It takes ten years to build a dancer. The body must be tempered by hard, definite technique—the science of dance movement—and the mind enriched by experience. Both must be ripened to maturity before the dancer has a message he can convey effectually." [45]

Art is the body of customs by which a society produces things that are intrinsically satisfying, i.e., the mere act of experiencing the thing satisfies motives. Such a thing is a work of art.

[CHINA] "The study of painting serves to nourish the character and the emotions, it calms the troubled bosom, it alleviates bitter suffering, it sets free the restless heart, and it welcomes a quiet spirit." [46]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "So that although we lay altogether aside the consideration of ditty or matter, the very harmony of sounds being framed in due sort and carried from the ear to the spiritual faculties of our souls, is by a native puissance and efficacy greatly available to bring to a perfect temper whatsoever is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the spirits as to allay that which is too eager, sovereign against melancholy and despair, forcible to draw forth tears of devotion if the mind be such as can yield them, able both to move and to moderate all affections." [47]

The earliest art known is body decoration, inasmuch as artifacts which were most likely used for this purpose have been found dating back to Lower Pleistocene 2.

The pieces which are the object of this work come from lower and middle beds. They are then Chellean, Acheulean, and Mousterean. The ornamental objects found by me, consist of flint, naturally perforated, more or less retouched at the opening and on the periphery, of perforated gravers, and of tertiary fossils of various types. [48]

Architectonic effects

Architectonics has at least three effects. Ordering a part of the environment has been considered already. It also advances those branches of technology which are involved in craftsmanship, for

[44] Kuo Hsi, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

[45] M. Graham, in *Martha Graham*, ed. M. Armitage (Los Angeles, 1937), p. 106.

[46] Wang Yu (18th cent.), *Tung-chuan lun-hua*, p. 208, in Siren, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, pp. 208–11.

[47] R. Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, 5.38.1.

[48] G. Ballet, "La parure aux époques paléolithiques anciennes," *Bulletin de la société préhistorique française*, 12 (1915), (pp. 96–107) p. 98.

the artist tries to develop his skill to the point where he can shape the material so that it perfectly expresses his artistic intention.

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Good, or rather true execution is the one which, through practice, even when it seems most material, adds to the thought; without such execution, the thought is not complete . . . It is possible to express fine ideas in a dull way . . . True talent for execution consists of the ability to derive the greatest possible advantage from the material means " [49]

Finally, it crystallizes what might otherwise be an incoherent representation, the architectonics is the framework in terms of which the artist organizes his expression

[CHINA] "If there is no method, then nothing has a proper limit " [50]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Verse . . . 'tis a rule and line by which he [the poet] keeps his building compact and even, which otherwise lawless imagination would raise either irregularly or loosely " [51]

In fact, the artist even sets bounds to his impulsiveness; he finds a certain restraint necessary if he is to perfect the architectonics of his work of art

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . . in the very torrent, tempest, and (as I may say) whirlwind of your passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness " [52]

Abstract and representational works of art

A work of art may or may not be symbolic If it is not, the work of art is *abstract*, if it is, it is *representational* Abstract art is architectonic only, and since architectonics has been examined already, no further discussion is needed. However, the fact that representational works of art also have meaning results in extra implications.

In representational art, the work of art is both architectonic and stands for a *subject* which is the meaning of the work

[49] E Delacroix (1799–1863), *Journal*, ed A Joubin (Paris, 1932), III, pp. 44–45, tr W Pach (New York, 1937)

[50] Tao chi, *Hua Yu Lu*, 2, in Siren, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, pp 184–91 [Ch'ing Dynasty = 1644–1912]

[51] J Dryden, *An Essay of Dramatic Poesy* [1668], ed T Arnold (Oxford, 1926, 3rd ed), p 98

[52] W Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, 3 2 6–9

[GREECE] " . . in discourse, thought and diction are for the most part developed one through the other.[53]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Sounds as well as thoughts have relation both between each other and towards that which they represent, and a perception of the order of those relations has always been found connected with a perception of the order of the relations of thoughts Hence the language of poets has ever affected a certain uniform and harmonious recurrence of sound, without which it were not poetry, and which is scarcely less indispensable to the communication of its influence, than the words themselves, without reference to that peculiar order." [54]

A portrait by Rembrandt is actually a piece of stretched canvas whose surface is covered with oil paint of various colors, some standing for a nose, others for an eye, still others for a piece of cloth, etc., and all together standing for a man who is the subject of the painting

The representational work of art, then, is a symbol standing for a subject The subject, in turn, is based upon some *subject matter,* i e., a situation which the artist takes as his point of departure The subject matter is either real or fanciful. It is *real* when the subject represents some actually existing situation, this occurs when the artist is either satisfied with, or concerned for, the world around him. It is *fanciful* when the subject represents an imaginary subject matter, this is found when the artist rejects the world in which he lives

[WESTERN EUROPE] "How sad is the fate of the beautiful, in this world!" [55]

"Alas! Nothing is as beautiful as the ideal " [56]

As is the case with any symbol, the meaning that the observer gets from the work of art depends on how he interprets the work

[HINDU] "Their own imaginative effort is what causes pleasure to the auditors through the enactment of the parts of Arjuna and other characters, just as their own imaginative effort causes pleasure to children playing with clay elephants and the like " [57]

[53] [Longinus], *De sublimitate* [1st cent A D], ed W R Roberts (Cambridge, 1899), 30 1

[54] P B Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry* [1821], p 114, in *Complete Works,* ed R Ingpen and W E. Peck (London, 1926–30), VII, pp 104–40

[55] M de Guérin, "Letter to J Barbey d' Aurevilly, July 20, 1835," p 92, in *Unpublished Correspondence,* ed G Chinard (New York, 1929), pp 92–98

[56] *Idem,* "Letter to the same, Oct. 5, 1836," p 326; in *Oeuvres,* ed H Clouard (Paris, 1930), II, p 325–27

[57] Dhanamjaya, *op cit*, 4 50

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . . one must extract the teaching from it [i e, a poem] one's self, as from life " [58]

According to Chapter II effective communication is only possible if the artist and observer use a common symbolism Therefore, when the artist uses the same symbolism as the rest of the people, they can understand his representational works of art, and the art is *exoteric.* This usually happens in a simple society with a relatively stable culture, it also occurs in civilizations in so far as the symbolism is based upon customs which are found throughout the society *Esoteric* art cannot be understood by most members of a society It is found whenever the artist's symbolism stems from his private experiences [59] or those of a sub-culture [60] And since representational art is usually a means of communication,[61] an esoteric artist is the product of the social isolation of the individual or his group (9)

[WESTERN EUROPE] "But in our day it is necessity, neediness, that prevails, and bends a degraded humanity under its iron yoke *Utility* is the great idol of the time, to which all powers do homage and all subjects are subservient In this great balance of utility, the spiritual service of art has no weight, and, deprived of all encouragement, it vanishes from the noisy Vanity Fair of our time " [62]

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . . with us at present it [art] is becoming more and more specialised, if not according to nations, then according to classes " [63]

Esoteric art is also found in another set of conditions, namely, when a culture is changing rapidly. Then the people's new experiences are altered before they can be categorized and symbolized, so that there is no common symbolism by which the experiences can be represented. A good example of this is the modern dance in our culture. In order to represent its romantic repertory, during the course of the nineteenth century the ballet perfected a symbolism that could be understood by well-nigh everyone, if a female dancer

[58] Goethe, "Uber das Lehrgedicht," p. 378, *Samtliche Werke,* XXXVII, pp 378–79

[59] E g, T S Eliot, *The Waste Land,* New York, 1922

[60] E g, G Apollinaire, *Les Peintres Cubistes,* (Paris, 1913, 10th ed).

[61] [WESTERN EUROPE] "One must write as he lives, first, for his own sake, and then for the sake of kindred beings as well."—Goethe, *Italianische Reise, III,* p 57, in *Samtliche Werke,* XLII, pp 1–179, tr C Nisbet (London, 1885)

[62] J C F von Schiller, *Uber die asthetische Erziehung des Menschen* [1793–94], p. 6, in *Samtliche Werke,* ed E von der Hellen (Stuttgart, 1904–05), XII, pp 3–120, tr Anonymous (London, n d)

[63] L N Tolstoy, *Journal, 1895–99,* tr R Strunsky (New York, 1917), pp 89–90

tripped across the stage on her toes and flapped her arms, the audience knew that she was a flying bird. But about the time of World War I many dancers became interested in presenting the problems of the world around them. They have tried hard to build up a symbolism which can be used to communicate effectively.

[UNITED STATES] "I spent long days and nights in the studio seeking that dance which might be the divine expression of the human soul through the medium of the body's movement . . . I was seeking and finally discovered the central spring of all movement, the crater of motor power, the unity from which all diversities of movement are born, the mirror of vision for the creation of the dance.

"I . . . sought the source of spiritual expression, from which would flow into the channels of the body, filling it with vibrating light, the centrifugal force reflecting the spirit's vision." [64]

But even devotees often cannot interpret a modern dance. In this connection it is interesting to notice that Martha Graham's most popular dances are pieces like *Frontier*,[65] whose subject is simple and direct, and *Letter to the World*,[66] which has a verbal commentary to explain the dance.

Representational art has a number of effects besides those due to its architectonics.

(*a*) It humanizes the universe. The subject of a work of art does not literally reproduce the subject matter.

[CHINA] "Out of the forms of nature the images are produced; they are brought out by the conception which seizes the natural. They are first seen in the mind like flowers and leaves detaching themselves and beginning to sprout. Then they are given their outward shapes and colours by the work of the hand. They (such painters) seldom seek for likeness as support for their ideas (conceptions)." [67]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Onely the Poet, disdeining to be tied to any such subjection, lifted up with the vigor of his own invention, doth grow in effect into an other nature in making things either better then nature bringeth foorth, or quite a newe, formes such as never were in nature: as the *Heroes, Demigods, Cyclops, Chimeras, Furies*, and such like, so as he goeth hand in hand with nature, not enclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely raunging within the Zodiack of his owne wit." [68]

[64] I. Duncan, *My Life* (New York, 1927), p. 75.

[65] B. Morgan, *Martha Graham* (New York, 1941), pp. 12, 16–27.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 113–25.

[67] Tung Yu, *Kuang Ch'uan Hua Po*, p. 65, in Siren, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, 61–66 [Sung Dynasty 960–1127].

[68] P. Sidney, *Defence of Poesie*, p. 8.

The artist selects whatever he thinks is important and excludes the rest as irrelevant

[CHINA] "In painting a scene, irrespective of its size or scope, an artist should concentrate his spirit upon the essential nature of his work If he fails to get at the essential, he will fail to present the soul of his theme " [69]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "When the artist takes an object in nature, that object is no longer a part of nature, one may say that at that very moment the artist creates it by abstracting that in it which is significant, characteristic, interesting, or, even more, gives it a higher value which it did not have previously " [70]

[CHINA] " one should disregard the varying minor details, but grasp their essential features " [71]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "But nature, just as she is, cannot be imitated she contains so much that is insignificant and unsuitable, that a selection must be made, but what determines the choice? what is important must be selected, but what is important?" [72]

And in organizing the relevant parts he alters them to the extent necessary to emphasize the meaning he is trying to convey

[CHINA] "One must give the emotional expression of the landscapes by making some parts in them wide open and other parts hidden or screened " [73]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Reality must give the motive, the points to be expressed, the kernel, as I may say, but to work out of it a beautiful animated whole, belongs to the poet

"The artist has a twofold relation to nature, he is at once her master and her slave He is her slave, inasmuch as he must work with earthly things, in order to be understood; but he is her master, inasmuch as he subjects these earthly means to his higher intentions, and renders them subservient " [74]

In this way he humanizes the universe by ordering it

[CHINA] "Among the painters of the world some know how to represent form, but the inherent reason of things can only be grasped by superior scholars (or gentlemen). In Yu-k'o's paintings of bamboos, of stones and decaying trees this reason is certainly to be found Some of them seem as if they were alive, some as if they were dead, some are warped like barren

[69] Kuo Hsi, *op cit*, p 33

[70] Goethe, 'Aufsatze aus den Propylaen," p 36

[71] Ching Hao (10th cent), *Pi Fa Chi*, p 92, in *The Spirit of the Brush*, tr S Sakanishi, pp 82–96

[72] Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit* [1811–33], pp 359–60, in *Samtliche Werke*, XXIV, pp 138–399, tr M S Smith, London, 1908

[73] Tao Chi, *Hua Yu Lu*, p 185

[74] Goethe, quot Eckermann, *Gesprache mit Goethe*, pp 34, 500

and contracted fists, some are tall and slender, vigorous and luxuriant. The roots, the branches, the joints, the leaves, the pointed shoots, the threadlike veins, all exhibit innumerable transformations and are quite alike. But each thing is at its proper place in accordance with nature's creations and satisfied the ideas of men, because it contains the gentleman's spirit."[75]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "What we see in nature is power, devouring power, nothing stationary, everything transitory, a thousand germs destroyed, a thousand born every moment, great and full of meaning, infinitely manifold, beautiful and ugly, good and evil, all existing side by side with equal rights. And art is the exact opposite, it arises from the effort of the individual to maintain himself against the destructive power of all."[76]

(*b*) It socializes the universe. By virtue of the fact that the artist represents what he thinks is important, he gives meaning to—he interprets—the universe.

[CHINA] "An artist should identify himself with the landscape and watch it until its significance is revealed to him."[77]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Nature organizes a living, indifferent being, the artist a dead, but significant being, nature something real, the artist something apparent. The artist must himself add to the work of nature significance, feeling, thought, effect on the mind, in the work of art he will and must find all that already there."[78]

(*c*) It acts as a social control. The artist selects what is important, and importance depends upon the social values of the group.

[WEST GREENLAND ESKIMO] They [the folklore] present a true picture of what is likely to have formed the principal objects of the people's imagination, of what is considered great and delightful on one side, and hateful and dreadful on the other, in human life as well as in nature. They continually picture to us the great struggle for existence, which has caused personal courage and strength to be acknowledged and admired as the first condition of happiness, and *per contra,* the idea of improving and securing the comforts of life by the aid of property is only very scantily developed in them.[79]

Consequently, when the work of art represents that which is important, it reinforces the value system of the artist's group.

[75] Su Shih, *Poems,* p. 57, in Siren, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting,* pp 52–63

[76] Goethe, *Rezensionen in die Frankfurter gelehrten Anzeigen,* p. 336, in *Samtliche Werke,* I, pp 330–402, tr. ed J. E. Spingarn (New York, 1921)

[77] Kuo Hsi, *op. cit.*, p. 35

[78] Goethe, "Aufsatze aus den Propylaen," p. 64

[79] H. J. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* (Edinburgh, 1875), p. 89

[CHINA] "Painting promotes culture and strengthens the principles of right conduct. .

"Loyal and filial men were all represented on the Yun t'ai (Cloud terrace) Brave and meritorious men were entered in the Lin k'o (Chi lin pavilion) The contemplation of good men became a reason to avoid evil, and to look at the evil men was enough to make people turn to the sages of the past The painted records of the old manners and miens became models for exercising virtue The representations of the successes and failures transmitted the events of the past

"Ts'ao Chih [192–232] says 'When one sees pictures of the three kings and the five emperors, one cannot but look at them with respect and veneration, and when one sees pictures of the San Chi (the last rulers of the three dynasties, Hsia, Shan and Chou), one cannot but feel sad When one sees pictures of rebels and unfilial sons, one cannot but grind the teeth When one sees pictures representing men of high principles and wonderful sages, one cannot but forget one's meals When one sees pictures of faithful subjects who died at the call of duty, one cannot but feel exalted When one sees pictures of exiled citizens and expelled sons one cannot help sighing When one sees pictures of vicious men and jealous women, one cannot but look askance. When one sees pictures of obedient empresses and good secondary wives, one cannot but feel the deepest admiration By this we may realize that paintings serve as moral examples or mirrors of conduct' "[80]

[UNITED STATES] In the movie story of mankind, the man who writes to Mother, steps aside for his friend, or places his sweetheart's happiness above his carnal desires is pretty sure to end as the ecstatic bridegroom, the president of the company, or the composer whose genius the audiences at Carnegie Hall acclaim by beating their palms into a pulp The cad who kicks a dog, cheats at cards, betrays a friend, or attempts to seduce a maiden, is headed straight for the Big House, death, and eternal perdition beyond[81]

(*d*) It strengthens group solidarity. In so far as art produces a common affective experience, it unifies the group (10)

[THONGA] . . the war dance is the *gila* . . . the representation of deeds of valour by warriors who have killed an enemy in battle The massed chorus . . is most imposing, but still more deeply does the *gila* impress one by its wildness Look at this elderly man who suddenly detaches himself from the circle, stamping with all his might on the ground His feet beat the earth in cadence, one blow being long, the three following ones short — ∪ ∪ ∪. He goes on, making the ground shake, brandishing his weapons with all his strength, perspiring from his efforts and pronouncing Zulu words which the throng interrupts by wild shoutings, as if to

[80] Chang Yen yuan (9th cent), *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, 1 1, in Siren, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, pp 221–27

[81] L C Rosten, *Hollywood*, p 358

encourage him . Then he returns to his place and the whole army concludes the performance by a kind of whistling zu iiiii prolonged on a high and piercing note, which suddenly descends to a deep and guttural tone i aaaaa . He has hardly resumed his place in the ranks, when a young man springs into the circle, jumping like an antelope, holding his assagai and gesticulating all the while, as if transfixing an invisible enemy His eyes are glaring as if he were a wild beast, and immediately the army intones a song, his song, the one which has been composed to glorify his deed Possibly his return to the ranks will be greeted by another shout I . a Nda-u!—Lion!, comparing him to a lion returning to his forest and which nobody will dare to attack. The encouragement given by the warriors to the *bagili* and their great final cry are called *khuza* or *khunzela*

"At that very moment," says Mankhelu, "the hearts of the young men tremble in their breasts! Their hair stands on end An extraordinary war spirit comes over them all" And everyone having witnessed those performances in the Thonga or Zulu mukhumbi will confess that they are wonderfully impressive It is a mixture of dramatic, epic and lyric poetry, three literary *genres* which are still confounded, the whole being enhanced by a deep, wild music and subject to the laws of a certain artistic style The fighting instincts are excited to the highest pitch by these patriotic choruses and dramatic representations [82]

(*e*) An original work of art enriches the observer's perception This is done in two ways by breaking down categories and by giving the symbols overtones of meaning

First, let us consider the breakdown of categorization

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Poetry strips the veil of familiarity from the world, and lays bear the naked and sleeped beauty " [83]

Chapter III brought out that how we see things is influenced by how we categorize them It is hard for most of us to see what there is in a thing instead of what is customarily expected to be in it

In our society we are taught that the sky is blue and grass green Therefore, when I was an art student it took me some time to learn to see what I had to paint—to realize that the sky could be greenish or grey, had ochre and purple tones, and that a blue sky had many kinds of blue in it

What the original artist does, then is this He represents the uncategorized characteristics of things as well as the categorized, so that by observing his works of art we learn to see things in a new light This holds true of ourselves as well as of the world around us.

[82] H A Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe,* I, pp 437–38
[83] Shelley, *op cit ,* p 139

[WESTERN EUROPE] "To us he [Gogol] was more than a mere writer—he had explained us to ourselves" [84]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "We all pass by these characteristic trifles indifferently, like the blind, as though not seeing them scattered about under our feet But an artist will come, and he will look over them carefully, and he will pick them up And suddenly he will so skillfully turn in the sun a minute bit of life that we shall all cry out 'Oh, my God! But I myself—myself—have seen this with my own eyes Only it simply did not enter my head to turn my close attention upon it'" [85]

Second, there is the question of overtones of meaning

[CHINA] "The ancients called the painters Sages, because they reached by their creative activity the very limits of heaven and earth and made manifest the brightness of the sun and the moon. By moving the brush (made of finest hair) they could represent all the innumerable things, which take their origin in the mind (heart), and unroll within some square inches thousands of *li* so that they may be held in the palm of the hand Both the shifting (stirring) spirit and immovable matter may be rendered by some light touches of ink on the silk either through forms or by suggestion without forms. That is the beauty" [86]

[UNITED STATES] "This was a Poet—it is that
Distills amazing sense
From ordinary meanings,
And attars so immense
From the familiar species
That perished by the door,
We wonder it was not ourselves
Arrested it before.

Of pictures the discloser
The Poet, it is he,
Entitles us by contrast
To ceaseless poverty.
Of portion so unconscious
The robbing could not harm,
Himself, to him, a fortune
Exterior to Time" [87]

Customarily, a symbol stands for the characteristics common to all the members of the associated category Now, everything is actually

[84] I Turgenev, "Letter to P G Viardot, Feb 21, 1852," *Tourgueneff and His French Circle*, ed E Halperine-Kaminsky, tr E M Arnold (New York, 1898), (pp. 23–24) p 23

[85] A Kuprin, *Yama* [1910], tr B G. Guerney (New York, 1932), p 108

[86] Chu Ching-hsuan, *T'ang Ch'ao Ming Hua Lu*, pref, in Siren, *The Chinese on the Art of Painting*, pp 31–35 (T'ang Dynasty = 618–907 A D).

[87] Dickinson, *Poems*, p. 281.

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[87] Dickinson, *Poems*, p. 281.

experienced as something individual and is perceived in terms of our past experiences and the situation we find ourselves in Therefore, in attempting to communicate our experiences we are confronted with this difficulty How are we to communicate the vital richness of the unique fact through symbols which are the lifeless and pale reflections of whole classes of facts? The artist accomplishes this by the way he uses and organizes his symbols

As far as his use of symbols is concerned, you will recall that a symbol stands for a class of associates Let us call this customary relation between symbol and associate a *first order symbolism.* An example is the word "knot" ("an intertwining . of ropes") in the following passage

> [Petruchio's horse has] "a headstall of sheep's leather which, being restrain'd to keep him from stumbling, hath been often burst, and now repaired with knots " [88]

If the symbol is used as a symbol of another symbol, we have a *second order symbolism* Each symbol now has two meanings: that of its own customary associate and that of the symbol with which it is associated Contrast the use of "knot" in the previous example with that in the following passage, where "knot" stands for both "an intertwining of ropes" and "wife and child "

> " . wife and child,
> Those precious motives, those strong knots of love " [89]

Thus, multi-ordered symbols increase the overtones of meaning of a symbol

> [GREECE] "Metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else . It is a great thing, indeed, to make a proper use of these poetical forms, as also of compounds and strange words But the greatest thing by far is to be a master of metaphor It is the one thing that cannot be learnt from others, and it is also a sign of genius, since a good metaphor implies an intuitive perception of the similarity in dissimilars " [90]
>
> [WESTERN EUROPE] "Their language is vitally metaphorical, that is, it marks the before unapprehended relations of things and perpetuates their apprehension, until the words which represent them become, through time, signs for portions or classes of thoughts instead of pictures of integral thoughts, and then if no new poets should arise to create afresh the asso-

[88] Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew,* 3 2 57–59.
[89] Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* 4 3 26–27
[90] Aristotle, *De poetica,* 1457b 6–7, 1459a 4–8

ciations which have been thus disorganised, language will be dead to all the nobler purposes of human intercourse " [91]

The artist can also handle his symbols in another way There is a property of symbols which will be taken up in Chapter XII and can only be mentioned now, namely, ambiguity A symbol stands for a class of associates which is often divided up into more or less independent sub-classes, and the precise sub-class of associates which the symbol stands for in any particular situation is that which makes sense

"*Knot*
I. 1 An intertwining or complication of the parts of one or more ropes
2 Such a tie used or worn as an ornament or adjunct to a dress . .
4 A definite quantity of thread
6 A design or figure formed of crossed lines
7 A flower-bed laid out in a fanciful or intricate design . .
II Figurative applications of I
10 *Something intricate*
11. Something that forms or maintains a union of any kind . . .
12 A bond or obligation .
III *Transf* A hard or firm mass. .
13 A hard lump in an animal body
14 A thickened part or protuberance in the tissue of a plant. . . .
15 A knob or embossed ornamentation
16 A hill or eminence of moderate height .
18 A small group of persons or things .
A bird of the Snipe family " [92]

Now, especially when a symbol is multi-ordered, it may happen that a number of these associated sub-classes can be used meaningfully in a particular situation, so that the situation does not delimit the meaning of the symbol to any one sub-class In that case the word is used ambiguously, i e , it stands for as many different sub-classes as make sense in the situation

Cleopatra [*To an asp, which she applies to her breast*]
Come, thou mortal wretch,
With thy sharp teeth this knot intrinsicate
Of life at once untie [93]

"Consider *knot* 'This knot intrinsicate of life' 'Something to be undone,' 'Something that troubles us until it is undone,' 'Something by which

[91] Shelley, *op cit* , p 111
[92] *New English Dictionary*, ed J A H Murray (Oxford, 1888–1933), *s v* "knot "
[93] Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, 5 2 306–08

all holding-together hangs,' 'The nexus of all meaning' Whether the homophone not enters in here may be thought a doubtful matter I feel it does But consider *intrinsicate* along with knot Shakespeare is bringing together half a dozen meanings from *instrinsic* and *intrinse* 'Familiar,' 'intimate,' 'secret,' 'private,' 'innermost,' 'essential,' 'that which constitutes the very nature and being of a thing'—all the medical and philosophic meanings of his time as well as 'intricate' and 'involved' What the word does is exhausted by no one of these meanings and its force comes from all of them and more "[94]

It follows that the observer does not respond to any single meaning of the symbol "knot," but instead he responds to all that may be relevant in this particular situation Consequently, by using his symbols ambiguously, the artist can communicate the innumerable overtones of meaning which he finds in his subject matter

Regarding the way the artist organizes his symbols, this is based upon the architectonics of the work of art A work of art consists of interacting rather than independent parts Therefore, the observer experiences something in all its many interrelations The significance of this fact can be understood only after a psychological aside

It seems that we learn in many ways,[95] but we usually learn about scientific and dogmatic unity as the result of reasoning Such reasoning involves analysis, which divides up things in order to deal with one characteristic at a time Therefore, not only do these naturalistic and supernatural approaches deal merely with aspects of whole phenomena (data), but even the part they are concerned with is broken up and examined piece by piece rather than its entirety It is true that the pieces are later put together again, nevertheless, if the synthesis is a result of a chain of reasoning, it cannot be experienced as a whole in a single act of apprehension In addition, reasoning proceeds by inference, so that many of the parts of a scientific or dogmatic unity are speculative rather than directly ex-

[94] I A Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (New York, 1936), pp 64–65 By permission of Oxford University Press, New York

[95] Psychology is not yet able to give a satisfactory description of the processes by which animals (including man) learn to adjust, but the consensus seems to be that it can take place by trial and error, reasoning, and insight *Trial and error* is the accidental solution of a problem, the animal blunders into a correct reorganization of the problem situation *Reasoning* is a discursive solution, reorganization is achieved by drawing inferences from past experience *Insight* is a sudden awareness of a solution, the animal attends to an immediate reorganization of the problem situation that is produced by processes of which it is unaware, i e, which take place "subconsciously" or "unconsciously"

perienced. But a work of art does not have these handicaps of discursive reasoning, for its unity can be directly experienced, and as a whole, through insight

[WESTERN EUROPE] "The *Philosopher* therefore, and the *Historian* are they which would win the goale, the one by precept, the other by example. . . . Now doth the peerlesse Poet performe both, for whatsoever the *Philosopher* saith should be done, he gives a perfect picture of it by some one, by whom he presupposeth it was done, so as he coupleth the generall notion with the particuler example A perfect picture I say, for hee yeeldeth to the powers of the minde an image of that whereof the *Philosopher* bestoweth but a wordish description, which doth neither strike, pearce, nor possesse the sight of the soule so much, as that other doth For as in outward things to a man that had neuer scene an *Elephant,* or a *Rinoceros,* who should tell him most exquisitely all their shape, cullour, bignesse, and particuler marks, or of a gorgious pallace an *Architecture,* who declaring the full bewties, might well make the hearer able to repeat as it were by roat all he had heard, yet should never satisfie his inward conceit, with being witnesse to it selfe of a true lively knowledge but the same man, assoon as he might see those beasts wel painted, or the house wel in modell, shuld straightwaies grow without need of any description to a judicial comprehending of them, so no doubt the *Philosopher* with his learned definitions, be it of vertues or vices, matters of publike policy or privat government, replenisheth the memorie with many infallible grounds of wisdom, which notwithstanding lie darke before the imaginative and judging power, if they bee not illuminated or figured forth by the speaking picture of *Poesie* . . . Anger the *Stoikes* said, was a short madnesse let but *Sophocles* bring you *Ajax* on a stage, killing and whipping sheepe and oxen, thinking them the Army of Greekes, with their Chieftaines *Agamemnon,* and *Menelaus* and tell me if you have not a more familiar insight into Anger, then finding in the schoolemen his *Genus* and *Difference*" [96]

To return to the organization of symbols, the artist can, for example, communicate multiple meanings by fusing two or more symbols into a single one in order to symbolize the associates of both at the same time

". . *'slithy'* means 'lithe and slimy' 'Lithe' is the same as 'active' You see it's like a portmanteau—there are two meanings packed up into one word" [97]

In "Jabberwocky" [98] Lewis Carroll was being funny; James Joyce seriously employed the same technique in *Finnegan's Wake*.[99]

[96] Sidney, *op cit*, pp 13–15
[97] C. L Dodgson (Lewis Carroll), *Through the Looking Glass* [1872], p 215
[98] *Ibid* pp 153–55 [99] London, 1939

To sum up, by the use of multi-ordered and ambiguous symbols, and the organization of symbols, the artist can communicate much of the uniqueness and richness of an experience.

[HINDU] "*Dhvani* [suggestion] has traditionally been described by the learned as the soul of poetry . . The meaning is held to be of two kinds, the denotative and the suggestive Of these the latter meaning the critic praises, and this is established as the soul of the *Kavya* [100] Of these, the popular denotative meaning has been well defined by other rhetoricians as possessing of such attributes as similes, etc But, then, there is in the words of the great poets a something suggested, which is quite different from the denotative meaning This is over and above the well-known attributes and shines like loveliness in a woman That meaning alone is the soul of a *Kavya* . . . That (i e , the suggested meaning) cannot be understood by the mere knowledge of the science of words and the science of meanings But this is known only by those who know the real essence of the sense of Kavya That meaning and word capable of manifesting that meaning, these two, the word and the idea, must be known by the great poet with effort As a person, desirous of seeing, tries for a light, so, as an aid, he, bent upon that, tries for the denotative meaning Just as the meaning of the sentence is understood through the aid of the meaning of the word, so the realisation of that thing is preceded by the knowledge of the denotative meaning Just as the meaning of the word, even though it has by its own power given rise to the meaning of the sentence, is not conceived of at the accomplishment of its function, So there shines at once that meaning in the mind of him who is of the same mind, and who, adverse to the denotative meaning, is searching for the real meaning Where an idea or word, having made itself secondary, manifests that meaning, that particular composition is termed by the wise *Dhvani* " [101]

[UNITED STATES] "The word I myself put primarily for the description of them [i e , *Leaves of Grass*] as they stand at last, is the word Suggestiveness I round and finish little, if anything, and could not, consistently with my scheme The reader will always have his or her part to do, just as much as I have had mine I seek less to state or display any theme or thought, and more to bring you, reader, into the atmosphere of the theme or thought —there to pursue your own flight [102]

[100] A composition characterized by lovableness and propriety and having as its essence a meaning which can be appreciated only by the critic and which stands in the relation of the soul to the body,—such a composition is Kavya The meaning such a composition yields is of two kinds, the denotative and the suggestive "—Anandavardhana (9th cent), *Dhvanyalokavrtti*, 1 2, tr K Rama Pisharoti, *Indian Thought*, 9 (1917), pp 279–301, 361–84, 10 (1918), pp 25–48, 193–236

[101] [Anandavardhana], *Dhvanyalokakarika*, 1 1–13 [9th cent ?], tr K Rama Pisharoti, *Indian Thought*, *loc cit*

[102] W. Whitman (1819–1892), *Leaves of Grass*, ed E Holloway (New York, 1929), "A backward glance o'er travel'd roads" (p 531)

(*f*) It may provide a certain amount of wish-fulfillment (11) In many cases, not only does the work of art show ideal architectonics, but it represents an ideal subject as well. This allows the observer to adjust in fantasy, if not in reality, and consequently gives a certain amount of satisfaction to otherwise ungratified motives

[WEST GREENLAND ESKIMO] "There was once a poor orphan boy who lived among a lot of uncharitable men His name was Kagsagsuk, and his foster-mother was a miserable old woman These poor people had a wretched little shed adjoining the house-passage, and they were not allowed to enter the main room Kagsagsuk did not even venture to enter the shed, but lay in the passage, seeking to warm himself among the dogs In the morning, when the men were rousing their sledge-dogs with their whips, they often hit the poor boy as well as the dogs He then would cry out, '*Na-ah! Na ah!*' mocking himself in imitating the dogs. When the men were feasting upon various frozen dishes, such as the hide of the walrus and frozen meat, the little Kagsagsuk used to peep over the threshold, and sometimes the men lifted him up above it, but only by putting their fingers into his nostrils, these accordingly enlarged but otherwise he did not grow at all They would give the poor wretch frozen meat, without allowing him a knife to cut it with, saying his teeth might do instead, and sometimes they pulled out a couple of teeth, complaining of his eating too much His poor foster mother procured him boots and a small beard-spear, in order to enable him to go outside the house and play with the other children, but they would turn him over and roll him in the snow, filling his clothes with it, and treating him most cruelly in various ways the girls sometimes covered him all over with filth Thus the little boy was always tormented and mocked, and did not grow except about the nostrils At length he ventured out among the mountains by himself, choosing solitary places, and meditating how to get strength His foster-mother had taught him how to manage this Once, standing between two high mountains, he called out. 'Lord of strength, come forth! Lord of strength, come to me!' A large animal now appeared in the shape of an *amarok* (now a fabulous animal, originally a wolf), and Kagsagsuk got very terrified, and was on the point of taking to his heels, but the beast soon overtook him and, twisting its tail round his body, threw him down Totally unable to rise, he heard the while a rustling sound, and saw a number of seal-bones, like small toys, falling from his own body The amarok now said 'It is because of these bones that thy growth has been stopped' Again it wound its tail round the boy, and again they fell down, but the little bones were fewer this time, and when the beast threw him down the third time, the last bones fell off The fourth time he did not quite fall, and at the fifth he did not fall at all, but jumped along the ground The amarok now said 'If it be thy wish to become strong and vigorous, thou mayst come every day to me' On his way home, Kagsagsuk felt very much lighter, and could even run home, meanwhile kicking and striking the stones on his way Approaching the house, the girls who nursed the babies met him, and shouted, 'Kagsagsuk

is coming—let us pelt him with mud', and the boys beat him and tormented him as before but he made no opposition, and following his old habits, he went to sleep among the dogs Afterwards, he met the amaiok every day, and always underwent the same process The boy felt stronger every day, and on his way home he kicked the very rocks, and, rolling himself on the ground, made the stones fly about him At last the beast was not able to overthrow him, and then it spoke· 'Now, that will do, human beings will not be able to conquer thee any more Still, thou hast better stick to thy old habits When winter sets in, and the sea is frozen, then is thy time to show thyself, three great bears will then appear, and they shall be killed by thy hand ' That day Kagsagsuk ran all the way back, kicking the stones right and left, as was his wont But at home he went on as usual, and the people tormented him more than ever One day, in the autumn, the Kayakers returned home with a large piece of driftwood, which they only made fast to some large stones on the beach, finding it too heavy to be carried up to the house at once At nightfall, Kagsagsuk said to his mother, 'Let me have thy boots, mother, that I too may go down and have a look at the large piece of timber ' When all had gone to rest, he slipped out of the house, and having reached the beach, and loosened the moorings, he flung the piece of timber on his shoulders and carried it up behind the house, where he buried it deep in the ground In the morning, when the first of the men came out, he cried, 'The driftwood is gone!' and when he was joined by the rest, and they saw the strings cut, they wondered how it could possibly have drifted away, there being neither wind nor tide But an old woman, who happened to go behind the house, cried, 'Just look! here is the spar!' whereat they all rushed to the spot, making a fearful noise, shouting 'Who can have done this? there surely must be a man of extraordinary strength among us!' and the young men all gave themselves great airs, that each might be believed to be the great unknown strong man —the impostors!

"In the beginning of the winter, the housemates of Kagsagsuk ill-treated him even worse than before, but he stuck to his old habits, and did not let them suspect anything At last the sea was quite frozen over, and seal-hunting out of the question But when the days began to lengthen, the men one day came running in to report that three bears were seen climbing an iceberg Nobody, however, ventured to go out and attack them Now was Kagsagsuk's time to be up and doing 'Mother,' he said, 'let me have thy boots, that I too may go out and have a look at the bears!' She did not like it much, but, however, she threw her boots to him, at the same time mocking him, saying, 'Then fetch me a skin for my couch, and another for my coverlet, in return ' He took the boots, fastened his ragged clothes around him, and then was off for the bears Those who were standing outside cried, 'Well, if that is not Kagsagsuk! What can he be about? Kick him away!' and the girls went on, 'He must surely be out of his wits!' But Kagsagsuk came running right through the crowd, as if they had been a shoal of small fish, his heels seemed almost to be touching his neck, while the snow, foaming about, sparkled in rainbow colours He ascended the iceberg by taking hold with his hands, and instantly the largest bear lifted

his paw, but Kagsagsuk turned round to make himself *hard* (viz., invulnerable by charm), and seizing hold of the animal by the fore-paws, flung it against the iceberg, so that the haunches were severed from the body, and then threw it down on the ice to the bystanders, crying, 'This was my first catch, now, flense away and divide!' The others now thought, 'The next bear will be sure to kill him' The former process, however, was repeated, and the beast thrown down on the ice, but the third bear he merely caught hold of by the fore-paws, and, swinging it above his head, he hurled it at the bystanders, crying, 'This fellow behaved shamefully towards me!' and then, smiting another, 'That one treated me still worse!' until they all fled before him, making for the house in great consternation On entering it himself he went straight to his foster-mother with the two bear-skins, crying, 'There is one for thy couch, and another for thy coverlet!' after which he ordered the flesh of the bears to be dressed and cooked Kagsagsuk was now requested to enter the main room, in answer to which request he, as was his wont, only peeped above the threshold, saying, 'I really can't get across, unless someone will lift me up by the nostrils', but nobody else venturing to do so now, his old foster-mother came and lifted him up as he desired All the men had now become very civil to him One would say, 'Step forward', another, 'Come and sit down, friend' 'No, not there where the *ledge* has no cover,' cried another, 'here is a nice seat for Kagsagsuk' But rejecting their offers, he sat down, as usual, on the *side-ledge* Some of them went on, 'We have got boots for Kagsagsuk', and others 'Here are breeches for him!' and the girls rivalled each other in offering to make clothes for him After supper, one of the inmates of the house told a girl to go and fetch some water for 'dear Kagsagsuk' When she had returned and he had taken a drink, he drew her tenderly towards him, praising her for being so smart for fetching water, but, all of a sudden, he squeezed her so hard that the blood rushed out of her mouth But he only remarked, 'Why, I think she is burst!' The parents, however, quite meekly rejoined, 'Never mind, she was good for nothing but fetching water' Later on, when the boys came in, he called out to them, 'What great seal-hunters ye will make!' at the same time seizing hold of them and crushing them to death, others he killed by tearing their limbs asunder But the parents only said, 'It does not signify—he was a good for-nothing, he only played a little at shooting' Thus Kagsagsuk went on attacking and putting to death all the inmates of the house, never stopping until the whole of them had perished by his hand Only the poor people who had been kind to him he spared, and lived with them upon the provisions that had been set by as stores for the winter Taking also the best of the kayaks left, he trained himself to the use of it, at first keeping close to the shore, but after some time he ventured farther out to sea, and soon went south and northwards in his kayak. In the pride of his heart he roamed all over the country to show off his strength, therefore, even nowadays he is known all along the coast, and on many places there are marks of his great deeds still shown, and this is why the history of Kagsagsuk is supposed to be true " [103]

[103] Rink, *Eskimoiske eventyr og sagen,* no 1 (pp 45–51)

[UNITED STATES] "There is no frigate like a book
To take us lands away,
Nor any coursers like a page
Of prancing poetry.

This traverse may the poorest take
Without oppress of toll!
How frugal is the chariot
That bears a human soul!"[104]

Style

From the discussion so far you can see that art varies in the kinds and characteristics of things which are taken as significant enough to be subjects, the way the parts are ordered architectonically, and the craftsmanship used to produce the work of art The distinctive characteristics involved in these processes form *style* (12) In so far as the three factors vary from one artist to another, there are differences in their styles Also, since artistic behavior is merely a special case of behavior in general, and the individual's behavior is a reflection of the customs of his group, the artist is influenced by the people with whom he interacts socially

[WESTERN EUROPE] "In the study of our art, as in the study of all arts, something is the result of *our own* observation of nature, something, and that not a little, the effect of the example of those who have studied the same nature before us, and who have cultivated before us the same art, with diligence and success "[105]

Thus there are also styles of a group ("school"), period, and society

[CHINA] "The fact that the beauties of ancient times had very thin fingers and narrow waists, and that the horses had pointed muzzles and slender bodies, that the pavilions and terraces were towering, and that the garments of the people were wide and trailing, are all owing to the difference in the style of the objects represented, and not at all to the strange ideas of the ancient artists behind those representations "[106]

[UNITED STATES] "While the arts do not create change, they register change

"This is the reason for the appearance of the modern dance The departure of the dance from classical and romantic delineations was not an end in itself, but the means to an end It was not done perversely to

[104] Dickinson, *Poems*, p 46 [105] Reynolds, *op cit*, 14 (p 230)
[106] Chang Yen-yuan (9th cent), *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, 1 4, tr Sakanishi, *The Spirit of the Brush*, pp 78–9

dramatize ugliness, or to strike at sacred tradition—to destroy from sheer inability to become proficient in the technical demands of a classical art The old forms could not give voice to the more fully awakened man They had to undergo metamorphosis—in some cases destruction, to serve as a medium for a time differently organized

"The modern dance, as we know it today, came after the World War The period following the war, demanded forms vital enough for the reborn man to inhabit Because of the revitalized consciousness came an alteration in movement—the medium of dance, as tone is medium Out of this came a different use of the body as an instrument, as the violin is an instrument Body is the basic instrument, intuitive, instinctive As a result an entirely contemporary set of technics was evolved While it had points of similarity with the old, that was because it was based on the innate co ordination of the body which is timeless With this enhanced language, and the more vitally organized instrument, the body, we are prepared for a deep, stirring creative communication." [107]

Categorization of the arts

It has been argued that anything, the experience of which is intrinsically satisfying, is an art object However, every society categorizes some things as artistic and others as not

[RWALA BEDOUINS] [In the preparation of coffee a slave] wipes a wooden mortar . . . decorated with carvings, shakes . . . into it the cold [freshly roasted] beans freed from their husks, picks up with his right hand or with both hands a long wooden pestle . . . and, holding the mortar between his knees, pounds the coffee with measured and dignified strokes After every five or six blows upon the beans he knocks the edge of the pestle against the sides of the mortar in order to get rid of the coffee clinging to it The noise made by the mortar and pestle . . . is heard everywhere in the vicinity, and the people give their opinion as to whether these sounds are regular and artistic or not The pounding of coffee is an art, and musical ability is judged according to the way in which it is done [108]

[GREECE] " . . . the Muses . . . dwell on Olympus, nine daughters begotten by great Zeus, Clio [History] and Euterpe [Music], Thaleia [Comedy and Bucolic Poetry], Melpomene [Tragedy] and Terpsichore [Dance and Choral Song], and Erato [Lyric and Erotic Poetry] and Polyhymnia [Oratory and Sacred Lyric] and Urania [Astronomy] and Calliope [Eloquence and Heroic Poetry] " [109]

[CHINA] "By art is meant ritual, music, archery, charioteering, calligraphy, and numbers Calligraphy is a branch of painting " [110]

107 Graham, *op cit*, p 85
108 Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, p 101
109 Hesiod, *Theogonia*, 75–79
110 Kuo Jo-hsu (11th cent), "Introduction," p 27, in Kuo Hsi, *op cit*

[UNITED STATES] "*Fine arts* Painting, drawing, architecture, and sculpture (these four being often called the *arts of design*), poetry, music, dancing, and dramatic art,—sometimes restricted to the four first named" [111]

Comment

Comment is the discussion of a work of art There are two kinds of comment, hermeneutics and criticism

Hermeneutics is the explanation of a work of art Hermeneutics does not develop in reference to representational works of art in a homogeneous culture The artist represents exactly what he wants to in his work of art, and presumably if he could do better in some other medium he would have done so in the first place

> [UNITED STATES] "I certainly will not explain my work The explanation lies in the work itself It is my last word" [112]
>
> "If you can write the story of your dance, it is a literary thing but not dancing" [113]

As for someone else, if he can give a clearer representation, most likely he is a better artist Hermeneutics is found in societies which have works of art from other cultures,[114] from other periods within the same culture,[115] or contemporaneous sub-cultures within a heterogeneous culture [116]

> [WESTERN EUROPE] Shakespeare, *Arden Edition,* ed W J Craig and R H Case, London, 1904–11

Hermeneutics is either analytic or impressionistic *Analytic hermeneutics* is explanation by an analysis of the facts which are found in the work of art It was shown previously that the interpretation of representational art depends upon the use of the same symbolism as the artist But if the artist comes from a different contemporaneous sub-culture, a different period, or a different culture, the chances are that his symbolism is not the same as that of the spectator In such a case the spectator cannot interpret the work of art. Therefore

111 *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* (Springfield, Mass , 1934, 2nd ed), *s v* "Fine arts"

112 J Epstein, *The Sculptor Speaks,* ed A L Haskell (New York, 1932), p 61

113 Graham, *op cit* , p 102

114 [WESTERN EUROPE] Lucretius, *De rerum natura,* ed H A J Munro (Cambridge, 1891, 4th ed)

115 [ROME] Servius (4th–5th cents A D), *In Vergilii carmina commentarii,* ed G Thilo and H Hagen (Leipzig, 1881–1902)

116 S Gilbert, *James Joyce's Ulysses* (New York, 1930)

the purpose of analytic heremeneutics is to provide the spectator with enough knowledge to permit him to interpret the symbols in the work of art Hermeneutics answers such general questions as What are the relevant elements in the culture of the artist's group (society, period, and school)? What are the relevant elements in the artist's personality? Then it proceeds to these specific questions. What is the artist trying to do in the work of art? How does he do it?

[WESTERN EUROPE] "If we want to get only half way to the proper understanding of a man, we must, before all things, study the age in which he lived, perhaps completely ignoring him the while, but finding, on our return to him, that we are fully satisfied with his conversation " [117]

"Constructive criticism . asks' What did the author set out to do? Was his plan reasonable and sensible, and how far did he succeed in carrying it out?" [118]

However, analytic hermeneutics is not entirely satisfactory It was stated above that the representational work of art is an architectonic symbol, and we saw that such a symbol achieves its effect by the particular relations which exist between its parts But analysis necessarily destroys the organization Therefore analytic hermeneutics gives us

. the dismembered limbs of the poet [119]

rather than a whole work of art

[UNITED STATES] "To tell the beauty would decrease,
To state the Spell demean,
There is a syllableless sea
Of which it is the sign.

My will endeavours for its word
And fails, but entertains
A rapture as of legacies—
Of introspective mines " [120]

This is where *impressionistic hermeneutics* comes in. It attempts to elicit the proper responses to an architectonic symbol belonging

[117] Goethe, "Letter to C F Zelter, Aug 9, 1828," *Samtliche Werke*, XL, (pp 99–101) p 100, tr A D Coleridge (London, 1887)

[118] Goethe, "Graf Carmagnola noch einmal," p 157, in *Samtliche Werke*, XXXV, pp 153–58, tr ed J E Spingarn (New York, 1921)

[119] Horace (65–8 B C), *Sermones*, 1 4 62, in *Carmina*, ed F Vollmer (Leipzig, Teubner, 1907, ed mai)

[120] Dickinson, *Poems*, p 266

to a strange symbolism, by means of another representational work of art, but this time one which employs the symbolism of the observer Such a piece of impressionistic hermeneutics gives him knowledge through insight rather than reasoning

[WESTERN EUROPE] " . the best sort of criticism, the imaginative criticism, that criticism which is itself a kind of construction, or creation, as it penetrates, through a given literary or artistic product, into the mental and inner constitution of the producer, shaping his work " [121]

Criticism is evaluation of a work of art in terms of the value system of the critic's group

[ROME] "To point out the merits, and if it so happen, the faults, is the properest of all things " [122]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " . . my own definition of criticism a *disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world* " [123]

Criticism is a social control, for it praises those works of art which are in agreement with the social values, and disparages those which are not In this way it reinforces the values of the group

ESTHETIC VALUE

Enjoyment is play value It is tested by seeing the extent to which an action itself gives satisfaction

Beauty is architectonic value It is validated by observing the satisfaction which results from making a response to the art object

[HINDU] "Weakness or thickness of delineation, want of articulation, improper juxtaposition of colours are said to be defects of painting Proper position, proportion and spacing, gracefulness and articulation, resemblance, decrease and increase i e , foreshortening—these are known as the eight good qualities of painting Painting which has not the proper position, devoid of the appropriate *rasa* [flavor], empty to look at, hazy with darkness and devoid of life-movement (chetana)—is said to be inexpressive. One that seems as if dancing by its posture or appears to look frightened, laughing or graceful, thereby appears as if endowed with life, as if breathing . ." [124]

[121] W Pater (1839–1894), *Essays from "The Guardian"* (London, 1901), p 29 Pater's own works are excellent examples of impressionistic hermeneutics

[122] Quintilian (1st cent A D), *Institutio orationis*, ed L Radermacher (Leipzig, 1907–35), 2 5 5, *vide ibid* , 2 5 5–9

[123] Arnold, "The function of criticism at the present time," p 42, *vide ibid* , pp 18, 20, 40, in *Works*, III, pp 1–44

[124] *Visnudharmottara*, 3 43

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . all things in proportion as they are better measured, formed, and ordered, are assuredly good in a higher degree, but in proportion as they are measured, formed, and ordered in an inferior degree, are they the less good " [125]

Greatness is representational value, and is attributed to works of art which give the observer insight into the subject matter represented. It is tested by finding out how profound the work of art is Two questions are involved here

(*a*) Has the artist represented the essential characteristics of the subject matter so that with his interpretation you can understand similar subject matter in other times and places, or does he represent superficial characteristics that are only applicable to the subject matter of his own time and place?

[GREECE] "In general, consider those examples of sublimity to be fine and genuine which please all and always For when men of different pursuits, lives, ambitions, ages, languages, hold identical views on one and the same subject, then that verdict which results, so to speak, from a concert of discordant elements makes our faith in the object of admiration strong and unassailable " [126]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Does Homer interest us now, because he wrote of what passed beyond his native Greece, and two centuries before he was born, or because he wrote what passed in God's world, and in the heart of man, which is the same after thirty centuries? Let our poets look to this is their feeling really finer, truer, and their vision deeper than that of other men,—they have nothing to fear, even from the humblest subject, is it not so,—they have nothing to hope, but an ephemeral favour, even from the highest " [127]

(*b*) Does the artist represent the subject matter in all the richness of its meaning or only one aspect of it?

[GREECE] "For, as if instinctively, our soul is uplifted by the true sublime, it takes a proud flight, and is filled with joy and vaunting, as though it had itself produced what it has heard When, therefore, a thing is heard repeatedly by a man of intelligence, who is well versed in literature, and its effect is not to dispose the soul to high thoughts, and it does not leave in the mind more food for reflexion than the words seem to convey, but falls, if examined carefully through and through, into disesteem, it cannot rank as true sublimity because it does not survive a first hearing For that is really great which bears a repeated examination, and which it is diffi-

125 Augustine, *De natura boni* [405], 3 in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 25, pp 853–89, tr A H Newman (Buffalo, 1887)

126 [*Longinus*], *De sublimitate*, 7 4

127 Carlyle, "Burns [1828]," p 271, in *Works*, XXVI, pp 258–318

cult or rather impossible to withstand, and the memory of which is strong and hard to efface " [128]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "A true work of art, like a true work of nature, never ceases to open boundlessly before the mind We examine,—we are impressed with it,—it produces its effect, but it can never be all comprehended, still less can its essence, its value, be expressed in words " [129]

"The highest achievement possible to a man is the full consciousness of his own feelings and thoughts, for this gives him the means of knowing intimately the hearts of others Now there are men who are born with a natural talent for this and who cultivate it by experience towards practical ends From this talent springs the ability to profit in a higher sense by the world and its opportunities Now the poet is born with the same talent, only he cultivates it not for his immediate worldly purposes but for a loftier spiritual and universal purpose If we call Shakespeare one of the greatest poets, we mean that few have perceived the world as accurately as he, that few who have expressed their inner contemplation of it have given the reader deeper insight into its meaning and consciousness " [130]

Historical References

(1) "There are some things, then, which are to be enjoyed, others which are to be used Those things which are objects of enjoyment make us happy Those things which are objects of use assist, and (so to speak) support us in our efforts after happiness, so that we can attain the things that make us happy and rest in them . .

"For to enjoy a thing is to rest with satisfaction in it for its own sake To use, on the other hand, is to employ whatever means are at one's disposal to obtain what one desires "—Augustine, *De doctrina christiana,* 1 3 3, 1 4 4, in *Opera omnia,* ed Benedictines of St Maur (*Patrologia Latina,* 32–47) (Paris, 1841), *PL,* 34, cols 15–122, tr J F Shaw (Buffalo, 1887)

(2) "The peace of all things is the tranquility of order Order is the distribution which allots things equal and unequal, each to its own place " —Augustine, *De civitate dei* [426], ed J E C. Welldon (London, 1924), 19 13 1, tr M Dod (Buffalo, 1887)

(3) "I marked and perceived that in bodies themselves there was a beauty from their forming a kind of whole, and another from mutual fitness "—Augustine, *Confessiones* [400], ed J Gibb & W Montgomery (Cambridge, 1908), 4 13 20, tr J G Pilkington (Buffalo, 1886)

" an harmony, and, as it were, a mutual peace among all its parts " —Augustine, *De civitate dei,* 5 11.

(4) In this way, the beauty of all things is in a manner configured, as it

[128] [*Longinus*], *op cit*, 6 2–3

[129] Goethe, "Aufsatze aus den Propylaen," p 45

[130] Goethe, "Shakespeare und kein Ende!" pp 44–45, in *Samtliche Werke,* XXVI, pp 44–45, tr ed J E Spingarn (New York, 1921)

were, from antitheses, that is, from opposites· this is pleasing to us even in discourse"—Augustine, *De ordine*, 1 7 8

(5) ". beauty . . is constituted . by proportion and arrangement"—Augustine, *De civitate dei*, 11 22.

(6) " all bodily beauty consists in the proportion of the parts, together with a certain agreeableness of color Where there is no proportion, the eye is offended, either because there is something wanting, or too small, or too large"—*Ibid*, 22 19 2

(7) " . the desire for amusement, no less than instruction, is irrepressible in the human breast . . . the love of the beautiful, for its own sake simply, is no more to be stifled than the propensity of the earth to put forth flowers in spring"—M Fuller, "Entertainments of the past winter," *Dial* 3 (1842–43), (pp 46–72) p 46

(8) "Amidst the arts which man has occasion to practise for the supply of his necessities, or the uses of animal life, and amidst the researches in which he is engaged to obtain the knowledge of a system, of which he himself is a part, and in which he is so deeply concerned, he is also disposed to invent and to fabricate for himself works in which he would give scope to his faculties, and enjoy the immediate fruits of his own ingenuity, in its mere application of exercise . Even where he has in view to obtain some purpose of mere animal life, he often exceeds what this object alone would suggest He would adorn what is useful, and accomplish a form, of which the effect, though conjoined with the supply of his necessities or accommodations, is very different from what these purposes alone would require"—A Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science*, I, pp 285–86, cf p 243

(9) G Plekhanov, *Art and Society*, tr P Leitner *et al* (New York, 1936)

(10) "In the heat of the [mass] dance the several participants are fused together as into a single being, which is stirred and moved as by one feeling During the dance they are in a condition of complete social unification, and the dancing group feels and acts like a single organism *The social significance of the primitive dance lies precisely in this effect of social unification*"—E Grosse, *Die Anfange der Kunst*, p 219

(11) [WESTERN EUROPE] "Nature never set foorth the earth in so rich Tapistry as diverse Poets have done, neither with pleasaunt rivers, fruitfull trees, sweete smelling flowers, nor whatsoever els may make the too much loved earth more lovely her world is brasen, the Poets only deliver a golden"—P Sidney, *Defence of Poesie*, p 8

(12) "It is well agreed that what is called *creation* in the great artists is nothing but a special manner possessed by each one in his seeing, coordinating, and rendering of nature"—E Delacroix, *Journal*, III, p 222

X

THE MYSTICAL WORLD VIEW

Mysticism is the approach which achieves adjustment by internally changing an individual's experiences, rather than modifying the environment itself in order to produce the change.

MYSTICAL THEORY

Limitations of the other approaches

The problem of man's adjustment is to satisfy his motives, and from this point of view all the approaches we have examined so far —naturalism, supernaturalism, and estheticism—have a common failing they provide a partial adjustment only In the first place, consider the stuff of which such approaches are made. A phenomenon is experienced as a complex of characteristics, but each of these approaches deals with those properties which are relevant to its frame of reference and ignores the rest Therefore, it concerns itself with one aspect rather than the whole of reality Secondly, there is the matter of how the elements are organized within the approach Here naturalism and supernaturalism are more vulnerable than estheticism because, as shown in the preceding chapter, discursive reasoning does not produce a unity that can be experienced directly But, in turn, a representational work of art does not establish unity in the subject matter it symbolizes, it merely infers that the unity found in the work of art also exists in its subject matter To sum up, the three approaches segmentalize experience and at best give us knowledge about (*wissen*) a unity in the world, rather than knowledge of (*kennen*) it (1)

Since this is so, the three approaches cannot provide a complete adjustment. For they allow man to adjust only to a part of his environment at any one time, and as a corollary, to satisfy but some of the motives which exist at the time.

[WESTERN EUROPE] "More and more mankind will discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us Without poetry, our science will appear incomplete, and most of what now passes with us for religion and philosophy will be replaced by poetry" [1]

Mysticism

Mysticism, on the other hand, both orders the characteristics of all the phenomena that are experienced at one time and satisfies all the motives which the individual has at the time. This is done by organizing all immediate experience in terms of whatever has highest value

Hume showed that according to immediate experience we "are nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions, which succeed each other with an inconceivable rapidity, and are in a perpetual flux and movement" [2] Now, stop and examine what you are experiencing at this point For instance, I am sitting at my desk and thinking of what to write, but at the same time, I can hear people speaking outside my office, the click of a typewriter down the hall, and the drone of an airplane overhead, out of the corner of my eye I see books on the shelves and the notes at the corner of my desk, I feel the strain of my jacket across the shoulders and the pressure of my trousers on the abdomen, and so on In fine, there are discordant elements in my immediate experience

[HINDU] "Usually the self takes the same form as the fluctuations of mind stuff The fluctuations are of five kinds and are hindered or unhindered Sources-of-valid ideas and misconceptions and predicate-relations and sleep and memory Sources-of valid-ideas are perception and inference and verbal-communication Misconception is an erroneous idea not based on that form in respect of which the misconception is entertained The predicate-relation is without any corresponding perceptible object and follows as a result of perception or of words Sleep is a fluctuation of mind-stuff supported by the cause of the transient negation of the waking and the dreaming fluctuations Memory is not-adding-surreptitiously to a once experienced object" [3]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "As the understanding gives no help, neither much nor little, in the matters put before the soul, they never rest anywhere, but hurry to and fro, like nothing else but gnats at night, troublesome and unquiet, and so they go about from one subject to another

[1] M Arnold, "The study of poetry," p 2, in *Works*, IV, pp 1–41

[2] D Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, I 4 6 (p 252)

[3] Patanjali (4th–5th cents A D), *Yogasutra*, tr J H Woods (*Harvard Oriental Series*, 17) (Cambridge, Mass , 1914), I 4–11 Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harvard University Press

"This comparison seems to me to be singularly to the purpose, for the memory and the imagination, though they have no power to do any harm, are very troublesome." [4]

Mysticism, through insight, organizes all the elements of immediate experience into a unity. This state is called *rapture*. It has the following effects: (*a*) All the properties of all the phenomena which are experienced at the time are included.

[HINDU] "In this concentrated mind-stuff the insight is truth-bearing. Has another object than the insight resulting from things heard or from inferences, inasmuch as its intended-object is a particular. The subliminal-impression produced by this super-reflective balanced-state is hostile to other subliminal-impressions. When this subliminal-impression also is restricted, since all is restricted, the yogin gains seedless concentration." [5]

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". . . it [*is*] . . . a union of all the faculties." [6]

(*b*) Inasmuch as the elements are unified by insight, the entire unity is experienced as an integrated whole in a single act of apprehension.

[WINNEBAGO] "As I prayed I was aware of something above me and there He was, He to whom I was speaking, God. That which we call the soul, that it is which is God. This is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker, God, is a spirit and He it was I felt and saw. At least this is what I learned. I instantly became their spirit, I was then spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of I immediately knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts were. Then I thought of a certain place far away, and immediately I was there. I was my thought." [7]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "In mystical theology . . . the understanding ceases from its acts, because God suspends it. . . . when our Lord suspends that understanding, and makes it cease from its acts, He puts before it that which astonishes and occupies it: so that, without making any reflections, it shall comprehend in a moment more than we could comprehend in many years with all the efforts in the world." [8]

Only in rapture is the full complexity of experience reduced to a unity which is directly, immediately, and vividly experienced in the same way that we experience the redness of a rose.

[HINDU] "He reaches the highest oneness." [9]

[4] Teresa, *Vida*, 17.10–11
[5] Patanjali, *Yogasutra*, 1.48–51
[6] Teresa, *op. cit.*, 18.2
[7] Crashing Thunder, *Autobiography*, p. 190
[8] Teresa, *op. cit.*, 12.8
[9] *Mundakopanisad* [4th cent. B.C.], 3.1.3, in *Upanisad*

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Truly now we have arrived in the very vision and the contemplation of the truth a certain place of abiding What, shall I say, are the joys, what is the enjoyment of the Supreme and true Good, the breathing of what peace and what eternity? But in contemplating the truth, from what side soever one can contemplate it, so great is the joy, so great the purity, the sincerity, undoubting trust in the reality of things that one may think that he has not at any time known anything else, when he did appear to himself to know and then the soul entire is not impeded from full allegiance to the full truth" [10]

In rapture there is such a complete fusion of the elements in immediate experience that the individual loses all awareness of self and environment, of space and time.

[HINDU] "*As a result of this there arises the deeper-knowledge of two* equivalent things which cannot be distinctly qualified in species or characteristic-mark or point-of-space The intuitive knowledge proceeding from discrimination is a deliverer, has all things as its object, and has all times for its object, and is an inclusive whole without sequence When the purity of the sattva and of the Self are equal there is Isolation" [11]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I am thinking of what the soul was then doing Our Lord said to me It undoes itself utterly, My daughter, in order that it may give itself more and more to Me it is not itself that then lives, it is I" [12]

" it is extremely difficult to know how long, because the senses are in suspense" [13]

The discriminating of self from the environment is a product of discordant experiences, some are referred to the locus "self" and others to that of "not-self" [14] (2) As for space and time, they are a means of relating different things When all the elements in immediate experience are merged there are no discordances, so that the distinction between self and environment, and hence of space and time, are lost.

Obliterating the awareness of self as opposed to environment has one further consequence. Recall that motivation impels restoring the equilibrium within an organism through interaction between the organism and its environment Now, in rapture there is

[10] Augustine, *De quantitate animae* [387–88], 33 76, in *Patrologia Latina*, 32, cols 1033–80, tr F E. Tourscher (Philadelphia, 1933)

[11] Patanjali, *Yogasutra*, 3 53–55

[12] Teresa, *op cit*, 18 18 [13] Teresa, *op cit*, 18 16

[14] The best proof of this is found in schizophrenia, where the individual either rejects discordant parts of his personality and projects them into his conception of his environment, or incorporates harmonious parts of the environment into his conception of his self

a perfect equilibrium, and organism and environment are so completely merged that there no longer is any distinction between them, therefore all the motives which exist at the time are satisfied.

[HINDU] "This person, when embraced by the intelligent Self, knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within This indeed is his true form, in which his wishes are fulfilled, in which the self only is his wish, in which no wish is left,—free from any sorrow" [15]

To sum up, life ordinarily seems to be a continual struggle to build up an integrated personality out of diverse and transient experiences, and to maintain the integrity of that personality against a hostile environment. But there are temporary periods of respite.

[WESTERN EUROPE] ". this true ease
This healing peace,
For this taste of living glory" [16]

Sometimes, just at the time a man is in the act of satisfying his most important motive, all his immediate experience suddenly merges with this gratification

[HINDU] " alone enveloping everything" [17]

His reaction is *ecstasy,* and the experience is later recalled as *beatitude*

[HINDU] "Only at times when the Tathagata, by not attending to any features of things, by the cessation of feelings one and all, attains and abides in that mental concentration which is featureless, only at such times, Ananda, is the Tathagata more at ease" [18]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "O Nectar! O Delicious Stream!
O ravishing and only Pleasure! Where
Shall such another Theme
Inspire my Tongue with Joys, or please mine Ear!
Abridgement of Delights!
And Queen of Sights!
O Mine of Rarities! O Kingdom Wide!" [19]

[15] *Brhadaranyakopanisad* [*ante* 500 B C], 4 3 21, in *Upanisad*

[16] H Vaughan (1622–1695), *The Feast,* 55–57, in *Works,* ed L C Martin, Oxford, 1914

[17] *Svetasvataropanisad* [4th cent B C ?], 4 16, in *Upanisad*

[18] *Tipitaka, Sutta-pitaka, Samyutta-nikaya,* 17 1 9 [5th cent B C ?], tr C A F R Davids and F L Woodward (Pali Text Society, *Translation Series,* 7, 10, 13–14, 16), London, 1917–30 *Idem,* in *Digha nikaya,* 16 2 25, tr T W R and C A F R Davids (*Sacred Books of the Buddhists,* 2–4), London, 1899–1921

[19] T Traherne (1637?–1674), "Love," 1, in *Poetical Works,* ed G I Wade, London, 1932

The condition and effects of rapture are extraordinary enough for many people to think of it as supernatural, and since it involves absorption of all experience into whatever is conceived of as the highest good, there need be no wonder that it is often interpreted as becoming one with a supreme being or universal spirit

[WESTERN EUROPE] "What I undertake to explain is that which the soul feels when it is in the divine union. It is plain enough what union is—two distinct things becoming one All I am able to say is, that the soul is represented as being close to God, and that there abides a conviction thereof so certain and strong, that it cannot possibly help believing so . at that moment the whole soul is occupied in loving Him whom the understanding has toiled to know, and it loves what it has not comprehended, and rejoices in what it could not have rejoiced in so well, if it had not lost itself, in order, as I am saying, to gain itself the more " [20]

However, I think that the data in this chapter prove that the heart of the mystical approach is the unifying of all immediate experience around the highest good (*summum bonum*), irrespective of what that good may be, and that any interpretation of the resulting ecstasy as becoming one with a spirit is simply the rationalization of those mystics to whom some spirit is that highest good

MYSTICAL PRACTICE

In mysticism man adjusts by rapture, and when not in this state he lives by recalling it

[WESTERN EUROPE] "There are seconds—they come five or six at a time—when you suddenly feel the presence of the eternal harmony perfectly attained . This feeling is clear and unmistakable, it's as though you apprehend all nature and suddenly say, "Yes, that's right" . it's not being deeply moved, but simply joy You don't forgive anything because there is no more need of forgiveness It's not that you love—oh, there's something in it higher than love—what's most awful is that it's terribly clear and such joy If it lasted more than five seconds, the soul could not endure it and must perish In those five seconds I live through a lifetime, and I'd give my whole life for them, because they are worth it " [21]

Mystical practice, then, is the customary means by which rapture is achieved Any technique which fuses all the elements in immediate experience can be used

[20] Teresa, *op cit*, 18 5, 19, 22 12

[21] F Dostoevsky, *The Possessed* [1871], p 554, in *Novels,* tr C Garnett, New York, 1912–20

One form of mystical practice is concentration. Attention is focused on whatever is of highest value, while discordant elements are completely excluded from awareness

[HINDU] "Yoga is the restriction of the fluctuations of mind-stuff Then the Seer, that is, the Self, abides in himself At other times it, the Self, takes the same form as the fluctuations of mind-stuff The restriction of them is by means of practice and passionlessness Practice is repeated exertion to the end that the mind-stuff shall have permanence in this restricted state But this practice becomes confirmed when it has been cultivated for a long time and uninterruptedly and with earnest attention Passionlessness is the consciousness of being master on the part of one who has rid himself of the thirst for either seen or revealed objects This passionlessness is highest when discernment of the Self results in thirstlessness for qualities and not merely for objects

"Concentration becomes conscious of its object by assuming forms either of deliberation upon coarse objects or of reflection upon subtile objects or of the joy of the feeling-of-personality The other, concentration which is not conscious of objects, consists of subliminal-impressions only after objects have merged, and follows upon that practice which effects the cessation of fluctuations His mastery extends from the smallest atom to the greatest magnitude The mind stuff from which, as from a precious gem, fluctuations have dwindled away, reaches the balanced-state, which, in the case of the knower or of the process-of-knowing or of the object-to-be-known, is in the state of resting upon one of these three Of these balanced states the state-balanced with deliberation is confused by reason of predicate-relations between words and intended-objects and ideas When the memory is quite purified, that balanced-state—which is, as it were, empty of itself and which brightens into conscious knowledge as the intended-object and nothing more—is super-deliberative By this same balanced state the reflective and the super-reflective balanced-states are also explained The subtile object also terminates in unresoluble-primary-matter These same balanced-states are the seeded concentration When there is the clearness of the super-reflective balanced-state, the yogin gains internal undisturbed calm " [22]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I shall . explain, in some measure, the four degrees of prayer to which our Lord, of His goodness, has occasionally raised my soul [1] It is necessary for beginners to accustom themselves to disregard what they hear or see, and to put it away from them during the time of prayer, they must be alone, and in retirement think over their past life . [2] Herein the soul begins to be recollected, it is now touching on the supernatural—for it never could by any efforts of its own attain to this . . [3] It is a sleep of the powers of the soul, which are not wholly lost, nor yet understanding how they are at work The pleasure, sweetness, and delight are incomparably greater than in the former state of prayer, and the reason is, that the waters of grace have risen up to the neck of the

[22] Patanjali, *op cit*, I 2–4, 12–18, 40–47

soul, so that it can neither advance nor retreat—nor does it know how to do so, it seeks only the fruition of exceeding bliss It is like a dying man with the candle in his hand, on the point of dying the death desired It is rejoicing in this agony with unutterable joy, to me it seems to be nothing else but a death, as it were, to all the things of this world, and a fruition of God I know of no other words whereby to describe it or to explain it, neither does the soul then know what to do,—for it knows not whether to speak or be silent, whether it should laugh or weep It is a glorious folly, a heavenly madness, wherein true wisdom is acquired, and to the soul a kind of fruition most full of delight . [4] In this the fourth state there is no sense of anything, only fruition, without understanding what that is the fruition of which is granted It is understood that the fruition is of a certain good containing in itself all the good together at once, but this good is not comprehended The senses are all occupied in this fruition in such a way that not one of them is at liberty, so as to be able to attend to anything else, whether outward or inward " [23]

Weakening the body by fasting, exposure, disease, etc , may produce a physiological condition favorable for rapture (3)

[WESTERN EUROPE] "He remembered among other things that he always had one minute just before the epileptic fit (if it came on while he was awake), when suddenly in the midst of sadness, spiritual darkness and oppression, there seemed at moments a flash of light in his brain, and with extraordinary impetus all his vital forces suddenly began working at their highest tension The sense of life, the consciousness of self, were multiplied ten times at these moments which passes like a flash of lightning His mind and his heart were flooded with extraordinary light, all his uneasiness, all his doubts, all his anxieties were relieved at once, they were all merged in a lofty calm, full of serene, harmonious joy and hope But these moments, these flashes, were only the prelude of that final second (it was never more than a second) with which the fit began That second was, of course, unendurable Thinking of that moment later, when he was all right again, he often said to himself that all these gleams and flashes of the highest sensation of life and self-consciousness, and therefore also of the highest form of existence, were nothing but disease, the interruption of the normal condition, and if so, it was not at all the highest form of being, but on the contrary must be reckoned the lowest And yet he came at last to an extremely paradoxical conclusion 'What if it is disease?' he decided at last 'What does it matter that it is an abnormal intensity, if the result, if the minute of sensation, remembered and analysed afterwards in health, turns out to be the acme of harmony and beauty, and gives a feeling, unknown and undivined till then, of completeness, of proportion, of reconciliation, and of ecstatic devotional merging in the highest synthesis of life? at that moment I seem somehow to understand the extraordinary saying that *there shall be no more time* ' " [24]

[23] Teresa, *op cit*, 11 12–13, 14 2, 16 1, 18 2
[24] Dostoevsky, *The Idiot* [1868–69], pp 224–25, in *Novels*, II.

Finally, rapture can be chemically induced.

[DELAWARE] "Peyote [the narcotic part of certain cacti] cures sickness and gives one a clear mind so that he can study God and the world."

"Peyote should not be eaten for visions. The visions are the result of the effect of Peyote on the body, but if you put your mind on God no visions come to disturb you. Then you really know Peyote. Think about God first, then talk to Peyote. Say:

"'I don't come to the meetings to get visions, to see things, to hear things. I come here to get well, to pray, to make my people well. Help me.'"

"Now this is the best way to use Peyote. Before you go to the meeting, set your mind on a good purpose. Concentrate your thoughts on God. If you do, you will see him.

"Peyote clears the mind. It takes away worry. It makes you see things in the right light."[25]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I took it [opium], and in an hour, O heavens! what a revulsion! what a resurrection, from its lowest depths, of the inner spirit! what an apocalypse of the world within me! That my pains had vanished was now a trifle in my eyes, this negative effect was swallowed up in the immensity of those positive effects which had opened before me, in the abyss of divine enjoyment thus suddenly revealed. Here was a panacea, a φάρμακον νηπενθές [pain and sorrow banishing drug] for all human woes, here was the secret of happiness, about which philosophers had disputed for so many ages, at once discovered, happiness might now be bought for a penny, and carried in the waistcoat-pocket, portable ecstasies might be had corked up in a pint-bottle, and peace of mind could be sent down by the mail. . . . whereas wine disorders the mental faculties, opium, on the contrary (if taken in a proper manner), introduces amongst them the most exquisite order, legislation, and harmony. . . . communicated serenity and equipoise to all the faculties, active or passive, and, with respect to the temper and moral feelings in general, it gives simply that sort of vital warmth which is approved by the judgement, and which would probably always accompany a bodily constitution of primeval or antediluvian health.

". . . For it seemed to me as if then first I stood at a distance aloof from the uproar of life, as if the tumult, the fever, and the strife, were suspended, a respite were granted from the secret burdens of the heart, —some sabbath of repose, some resting from human labours. Here were the hopes which blossom in the paths of life, reconciled with the peace which is in the grave, motions of the intellect as unwearied as the heavens, yet for all anxieties a halcyon calm, tranquillity that seemed no product of inertia, but as if resulting from mighty and equal antagonisms, infinite activities, infinite repose."[26]

[25] V. Petrullo, *The Diabolic Root* (Philadelphia, 1934), pp. 66–68.

[26] T. DeQuincey, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* [1821], pp. 381, 383, 395, in *Collected Writings*, ed. D. Masson (London, 1897), III, pp. 207–449.

BLISS

Bliss is mystical value A thing is blissful if it can be used in making a mystical adjustment

Substantiation is testing the value of anything by trying to use it mystically

Historical References

(1) "We call that clear knowledge which comes, not from our being convinced by reasons, but from our feeling and enjoying the thing itself, and it surpasses the others by far."—B Spinoza, *Korte verhandeling van god, de mensch en des zelfs welstand,* 2 2 (p 55); in *Opera,* I, pp 1–121, tr A Wolf (London, 1910)

(2) " there is always a perceived relation between the self which wills and the obstacle which resists—such being the origin and the ultimate foundation of every known relation to the external world"—P Maine de Biran, *Influence de l'habitude sur la faculté de penser* [1803], p 28, in *Oeuvres,* ed P Tisserand (Paris, 1920–), II, tr M D Boehm (Baltimore, 1929)

(3) "The body is first brought into a state either of nervous instability or irritability by ascetic practices, or of nervous insensibility by the persistent withdrawal of all outer disturbance, and the mind is fixed upon a single object . we have here the two poles of consciousness Then, as the tension is sharpened, what happens? Under the artificial conditions of weakened nerves, of blank surroundings, the self-background drops The feeling of transition disappears with the absence of related terms, and the remaining, the positive pole of consciousness, is an undifferentiated Unity, with which the person must feel himself one The feeling of personality is gone with that on which it rests, and its loss is joined with an overwhelming sense of union with the One"—E D Puffer, *The Psychology of Beauty,* p 73

XI

TYPES OF ECONOMY

The last few chapters were concerned with the various ways in which a society approaches the problem of adjusting to its environment. But whatever means is employed, adjustment involves the use of behavior and objects.

To some extent each one of us adjusts by means of his or her own behavior, appropriates what he needs from his environment, and makes artifacts which he uses himself. For instance, I walk in the woods and find hickory nuts, I pick up a stone, break open the nuts, and eat their meat. But you will recall from the discussion of social differentiation, that we are all dependent upon others to provide us with some adjustive behavior and objects. Also, some behavior and objects are so scarce that there is not enough to go round. (1) In any case, the question arises, Who gets what, and how? Three elements enter in here: (*a*) the kinds and amounts of things customarily used in adjustment, or standard of living; (*b*) the customary rights and duties connected with these things, or ownership; and (*c*) the customary ways the things are allocated, or distribution. These constitute the *economy* of a society.

STANDARD OF LIVING

Standard of living

The *standard of living* is the sum of the different kinds and amounts of behavior and objects used in adjustment. And since a culture is made up of the customary ways in which a society adjusts, it follows by definition that the behavior and objects used in adjustment, i.e., the standard of living, will vary from one culture to another.

[TIKOPIA] Whereas we think of three meals a day as a normal standard, and often take subsidiary refreshment as well, the Tikopia aim at securing

one main meal a day, with only one or two snacks The time at which this meal is taken, the early afternoon, regulates a great deal of their work Whereas again we regard meat as a staple food the Tikopia rely primarily upon vegetable foods, either baked or compounded with coco-nut cream in a pudding, and supplement this with fish, animal meat is unknown and the flesh of birds is rarely eaten The clothing each requires is defined by custom as a piece of bark-cloth, varying in type and size according to age and sex, and needing little preparation, though frequently replaced They use no head covering or footwear Young children are not required to wear clothing In what would correspond to a family budget in our society, therefore, food alone is the major item Shelter, some privacy, and a domestic hearth are provided by houses of timber and sago-thatch, easily built, supplemented by cooking-huts near-by For sleeping and resting no bed or couch is required, but a mat of plaited strips of pandanus leaf, a blanket of bark cloth, and a pillow, this being carved wood for men and a pile of bark-cloth for women Other house furniture is equally simple The floor must be covered with coco-nut-leaf mats, but seats are not used, and since the bedding can be easily stowed away during the daytime all the floorspace can be used to capacity (apart from certain ritual restrictions) Water-bottles of coco-nut, baskets, wooden bowls, grating-stools, pestles, and the earth-oven with its stones are the major items needed in the preparation of food, and in addition other standard technical equipment is required such as adzes, knives, canoes, nets, fishing rods and lines, fishhooks, and digging sticks The scheme of personal adornment is much the same for both sexes a certain amount of tattoo, beads of seashell and coco-nut shell, necklets, ear tassels, and head fillets of leaf, posies of flowers and fruit, in addition men often wear kilts of finely plaited pandanus leaf. For dancing, the principal recreation, sounding boards and beaters are needed, and for men, wooden bats and wands The Tikopia are not a warlike people, but for display and occasional offence spear, club, and bow and arrow are part of a man's equipment [1]

If the culture is homogeneous, the members of the society tend to have similar standards of living

[NEW IRELAND] there is private property ornaments, implements of work, currency, pigs, knowledge (medical and magical), are all privately owned There is wealth and there are rich men, but poverty does not exist Moreover, everyone lives in the same style The house, food, and general manner of daily living is the same for everyone, regardless of his amount of wealth The importance of wealth is that it allows a man to make the elaborate rites for his dead ancestors, and so gain prestige for himself Wealth is not hoarded, but instead is always being put in circulation at the constant ritual feasts And there is no reason why wealth should be saved over any long interval Old age does not mean economic insecurity For every old person is well taken care of by either his own children

[1] R W Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy* (London, 1939), pp 32–33

or by classificatory ones. The old people, men and women, are the most respected members of the community, and it is unthinkable that any one of them should be in want [2]

But to the extent that the culture is heterogeneous, different standards of living are found in the sub-societies.

[IFUGAO] The number of meals eaten by the Kiangan Ifugao depends upon his status in society If he be a rich man, he eats three meals a day the year round If he belongs to that large class who have a few rice fields but not sufficient to furnish a supply of rice for the whole year, the *mabitil*, he eats three meals a day at harvest time and during such time thereafter as may be sufficient to give him a good filling From thence on, he eats two meals a day one at about nine o'clock in the forenoon and one at about six in the evening Whenever he has any hard work to do, however, he eats three meals Some few there are who have no rice fields, the *nawatwat* (poverty stricken), and who never have more than two meals a day and sometimes have only one These unfortunates, as may be supposed, are quite fond of attending religious feasts The vegetable food of the different classes of Ifugao varies principally in the ratio of camotes to rice in the annual subsistence Among the wealthy, rice comprises practically the sum total of the year's food Among the very poor it changes place with camotes [3]

[UNITED STATES] For ideal, rather than actual, class budgets, *vide* U. of California, Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics, *Quantity and Cost Budgets*, Berkeley, 1933–

When there are marked differences in standards of living among the groups in a society, these differences tend to become symbols of the group, and as such, is a case of the symbolization of groups and roles discussed earlier

[UNITED STATES] "One winter my wife and I went to a painting exhibit at a dealer's gallery. My wife was wearing a muskrat coat, and as we entered the gallery the dealer glanced at us and immediately turned back to his desk A few days later I accompanied a friend to the same exhibit Not being a professor's wife she wore a mink coat, as a result the dealer hovered over us so that we could hardly pay attention to the paintings"

In considering the symbolization of roles we saw that if a role has high social value the only ones allowed to use its symbols are those who have assumed that role. Consequently, if the group differences are important in a society, there are sumptuary laws which prohibit

[2] H Powdermaker, *Life in Lesu*, pp 223–24

[3] R F Barton, *Ifugao Economics* (U of California, *Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 15 5) (Berkeley, 1922), p 416.

the members of one group from having the standard of living that symbolizes another group

[JAPAN] "A prohibitory law in 92 articles was established [in A D 681] and was accordingly promulgated with the following words —'The costumes of all from the Princes of the Blood down to the common people, and the wearing of gold and silver, pearls and jewels, purple, brocade, embroidery, fine silks, together with woollen carpets, head-dresses and girdles, as well as all kinds of coloured stuffs, are regulated according to a scale the details of which are given in the written edict' " [4]

[WESTERN EUROPE] [During the sixteenth century, it was illegal in England to] "sell or by any meanes delyver to any person, having not in Possession Landes or Fees to the clere yerely value of Three thowsande powndes, averrable and tryable by Bookes of Subsidies or by any other sufficient true way or meanes, any maner of Foreyne Stuff or Wares not growne or first wrought in any the Quenes Majesties Dominions, or garnishing or adorning of the Bodye or the parte of the Body of any maner of person." [5]

If there are no sumptuary laws, people can use their standard of living as a means of changing their group membership In so far as a standard of living symbolizes a group, dropping one standard of living and adopting another is a way of leaving one group and becoming a member of another Since this is usually done to increase one's own status, people can compete for status by trying to outdo their opponent through more closely approximating the standard of living which symbolizes the group with the highest status Under such conditions, to have a standard of living below that of an opponent means that you have a lower status than the opponent, it is this which produces the phenomenon of "Keeping up with the Joneses."

[UNITED STATES] "Hollywood is a place where you spend more than you make, on things you don't need, to impress people you don't like " [6]

In order to get along people need enough of the behavior and objects customarily used in adjustment The total worth of such

[4] *Nihongi*, tr W G Aston (*Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society of London*, suppl 1) (London, 1896), 29 31–32, *vide* "Rules relating to the station in life (*bungen*) of the farmers of Maizuru Han," tr D B. Simmons, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 19 (1891), pp 228–38

[5] Great Britain, *The Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1810–24), 5 Elizabeth 6 (IV, p 428) [1563], *vide ibid*, 8 Eliz 11 2 (IV, p 494), 13 Eliz 19 1 (IV, p 555), R Steele and J L L Crawford, *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations* (Oxford, 1910), 1, nos 515, 517, 562, 565, 569, 618, 675, 681, 690, 717, 745, 798, 890–91

[6] K Murray, quot Rosten, *Hollywood*, p 103

FAMILY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN CHICAGO OF WHITE NATIVE BORN NON RELIEF FAMILIES 1935–36 *

ADEQUACY OF SUBSISTENCE LEVEL †	INCOME CLASS	PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES (ESTIMATED)	AVERAGE NET INCOME	AVERAGE MONEY EXPENDITURE FOR FAMILY LIVING	AVERAGE NET SURPLUS OR DEFICIT	PERCENTAGE OF MONEY EXPENDITURES: FOOD	SHELTER: HOUSING	SHELTER: HOUSEHOLD OPERATION: FUEL, LIGHT, REFRIG	SHELTER: HOUSEHOLD OPERATION: OTHER	FURNISHINGS AND EQUIPMENT	CLOTHING	AUTOMOBILE	OTHER TRANSPORTATION	PERSONAL CARE	MEDICAL CARE	RECREATION	TOBACCO	READING	FORMAL EDUCATION	CONTRIBUTIONS PERSONAL TAXES	OTHER ITEMS
Below Minimum for Adequate Subsistence =31% of Families	Less than $500	5.2	‡ ..	...		.	.		.	..	.		..	.	..	.	..	..	..	..	..
	$ 500– 749	5.4	$ 645	$ 830	$–204	42.0	24.5	10.1	3.1	0.7	5.5	0.6	2.5	2.2	2.9	1.4	2.0	1.1	0.2	1.2	Negligible
	750– 999	8.2	891	1,015	–113	39.8	23.6	8.4	2.9	1.7	7.3	.8	3.0	2.1	4.4	1.4	2.1	1.2	.2	1.0	0.1
	1,000–1,249	11.3	1,120	1,165	–63	39.2	20.9	7.9	3.1	2.6	8.0	3.0	2.6	2.1	3.9	1.8	2.0	1.1	.2	1.4	0.2
	1,250–1,499	10.6	1,361	1,353	–29	39.1	20.5	6.6	3.5	2.2	8.0	2.8	2.9	2.1	4.3	2.2	2.2	1.2	.4	1.8	0.2
Above Minimum for Adequate Subsistence =69% of Families	1,500–1,749	11.2	1,617	1,605	–3	36.7	20.7	5.9	3.5	2.4	8.5	4.1	2.4	2.2	4.8	2.2	2.4	1.1	.5	2.0	0.6
	1,750–1,999	10.6	1 869	1 799	42	34.5	19.9	5.9	3.8	3.2	9.1	5.4	2.4	2.0	4.4	2.6	2.1	1.1	.6	2.4	0.6
	2,000–2,249	8.7	2,109	1,986	87	33.2	19.1	5.1	4.2	3.2	9.7	6.7	2.2	2.1	4.6	2.8	2.0	1.1	.8	2.8	0.4
	2,250–2,499	6.8	2,368	2,222	98	34.2	18.1	5.2	4.7	3.1	9.5	5.3	2.3	2.2	5.0	3.1	2.1	1.1	.8	2.8	0.5
	2,500–2,999	8.0	2,726	2,479	185	31.7	17.8	4.6	5.0	3.1	10.5	6.9	2.4	2.2	4.7	3.3	2.1	1.0	.9	3.3	0.5
	3,000–3,499	5.0	3,230	2,741	371	31.5	15.6	4.3	5.6	2.9	10.5	7.1	2.3	2.2	4.7	4.0	2.2	1.0	1.0	4.6	0.5
	3,500–3,999	2.9	3,718	3,145	491	30.1	17.0	3.7	5.7	3.7	11.8	7.4	1.9	2.2	4.6	3.3	2.1	1.0	1.0	4.2	0.3
	4 000–4,999	2.9	4,439	3,760	589	28.3	14.9	3.4	6.9	2.6	11.7	8.6	2.0	2.1	5.2	3.7	1.9	1.0	1.0	6.5	0.2
	5 000–7,499	2.4	5,943	4,619	1,181	24.3	15.0	3.2	8.8	2.6	11.1	9.6	1.4	2.0	5.1	4.7	1.7	.9	1.6	7.5	0.5
	7,500–9,999	4	8,631	6,851	1,599	21.1	15.2	2.2	9.9	2.4	13.3	9.4	1.3	2.3	4.2	5.3	1.5	1.0	1.6	8.5	0.8
	10 000 & over	4	16,269	10 322	5 647	17.2	13.9	2.2	9.2	2.8	12.5	7.1	2.6	1.5	2.3	4.1	1.2	.8	3.4	18.6	0.6

* Based upon A D H Kaplan *et al*, *Family Income and Expenditure in Chicago 1935–36* (U S Department of Labor Statistics *Bulletin* 642) (Washington 1939) I p 110 II pp 110, 118–19

† From R. S Carpenter and H K Steibeling *Diets to Fit the Family Income* (U S Department of Agriculture *Farmers Bulletin*, 1757) (Washington, 1936) pp 2–3

‡ No data

behavior and objects which anyone owns is his *wealth* A man is *poor* if his wealth is less than the amount needed to maintain his standard of living, he is *rich* to the extent that he has a surplus over and above his standard of living

[UNITED STATES] The attached table gives family income and expenditure in Chicago during 1935–36 for white, native born, non-relief families—on the whole, the most favored segment of the population There we see that an income of $1,500 was considered necessary for a family of four to subsist adequately Yet 31% of the families had less than that In fact, the average family needed at least $1,750 before it had any surplus at all 42% of the families had less than this amount, and were forced into debt in order to get along

But there is another factor to be taken into consideration when figuring wealth The kinds and amounts of things needed for adjustment fluctuates, in our society a family does not use obstetricians and undertakers every day So if there is to be any security, a person must have a surplus of wealth as a reservoir that can be tapped in times when things would not be available otherwise or an unusually greater number of things are needed These are *savings*.

[BLACKFOOT] "Pemmican, the chief article of food of the Indian during winter, is made of dried buffalo meat cut into bits and mixed with saskatoon-berries After it has been put into buffalo bladders and hot fat has been poured over it, it will keep for months and years without spoiling It is the Indian's only 'canned' food, the only food he can lay by for the winter months " [7]

[UNITED STATES] "One of the woman guests at a tea party a short time ago was of the busy, rather talkative type She spoke about her household, her children, her car, the difficulty of getting tires And 'Oh, my dear,' she said, 'there'll be quite a lot of other things that will get scarce ' She confided that she had been buying huge quantities of paper napkins 'They say good paper will no longer be made very soon '

"Hoarding! What have women not hoarded since this war [World War II] broke out in Europe! What are they not still trying to hoard in spite of everything! . . .

"Men are much less keen on hoarding than women. Still, I knew some men who bought thirty pairs of shoes." [8]

[ARUNTA] It is true that the natives rarely gather any extra supplies but when there is to be a large meeting for ceremonial purposes then the women will forage longer and farther afield, and grass seed or nardoo seed cakes will be prepared for the visitors The Engwura or fire ceremony

7 Long Lance, *Long Lance* (New York, 1928), p 88

8 A Daniel, "Hoarders aren't happy," *New York Times*, Aug 9, 1942, sec 7, pp 11, 27

among the Arunta lasted four months, and meant extensive preparation and a considerable strain on the food resources of the country These ceremonies, however, are only possible at the end of several good seasons [9]

[UNITED STATES] Banks conducting Christmas clubs pay to the members, about December 10, those sums they have deposited during the previous fifty weeks Some of the banks add interest, others do not When interest is paid, it is generally less than the usual savings-bank rate The members are required at the beginning of the fifty week term to promise to deposit a certain amount each week It is agreed that nothing is to be returned until the end of the fifty-week term . The deposits are frequently as small as 25 cents per week, occasionally they are as great as $20 per week, $1 per week is a popular amount [10]

About 35 to 40 percent . is spent for Christmas [11]

It is difficult to save behavior, and not easy to save perishable objects

[TROBRIANDS] the magic called *vilamalya* [is] performed over the crops after harvest, and at one or two other stages This magic is intended to make the food last long . But, and this is the important point for us, this magic is conceived to act, not on the food, but on the inhabitants of the village It makes their appetites poor, it makes them, as the natives put it, inclined to eat wild fruit of the bush, the mango and bread fruit of the village grove, and refuse to eat yams, or at least be satisfied with very little They will boast that when this magic is performed well, half of the yams will rot away in the storehouses, and be thrown on the *wawa,* the rubbish heap at the back of the houses, to make room for the new harvest Here . we meet the typical idea that the main aim of accumulating food is to keep it exhibited in the yam houses till it rots, and then can be replaced by a new etalage [12]

Therefore, savings tend to be in the form of durable objects

[TONGA] Wealth . took the form of mats, tapa, and other manufactured articles [13]

[UNITED STATES] Because gold hoarding was illegal during World War II, many people who were afraid that paper money might become worth-

[9] S D Porteus, *The Psychology of a Primitive People* (New York, 1931), p 287

[10] L M Crosgrave, "Christmas Clubs," *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* 41 (1926–27), (pp 732–39) p 732

[11] M John, "The Christmas Club idea in Boston," *Bankers Magazine,* 113 (1926), (pp 839–44) p 843

[12] B Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (London School of Economics, *Studies in Economics and Political Science,* 65) (London, 1922), p 169 Published by E P Dutton & Co, Inc, New York

[13] E W Gifford, *Tongan Society* (Bernice P Bishop Museum, *Bulletins,* 61) (Honolulu, 1929), p 181

less began to hoard valuable objects During 1940 and 1941, for instance, it became fashionable to hoard platinum disks, which were made and sold for that purpose by jewelry stores catering to an upper class trade

Of these, *repositories of value* are the most convenient, they are durable and compact objects that are worth much

[KWAKIUTL] All along the North Pacific Coast, from Yakutat to Domox, curiously shaped copper plates are in use, which in olden times were made of native copper, which is found in Alaska and probably also on Nass River, but which nowadays are worked out of imported copper . The T-shaped part (qalas), which forms two ridges, is hammered The top is called "the face" (onuxleme), the lower part "the hind end" (onutsexste) The front of the copper is covered with black lead, in which a face, representing the crest animal of the owner, is graven These coppers have the same function which bank notes of high denominations have with us The actual value of the piece of copper is small, but it is made to represent a large number of blankets and can always be sold for blankets The value is not arbitrarily set, but depends upon the amount of property given away in the festival at which the copper is sold On the whole, the oftener a copper is sold the higher its value, as every new buyer tries to invest more blankets in it Therefore the purchase of a copper also brings distinction, because it proves that the buyer is able to bring together a vast amount of property

Each copper has a name of its own, and from the following list of coppers, which were in Fort Rupert in 1893, the values attached to some of them may be seen

Maxtsolem (=all other coppers are ashamed to look at it), 7,500 blankets

Laxolamas (=steel-head salmon, i e , it glides out of one's hands like a salmon), 6,000 blankets

Lopelila (=making the house empty of blankets), 5 000 blankets

Dentalayo (=about whose possession all are quarreling) [14]

[UNITED STATES] Money, diamonds, and art objects are typical repositories of value

In the case of such objects, their use in direct adjustment is secondary Primarily they are condensed wealth, as it were, and in addition they are symbols of wealth

Some societies base status on wealth

[IFUGAO] A man's social status is fixed by the amount of rice he harvests, his wealth is in his rice fields [15]

[14] F Boas, "The social organization and the secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Annual Report of the U S National Museum*, 1895, (pp 311–738) p 314

[15] Barton, *op cit*, p 100

[UNITED STATES] "Up over the pathway of wealth the men and women who had no qualifications further than the fortunes they had obtained through luck or inheritance, came thronging to the heights once so carefully guarded Over the trail of achievement, foreign peasants who had become bankers, newspaper owners who had been and still were common scoundrels, obscure folk who had attained position as merchants, physicians, lawyers, clambered upward to the eminence where a few years earlier only those of patrician heritage had been permitted to stand Society itself had been transformed into a strange, heterogeneous, unstable organization —a jazz version of the old social harmony." [16]

In such a case the richer one is, the higher his status and the greater his influence

Wealth, in the Trobriands, is the outward sign and the substance of power, and the means also of exercising it   The power of the Trobriand chief lay mainly in his wealth [17]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "*Volpone*   Deare *saint*,
Riches, the dumbe god, that giv'st all men tongues
That canst doe nought, and yet mak'st men doe all things,
The price of soules, even hell, with thee to boot,
Is made worth heaven! Thou art vertue, fame,
Honour, and all things else! Who can get thee,
He shall be noble, valiant, honest, wise—
Mosca And what he will, sir Riches are in fortune
A greater good, then wisdome is in nature " [18]

Therefore the people try to amass wealth in excess of that needed for purposes of security

[SAMOA] Rank besides its social significance was distinguished by the possession of material property or, in other words, wealth The wealth of a family was demonstrated by the numbers of *ta'ui* bundles of fine mats stored on the cross beams of the guest house [19]

[UNITED STATES] Men living in democratic times have many passions, but most of their passions either end in the love of riches or proceed from it The cause of this is not that their souls are narrower, but that the importance of money is really greater at such times When all the members of a community are independent of or indifferent to each other, the co operation of each of them can be obtained only by paying for it this

[16] M K Van Rensselaer, *The Social Ladder* (New York, 1924), p 158

[17] Malinowski, *op cit*, pp 64, 461

[18] B Jonson, *Volpone* [1607], I I 21–29, in *Works*, ed C H Herford and P Simpson (Oxford, 1925–), V, pp 1–137

[19] P H Buck, *Samoan Material Culture* (Bernice P Bishop Museum, *Bulletins*, 75) (Honolulu, 1930), p 317.

infinitely multiplies the purposes to which wealth may be applied and increases its value When the reverence that belonged to what is old has vanished, birth, condition, and profession no longer distinguish men, or scarcely distinguish them, hardly anything but money remains to create strongly marked differences between them and to raise some of them above the common level The distinction originating in wealth is increased by the disappearance or diminution of all other distinctions Among aristocratic nations money reaches only to a few points on the vast circle of man's desires, in democracies it seems to lead to all

The love of wealth is therefore to be traced, as either a principal or an accessory motive, at the bottom of all that the Americans do [20]

When a man is so rich that he has an excess over the amount necessary to satisfy his desires for both security and status, he can slacken his efforts and *retire,* i e , no longer work to increase his wealth, *dissipate* his wealth, or do both

[DAHOMEY] The . love of display is responsible for at least two Dahomean art-forms, the small brass figures and the appliqued cloths These have, as their principal function, the decoration of the houses of men of position, phrased in economic terms, they proclaim the ability of their owners to spend their wealth on non-utilitarian objects . . the economic organisation of Dahomean society exhibits a large degree of specialisation, accompanied by the production of an economic surplus that, through a process made easier by the presence of a money economy, has brought about the concentration of wealth in the hands of the members of the Dahomean leisure class This group, in turn, has maintained its position through its ability to acquire much wealth, and its practice of dispensing this wealth as largesse, or in accordance with the socially valued canons of conspicuous consumption [21]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "*Clermont* Why, what should a man doe?"

True-wit Why, nothing or that, which when 'tis done, is as idle Harken after the next horse-race, or hunting-match, lay wagers, praise *Puppy,* or *Pepper-corne, White-foote, Franklin,* sweare upon *White-maynes* partie, spend aloud, that my lords my heare you, visite my ladies at night, and bee able to give 'hem the character of every bowler, or better o' the greene These be the things, wherein your fashionable men exercise themselves, and I for companie [22]

In societies where status is based upon wealth, these two forms of behavior can also become symbols of the highest status group (2)

[20] A de Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique* [1835–40], III, Pt 3, Chap 17 (pp 371–72), tr rev P Bradley (New York, 1945)

[21] M J Herskovits, *Dahomey* (New York, 1938), I, pp 98–99

[22] Jonson, *Epicoene,* 1 1 32–41

and, as in the case of the standard of living, the behavior may be followed by those who do not have an excess of wealth in order to increase their own status. Again, as in the case of the standard of living, people can compete for status by dissipating more wealth than their rivals

[KWAKIUTL] The rivalry between chiefs and clans finds its strongest expression in the destruction of property A chief will burn blankets, a canoe, or break a copper, thus indicating his disregard of the amount of property destroyed and showing that his mind is stronger, his power greater, than that of his rival If the latter is not able to destroy an equal amount of property without much delay, his name is "broken" He is vanquished by his rival and his influence with his tribe is lost, while the name of the other chief gains correspondingly in renown

Feasts may also be counted as destruction of property, because the goods given can not be returned except by giving another feast The most expensive sort of feast is the one at which enormous quantities of fish oil (made of the oulachon) are consumed and burnt, the so-called "grease feast" Therefore it also raises the name of the person who can afford to give it, and the neglect to speedily return it entails a severe loss of prestige Still more feared is the breaking of a valuable copper A chief may break his copper and give the broken parts to his rival If the latter wants to keep his prestige, he must break a copper of equal or higher value and then return both his own broken copper and the fragments which he has received to his rival The latter may then pay for the copper which he has thus received The chief to whom the fragments of the first copper are given may, however, also break his copper and throw both into the sea The Indians consider that by this act the attacked rival has shown himself superior to his aggressor, because the latter may have expected to receive the broken copper of his rival in return so that an actual loss would have been prevented . Property may not only be destroyed for the purpose of damaging the prestige of the rival, but also for the sole purpose of gaining distinction [23]

[UNITED STATES] "Ward McAllister wrote of this entertainment [Christmas Ball of 1874] 'The ball was meant to be the greatest affaire-de luxe New Yorkers had ever seen The men as well as the women vied with each other in getting up as handsome costumes as ever were worn' He sums up the temper of the time in those sentences Society had become a contest among leaders of its organization to do the newest and most elaborate thing Wealth had stimulated the social body as alcohol does the individual And the city was growing richer with each year .

"Hospitality was measured entirely in terms of money. A Newport host not many years ago proclaimed proudly to a tableful of guests one evening that the soup that they were eating cost ten dollars a plate One of

[23] Boas, *op cit*, pp 353–54, 356–57

the guests pushed away her plate with a little frown of disgust 'I can't eat it,' she explained to her host, when he turned toward her inquiringly 'I'm sure there's molten gold in it' " [24]

OWNERSHIP

Ownership

You will recall that adjustment involves the use of behavior and objects, and who uses what is customarily regulated by ownership. Ownership is a social relation (3) between an individual or group in the role of *owner*, and some behavior, way of behaving, or object which is put in the category of *property*, if the property is a human being he has the role of *slave*

[KWAKIUTL] "When the chief wishes to change his house and to have carved posts, then the chief just tells his carver that he wishes for carved posts for his house The carver knows all the carvings that belong to his chief, and, therefore, the chief never tells the carver what he is to carve on the posts of the house, for the wood carver knows what he will carve, because he knows all the carvings that belong to the chief

"Another man, belong to the numaym of the chief, has to get cedar trees to be carved by the wood carver As soon as the cedar trees lie on their backs on the beach of the house of the chief, the chief sends his speaker to call the different numayms to come and roll up the four cedar trees. When they are all in front of the chief's house, the chief's speaker tells the common men to roll up the four cedar trees Then the chiefs just sit down outside, watching the tribe who are working hard, rolling up the four cedar trees The carver shows them where to place the four cedar trees, on the ground When the four cedars are all upon the beach, the speaker of the chief tells all the men to sit down, and when they are seated, the young men of the chief's numaym go into the chief's house and come out carrying blankets which they put down at the place where the chief's speaker is standing, and he gives one pair to each chief of the various numayms, and to each group of two common men one pair of blankets This is called by the Indians, 'obtained by rolling up the cedar tree' After the speaker has given away the blankets, the chief's speaker asks the carver to carve the four cedars for posts of the chief's house, and he promises to pay fifty blankets for each post that is, two hundred blankets for the four posts, and the carver thanks him for what he has said Then the carver carves the four posts, and when he has finished them, the chief asks his speaker to go and invite the various numayms to come and sit down outside of the house When they have all come, the chief tells his speaker that he will pay two hundred blankets to the carver, and after he has done so, the chief asks the speaker to give to each man one blanket This is paid

[24] Van Rensselaer, *op cit*, pp 183, 238

to them by the chief for coming to watch him, as he pays the carver If the chief should not pay the carver well, then the chief would bring disgrace upon himself, for it is a disgrace to him and his children and their children, if he should not pay much to the carver and to the painter of the front of his house and of the posts for the carver and the painter are different men, and the board maker is also another man All this is paid for by the chief with many blankets." [25]

[UNITED STATES] "Where . . . the services of the actor are shown to be unusual, unique, or extraordinary and that the damage to the plaintiff will be irreparable and unascertainable, the latter may enjoin the performer from appearing elsewhere during the period of his contract and, even though a negative covenant not to appear elsewhere may be lacking, such will be implied and enforced not only against those who are parties to the contract, but also restraining third parties from doing those acts which induce and continue the breach " [26]

[ANDAMANS] A song that has proved a success at any . . festive tribal meeting is sometimes repeated by "special request" at one of the smaller gatherings, "all rights" in these productions "are reserved," and no one but the composer is at liberty to sing a song, however popular! [27]

[UNITED STATES] " . . any person entitled thereto, upon complying with the provisions of this Act, shall have the exclusive right

(*a*) To print, reprint, publish, copy, and vend the copyrighted work,

(*b*) To translate . . . dramatize convert . . arrange or adapt . . . [*or*] complete [the copyrighted work] .

(*c*) To deliver or authorize the delivery of the copyrighted work in public for profit if it be a lecture .

(*d*) To perform or represent the copyrighted work publicly if it be a drama .

(*e*) To perform the copyrighted work publicly for profit if it be a musical composition " [28]

[IFUGAO] Among the wet rice folk, rice terraces are the principal form of productive property

Other forms of productive property are traps and hunting weapons, tools, the domestic animals the pig, chicken, and duck Only quite recently, a few christianized Ifugaos raise buffaloes [29]

[UNITED STATES] "The term 'real property' means interest in land " [30]

[25] Boas, "Ethnology of the Kwakiutl," *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 35 (1913–14), (pp 43–1481) pp 1338–40

[26] New York State, Supreme Court, Appellate Division, *Rogers Theatrical Enterprises* v *Comstock* [1928], in *Reports of Cases*, 225, (pp 34–37) p 36

[27] E H Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* (London, [1883]), p 169

[28] "An act to amend and consolidate the acts respecting copyright, March 4, 1909," *U S Statutes at Large*, 35, Chap 320, Sec 1

[29] Barton, *Philippine Pagans*, p 3

[30] American Law Institute, *Restatement of the Law of Property* (St Paul, 1936–44), I, p 22

[YUKAGHIR] Slavery has existed among the Yukaghir. A slave was called po, which means literally "worker." All captives were slaves Men as well as women belonged to this class, but the latter, in the position of hostage or wives, enjoyed a much greater independence than male slaves, especially if they had children by their master-husbands The male slave was much more dependent and miserable According to the traditions, he was barred from entering the class of warriors—for a captive's faithfulness could not be relied upon—as well as the class of hunters The slave staid in the house with the women, the old people, and the children, and did house-work on equal terms with the women. In addition, however, he was permitted to do such work as the fitting-up of sledges and nets, and to participate in fishing-parties [31]

[UNITED STATES] "Slaves shall be deemed personal estate" [32]

Like other categories (including roles), those of owner and property are often symbolized by emblems

[VEDDA] The sign of transfer of a hill, pool, or piece of land, was a stone Handuna showed us a stone—a water-worn quartz pebble about the size of a filbert—which he assured us represented the "seisin" of his hunting ground Besides one or more stones a tooth was commonly given to the new owner by the man handing over the land, but this was not essential . when land was passed as the result of a death . a lock of hair from the head of the dying man was added to the other objects and became a most important part of the "seisin" The lock of hair would only be cut from the head of the sick or dying man at his own request by the man to whom his land would pass, who would cut the lock with an arrow It was necessary that the sick man should be conscious and that he should himself give the lock to his heir, to whom he might say, "If there is any dispute after my death show this to whoever gives you trouble" the "seisin" of certain land at Damenegema . consists of a lock of hair, a tooth, a metal strike-a-light and a piece of milky quartz All these objects were sent for our inspection in an old Kanyvan embroidered betel bag in which it was said they were always kept [33]

[UNITED STATES] "Conveyances for the alienation of lands must be written or printed, or partly written and partly printed, on parchment or paper, and must be signed at their foot by the contracting party, or his agent having a written authority, or, if he is not able to sign his name, then his name must be written for him, with the words 'his mark' written against the same, or over it, the execution of such conveyance must be attested by one witness, or, where the party cannot write, by two witnesses who are able to write." [34]

[31] W Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus* (American Museum of Natural History, *Memoirs*, 13) (New York, 1926), p 133

[32] Virginia, *Code* (Richmond, 1849), 30 103 5

[33] C G and B Z Seligmann, *The Veddas*, pp 113–14

[34] Alabama, *Code 1940*, 47.22

[MASAI] "The brand-marks which the Masai use for their cattle are not alike

"For each clan and family there is one principal mark, and all the cattle belonging to the various members of a family are branded in a special way

"There are also small marks by which the actual owner can be recognized

"Besides branding, each family has a special method of slitting the ears of their cattle, sheep, and donkeys

"They likewise have smaller marks for each individual owner

"If therefore a cow is seen, it can be recognized as belonging to the Aiser clan, for instance, and also to such and such a person " [35]

[WESTERN EUROPE] It is customary among book collectors to put book-plates in their books [36]

In every society ownership is a variable relation, from some cases in which the role of owner is assumed by all the people on the one extreme, to others where the owner is a single individual on the other

[TROBRIANDS] ownership varies with different objects [37]

[A Agricultural land]

[1] . the chief [of a district] . . is styled *tolipwaypwaya* (master of the soil) over his whole district, and claims certain tributes from it at harvest These tributes are most substantial in the form of urigubu (marriage gift) . . . The chief's control over certain uses of land and produce in his territory is largely exercised through his marriage with women of different communities within that territory The same applies to a much smaller extent, to a headman, who usually has two or more wives [38]

The chief, the magician and the notables also own individually a number of garden plots each, independently of their general over-rights [39]

[2] . . the headman of the village community is styled tolipwaypwaya . . . of all village lands He also acts as master of ceremonies in the garden council of his village, usually carries out the garden magic, distributes lands and obtains a tribute in the form of small gifts and *urigubu* His tribute is quantitatively very much smaller than that of the chief [40]

[3] The formal title of ownership in the communal territory of the sub clan is nominally vested in the head of the sub-clan . . He

[35] A C Hollis, *The Masai*, p 290

[36] *Vide* W Hamilton, *Dated Book-Plates*, London, 1895

[37] Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages* (New York, 1929), p 24

[38] Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (London, 1935), I, pp 328, 334

[39] Malinowski, "The primitive economics of the Trobriand Islanders," *Economic Journal*, 31 (1921), (pp 1–16) p 4

[40] Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*, I, p 328

is styled *tolipwaypwaya* (master of the soil) or *tolikwabila* (master of the fields) in a more specific or personal sense than any other member of the sub-clan [41]

[4] Every plot within a field is allotted to an individual At times an influential headman or a chief may own all the plots in all of his fields, or again the titles of ownership to the various plots are distributed among the members of a sub clan [No explanation is given as to how individual ownership of plots is determined] The individual owner has to give his consent when his plot is gardened by someone else, and he has an unquestioned right to cultivate it himself [42]

> . . . the bigger fields are more or less ceremonially and formally apportioned to a few heads of sub-clans, while the plots are individually allotted in formal ownership. . . . the few leading personalities who usually have such claims to the main fields are the headmen of those local sub-clans which have emerged on the territory and the headman of a sub clan of higher rank which has settled there [43]

[5] Every adult male in the village community, whether a citizen or not, has the right to ask for a plot or plots on one of the fields designated as the garden site for the coming cycle Once he has obtained the owner's permission and this has been endorsed by the magician and the chief, he is completely master of the soil on the plots which he tills during one cycle of cultivation [44]

[B Plants]

Apart from the crops cultivated in the gardens, the most important vegetable produce for the economics as well as for the pleasure of the natives are the two palms, the coconut and the betel-nut .

Both palms are grown in and round villages, of which they form a characteristic feature The trees are owned individually, though they are planted on what is regarded as communal soil The head-man usually enjoys a certain over-right, while the chief is the titular owner of the district [45]

Besides the cultivated crops reared in the gardens by dint of strenuous and constant labour, besides the semi-cultivated trees of the village, the grove and the reserved portions of the forest, there are a number of trees, shrubs and weeds which stand out from the confused background of the "mere jungle" (*odila wala*) These are more or less useful to the natives at all times, and become indispensable in years of scarcity

Between the definitely planted and cultivated trees, such as the coconut and betel-nut, and the completely wild but useful growths of the

[41] *Ibid*, I, p 346
[42] *Ibid*, I, p 329.
[43] *Ibid*, I, p 370
[44] *Ibid*, I, p 329
[45] *Ibid*, I, p 300

odila there is an extended range of plants less and less appropriated individually, less and less cultivated, and, as a rule, less and less economically important A number of fruit trees are definitely common property, they sprout from some accidental shoot and are not tended The only rights of ownership are connected with the fact that they grow within the territory of a village and on a part of the grove which belongs to one or another section of the community Such fruit trees would be raided from time to time by a group of children or young men [46]

[C Fishing grounds]

. there [are not] any private, proprietary rights to coral outcrops The whole community of Sinaketa have their fishing grounds in the Lagoon, within which every man may hunt for his spondylus shell, and catch his fish at times If the other spondylus fishing community, the Vakutans, encroached upon their grounds, there would be trouble, and in olden days, fighting [47]

Each village has its own fishing grounds, upon which strangers very seldom trespass, though some fighting for that reason is on record Some of the villages control coral patches in the lagoon, which afford specially good opportunities for fishing by means of the poisonous root of a creeper . These patches are owned by individuals, trespass being considered equivalent to theft, but it is usual for other men of the same village to hire a patch If another man hires a coral patch, he has to make a certain definite payment to the owner [48]

[D. Clothes, tools, etc]

Husband and wife have each his or her own possessions The wife owns her grass petticoats, of which there are usually some twelve to twenty in her wardrobe, for use on various occasions Also she relies on her own skill and industry to procure them The water vessels, the implements for dressmaking, a number of articles of personal adornment, are also her own property The man owns his tools, the axe and adze, the nets, the spears, the dancing ornaments, and the drum, and also those objects of high value, called by the natives *vaygu'a,* which consist of necklaces, belts, armshells, and large polished axe-blades

Nor is private ownership in this case a mere word without practical significance The husband and the wife can and do dispose of any article of their own property, and after the death of one of them the objects are not inherited by the partner, but distributed among a special class of heirs When there is a domestic quarrel a man may destroy some of his wife's property—he may wreak his vengeance on the water bottles or on the grass petticoats—and she may smash his drum or break his dancing shield A man also has to repair and keep his own things in order. . .

[46] *Ibid* , I, p 310–11
[47] Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific,* p 371
[48] Malinowski, "Fishing in the Trobriand Islands," Man, 18 (1918), (pp 87–92) pp 88–89

Immovable goods, such as garden-land, trees, houses, as well as sailing-vessels, are owned almost exclusively by men, as is also the live-stock, which consists mainly of pigs.[49]

[E. Stories]

Every story is "owned" by a member of the community Each story, though known by many, may be recited only by the "Owner", he may, however, present it to someone else by teaching that person and authorizing him to retell it [50]

[UNITED STATES] Some things are presumably available to all, like the high seas Our territorial groups, from the federal government which owns the postoffices, to the county and its courthouse, each have property of their own The same is true of interest groups like the National Geographic Society and other large associations, and the business partnership of two men The family, too, owns a certain amount of household goods in common. And finally we come to individual property like clothing

The owner's rights over his property are usually, but not always,[51] those of use, control, and disposal. (4)

[WAWURONG] The right to hunt and procure food in any particular tract of country belonged to the group of people born there, and could not be infringed by others without permission But there were places which such

[49] Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, pp 24–25

[50] Malinowski, *Myth in Primitive Psychology* (London, 1926), p 26.

[51] [ROME] "It sometimes occurs that an owner has not a power of alienation, and that a person who is not owner has a power of alienation

"The alienation of dower land by the husband, without the consent of the wife, is prohibited by the lex Julia, although the husband has become owner of the land by its mancipation to him as dower, or by its surrender to him before a magistrate, or by usucapion of it. .

"Contrariwise, an agnate, as a lunatic's curator, is empowered to aliene the lunatic's property by the law of the Twelve Tables, and so is a procurator [*lacuna*] Again, a pledgee, in pursuance of a pact authorizing him to sell, may aliene the pledge, though he is not owner of the thing, this, however, may be said to rest on the assent of the pledgor previously given in the agreement which empowered the pledgee to sell in default of payment"—Gaius (2nd cent A D), *Institutiones*, ed P Kruger and Studemund (*Collectio Librorum Iuris Ante-justiniani*, 1) (Berlin, 1923, 7th ed), 2 62–64, tr E Poste, rev E A Whittuck (Oxford, 1904, 4th ed)

[UNITED STATES] "In its new aspect the corporation is a means whereby the wealth of innumerable individuals has been concentrated into huge aggregates and whereby control over this wealth has been surrendered to a unified direction. . The surrender of control over their wealth by investors has effectively broken the old property relationships and has raised the problem of defining these relationships anew The direction of industry by persons other than those who have ventured their wealth has raised the question of the motive force back of such direction and the effective distribution of the returns from business

a group of people claimed for some special reason, and in which the whole tribe had an interest Such a place was the "stone quarry" at Mt William near Lancefield, from which the material for making tomahawks was procured The family proprietorship in this quarry had wide ramifications, including more than Wurunjerri people . . . But it was Billi-billeri, the head of the family whose country included the quarry, who lived on it, and took care of it for the whole of the Wurunjerri community When he went away, his place was taken by the son of his sister . . . who came on such occasions to take charge, when it may be assumed, like Billi-billeri, he occupied himself in splitting stone to supply demands . .

When neighbouring tribes wished for some stone they sent a messenger to Billi-billeri saying that they would send goods in exchange for it, for instance, such as skin-rugs When people arrived after such a message they encamped close to the quarry, and on one occasion Berak heard Billi-billeri say to them, "I am glad to see you and will give you what you want, and satisfy you, but you must behave quietly and not hurt me or each other"

If, however, people came and took stone without leave, it caused trouble and perhaps a fight between Billi-billeri's people and them Sometimes men came by stealth and stole stone [52]

[UNITED STATES] "A person who has the totality of right, powers, privileges and immunities which constitute complete property in a thing . . is the 'owner' of the 'thing '" [53]

His duties depend upon the importance of the property in the adjustments of the owner's group as a whole and the solidarity of that group If the property is socially important and the group has strong solidarity, the duties approximate those of a custodian.

[MAORI] The influence of the tribe as a whole was paramount over any portion of the land held by the members of it, and no action of any moment affecting it was valid unless ratified by the tribal opinion Thus no matter what rights to a specific area a man might have he could not dispose of them to others unless this was in accord with tribal policy . In Maori land there was an individual right of occupation but only communal right of alienation [54]

[UNITED STATES] "For the purpose of regulating interstate and foreign commerce in communication by wire and radio so as to make available, so far as possible, to all the people of the United States a rapid, efficient, nation-wide and world-wide wire and radio communication service with adequate facilities at reasonable charges, for the purpose of the national

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enterprise"—A A Berle and G C Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (New York, 1933), p 2

[52] A W Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, pp 311–12

[53] American Law Institute, *op cit*, I, p 25

[54] Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (New York, 1929), pp 367–68

defense [etc] . there is hereby created , the 'Federal Communications Commission' " [55]
If the property is unimportant to the group and/or the group has weak solidarity, the owner's duties are minimal.

Ownership thus has two effects It provides the members of a group with customs by which to determine who is to use any given behavior or object in his adjustments. It also socializes the environment by establishing a social relation between human beings and their non-human property (5)

Economic systems

Making things suitable for use in adjustment usually involves the use of behavior (labor) (6) and such objects as materials and implements Also, moderately and highly differentiated societies often have a separate role of *entrepreneur*, one who undertakes to provide others with adjustive behavior and objects which he himself owns Now, the relation between entrepreneur, labor, and objects in making things suitable for adjustive purposes varies according to the ownership relation between them, and the kind of relation that exists defines the *economic system* But we have seen that the owner varies with the property, so that just about all types of ownership relation are found in any society, therefore the commonest one determines the economic system

Many economic systems are theoretically possible, but the following are the ones usually found (7)

(*a*) *Individualism* The worker owns the objects used in his own production and he is his own entrepreneur.

[TIKOPIA] If a man wishes to build a large trough for turmeric-making he invites a known wood-worker to his home The timber is brought there, and the specialist arrives every day with his adze and works The job may take a month or two, depending upon what other calls of ceremonial or domestic character the specialist may have upon his time The owner prepares an oven every day and feeds the expert But he is not left alone to supply the food Men who wish to join him in turmeric-making in future seasons will come with contributions of green food for his oven, or will cook food at their own home and bring it along They do not do this every day but at intervals during the work At last when the trough is finished the specialist is rewarded by a large bundle comprising a pandanus

[55] "An act to provide for the regulation of interstate and foreign communication by wire or radio, and for other purposes, June 19, 1934," *U S Statutes at Large*, 48 1, (pp 1064–1105) 1 1

mat, a bark-cloth blanket, and a number of pieces of smaller cloth, from ten to twenty in number, depending on the size of the trough This is accompanied by a basket of cooked food Here again, another man who wishes to join in future turmeric-making brings along his contribution of bark-cloth Neither the food nor the bundle is reciprocated [56]

(*b*) *Collectivism* A group is the entrepreneur, it owns the objects used in production, and some of its members are the workers who produce on behalf of the group as a whole

[EUROPE] "The socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production firmly established as a result of the abolition of the capitalist system of economy, the abrogation of private ownership of the means and instruments of production and the abolition of exploitation of man by man, constitute the economic foundation of the U S S R

"Socialist property in the U S S R exists either in the form of state property (the possession of the whole people), or in the form of cooperative and collective-farm property (property of a collective farm or property of a cooperative association " [57]

(*c*) *Capitalism* The entrepreneur owns the objects used in production and buys the labor of the workers

[CHUKCHEE] Many poor families, especially those who want to raise a herd of their own, enter the service of one of their wealthy neighbors for several years They are very hard-worked, and receive as pay their meat-supply and skins from the herd of their master, but in moving from camp to camp they must use their own pack and driving animals Meanwhile their own little stock is left undisturbed to multiply In return for good services, they may expect to receive from their master every year about ten fawns, and with the natural increase of their own animals they may secure one hundred reindeer in the course of five fairly favorable years Such helpers are called "dwelling-mates" (nim-tumgit), and the owners of every large flock, when short of hands, will strive in every way to attract at least one poor family Often these are poor relatives of the owner of the herd If there are any young unmarried men in these families, they will be offered a girl of the master's family in marriage, and thus become relatives of his [58]

[UNITED STATES] "*Capitalism* the established economic system of most modern civilized countries in which the ownership of land and natural wealth, the production, distribution, and exchange of foods, the employment and reward of human labor, and the extension, organization and

[56] Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy*, p 295

[57] Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, *Constitution*, tr Anonymous (New York, [1941?]), 1 4–5

[58] W Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, p 83

operation of the system itself, are entrusted to, and effected by, private enterprise and control under competitive conditions." [59]

(*d*) *Feudalism* The entrepreneur owns some, if not all, of the objects used in production and the worker is a bondsman, i.e., the entrepreneur has the rights of partial use, regulated control, and restricted disposal over him

[BAKITARA] The pastoral people looked on . agricultural people as their . . serfs, and a chief had many of these serfs who settled on his land and worked for him, building themselves houses more durable than those of the nomadic herdsmen, though not so large or so good as those of the chiefs They were despised by the pastoral people, not because of their poverty, but because of their mode of life, for, in the eyes of a cow-man, anyone who ate vegetable food and cultivated the land, or worked at anything not connected with the cows, was low and mean The serfs, however, were not slaves, for they were not bound to particular chiefs, they were free to move to other parts of the country and serve other chiefs without giving their former masters any indication of their intentions, nor indeed was a man bound to apply for permission to the chief in whose territory he meant to settle, though as a rule, he would present himself to his new chief and tell him of his desire to serve him He was sure of a welcome from the chief, to whom each serf meant another labourer and an addition to his wealth, for besides doing building for him and perhaps herding his goats and sheep, each serf paid him a yearly tribute of grain and beer, this was not a compulsory tax but was regarded as a voluntary return to the chief for the land occupied If a chief put a serf in charge of his goats and sheep, he paid him a proportion of the young for his work A serf was not limited to a definite amount of land, he might cultivate as much as he wished, and there was no restraint upon him as regards the possession of wealth, for he might accumulate large herds of goats and sheep For many generations, however, these serfs were not expected to keep cows, and were liable to be plundered if they did so, it was only in later years that this restriction was removed and they began to acquire cows, which they used chiefly for the payment of marriage fees

The serfs in a district could be called upon to do work for the king or state by the chief of that district, but he could not summon them directly, for the serfs always attached themselves to some chief who looked upon them as his servants and used them to build for him, to look after his goats and sheep, and to grow what he might require in the way of grain, plantains, and vegetable food The district chief had, therefore, to call upon the serfs through their own chiefs The peasant was not forced to stay with any chief and was free to leave whenever he so desired, but as a rule he attached himself to the land, built a fairly permanent dwelling, and did not wish to move If for any reason one did make up his mind to move

[59] *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*, s v "capitalism"

and attach himself to another chief, he went to live two days with a friend in the district to which he wished to go After the two days the friend took him to his master and he was supplied with land, either a field which had been cultivated before or virgin soil on which to start a new field A chief also gave his serfs from time to time presents of goats, milk, butter, and, when he killed an animal, meat [60]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " of villenages one is absolute [*purum*], another is privileged [*privilegatium*] But an absolute villenage is that which is so held, that he who holds it in villenage, whether he be a free person [*liber*] or a serf [*servus*], shall do villenage whatever he is ordered to do, nor ought he to know at night what he is to do on the morrow, and he will be always liable to uncertain duties But he may be talliaged at the will of the lord more or less Likewise to give blood-money for permission to give away his daughter in marriage, and thus he will be always liable for uncertainties, in such a manner however that if he be a free person he does this in the name of the villenage, and not in the name of his person, nor will he be bound to pay blood money of right, because this does not appertain to the person of a free man, but of a villein But if he be a villein [*villanus*], he must do everything however uncertain as well by reason of the villenage as of his person, and a free person, if he holds in such condition, cannot retain the villenage against the will of the lord, nor can he be compelled to retain it unless he is willing There is likewise a villenage which is not so absolute, whether it be conceded to a free man or to a villein, to be held upon an agreement for certain services and customs named and expressed, although the services and customs are villein " [61]

(e) *Slavery* The entrepreneur owns the workers as well as the non-human objects used in production

[BAKITARA] The possession of real slaves was universal throughout the country, for even the poorest man might capture one or more during some raid or battle and afterwards be permitted by the leader to keep one The wealthy people bought slaves when they needed them and a man's heir inherited his slaves along with the other property Domestic slaves were regarded as superior to those who were used as labourers, and the domestic slaves whom a man inherited were regarded almost as members of his family and were not sold A man might even marry a slave woman, and if she bore him a child she became free and was accepted by his clan, though her children might only inherit his property if he had no child by any other wife The ordinary slaves, especially those who had been captured in battle, were bought and sold like cattle, and a man might kill a slave just as he might kill one of his cows and no one would question his action.[62]

[60] J Roscoe, *The Bakitara* (Cambridge, 1923), pp 9–10, 200–01

[61] H de Bracton (d 1268), *Delegibus et consuetudinibus angliae*, ed G E. Woodbine (*Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts*, 3) (New Haven, 1915–), 208b, tr T Twiss (London, 1878–83).

[62] Roscoe, *op cit*, p 11

[UNITED STATES] "The state or condition of Negro or African slavery is established by law in this state, conferring on the master property in and the right to the time, labor and services of the slave, and to enforce obedience on the part of the slave, to all his lawful commands "[63]

DISTRIBUTION

Forms of distribution

Distribution consists of the customary ways in which behavior and objects are allocated It takes place in two ways *transfer,* or change of ownership, and *borrowing,* the use of property belonging to others

The clearest means of showing the relation between the various forms of distribution is through an outline summary (8)

I Non-reciprocal distribution

A. *Appropriation* is taking something that is not the property of any owner, i e , is not in an ownership relation The first one to claim a thing in the customary fashion becomes the owner of it

[ROME] " . occupation, whereby things previously the property of no one become the property of the first occupant, as the wild inhabitants of earth, air, and water, as soon as they are captured "[64]

[UNITED STATES] " . any person shall be entitled to enter one quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands "[65]

B *Seizure* is involuntary distribution The one who is stronger takes what he wants from the weaker owner.

[RWALA BEDOUINS] The Bedouins are convinced that the *fellahin* [sedentary agriculturalists] are obliged to supply them with food Everywhere the remark may be heard "The *fellah* must provide food for the Bedouins . . " If the *fellah* does not give it to them of his own free will, they have the right to take everything they find, and therefore they declare "Take from the *fellah* whatever ye find (or like)" .

The fight called *manah,* as distinguished from the *razw* or raid for booty, is very different When a stronger tribe wants to possess itself of the territory of a weaker or to increase its fame . . it moves with all its herds and tents into the territory occupied by the latter and finally encamps

[63] Alabama, *Code* (Montgomery, 1852), 2042

[64] Gaius, *op cit*, 2 66

[65] "An act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain, May 20, 1862," *U S Statutes at Large,* 12 (pp 392–93), Sec 1

near the main camp of the enemy [They then proceed to battle] [66]

[UNITED STATES] "Professional stealing as a business is much like any other business

"It involves as much hard work as any other business There is little thrill about it . The earnings are very irregular" [67]

C *Free gift* is voluntary distribution without any consideration of reciprocity on the part of the donor The donor gives the thing to anyone with whom he identifies to such an extent that he gets satisfaction from knowing that the gift is used to gratify the motives of the recipient. The recipient is either someone for whom the donor is supposed to have affection, or a needy person with whom he sympathizes

[NAVAJO] "My sister said, 'There's another thing I want to say to you, my father' 'What is it?' he asked She said. 'I'd like to have some medicine, medicine that one uses for sheep and horses, so that I can raise them I haven't any medicine for them I haven't anything, so I'm not strong' My father said, 'All right Whenever any of my children ask me for something I'll do it, I won't refuse them, for they're my children I'm glad you asked me' He got his sack and took out his medicine-bundle, and she spread a cloth for him to put it on He said, 'Now, remember, this is for the horses, and this other one is for the sheep They look exactly alike, but you must remember which is which However, I have something for you to remember them by' He opened his pouch, took out his corn pollen, opened that and from it took a red-bead-horse He gave it to my sister, and she put it in the medicine for the horses. She said, 'Thank you very much, my father, my mother, thank you very much,' and again she said to him, 'Thank you, my father, my mother'

"While the others were out separating the sheep and goats she asked him, 'What shall I use besides this medicine?' He said, 'The rest, you know it all I've told you all about it, so you know it all And remember all, too, that you want to use for your sheep and horses It all turns into property When you acquire horses it'll give you and get you property So you must take good care of them About the songs, your older brother knows all the songs about the horses and sheep and about the various properties So you want to go to your brother and ask him about the horse song, the sheep song and the song you use for property' " [68]

[UNITED STATES] " . all those who receive [wedding] invitations to the house are supposed to send presents to the bride at her own house from the

[66] A Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (American Geographical Society, *Oriental Explorations and Studies*, 6) (New York, 1928), pp 90, 540

[67] C Conwell, *The Professional Thief*, ed E H Sutherland (Chicago, 1937), pp 140, 142

[68] W Dyk, *Son of Old Man Hat* (New York, 1938), pp 32–33

store where they are bought The price mark is taken off and the donor's card enclosed The sooner the gifts are sent the better, because it gives the bride leisure to enjoy them and to write her thanks " [69]

[WEST GREENLAND ESKIMO] *Of very seal caught at a winter station* during the whole season of their dwelling in the winter-houses, small pieces of flesh, with a proportionate share of the blubber, were distributed among all the inhabitants, or if insufficient for so many, the housemates first got their share Nobody was omitted on these occasions, and in this way not the very poorest could want food and lamp-oil so long as the usual capture of seals did not fail. Besides this general distribution, every man who had taken a seal used to invite the rest to partake of a meal with him It must, however, be understood, that where the population of a place exceeded a certain number, or at times when the seals were very plentiful, this sharing of flesh and blubber, either by distribution or by feasting, would probably be limited, in the first case, to perhaps some of the nearest houses or relatives [70]

[UNITED STATES]

"THE PRICE OF PEACE

Peace has cost us a heavy price—so heavy that only continued willing sacrifice can justify the tremendous investment

WILL YOU KEEP FAITH WITH THESE?

In our own community

The man who lies under a cross at Tarawa—Okinawa—in France, Belgium, Germany

His young wife—and the child who will never know his father

The nerve shattered veteran who cannot find his way back to normal life and family relationships

The war-worker whose life is thrown out of gear by sudden peace.

Those who have broken under years of strain

The children whose lives have been disrupted by abnormal conditions.

The men still serving in uniform

The hundreds of thousands of Occupation troops, who must stand by while their buddies take off for home

Those who are bound by oath and law, loyalty and necessity to remain at their posts until officially released

The men, wounded seriously or at war's end, who cannot yet take advantage of the glorious opportunity to go home

The 'amputees,' the 'ambulatories,' to whom hospital walls must be home for long days and longer months

Those for whom war's effects will never end

Our allies

The starving Filipino baby the only living soul found in his native village

[69] E Post, *Etiquette*, p 396

[70] H J Rink, *Eskimoiske eventyr og sagn*, suppl , p 174

The Chinese lad who has never known a day of peace in his nine years of life

The little Dutch girl who can survive starvation only with rare drugs to help

The families who will never see their homes again

Those who must rebuild a life from less than nothing

The men, women and children whose shattered bodies and minds may never recover from the effects of war

Your gift to the Community War Fund is part of your share in the price that has been paid for peace Give willingly and generously—*Keep Faith With Those Who Gave More*" [71]

II. *Exchange* is reciprocal distribution

A. *Gift exchange* is exchange primarily for the sake of symbolizing the relation between the participants' roles, rather than for the sake of the uses to which the things can be put

[WAWURONG] "People gave each other presents to make friends" [72]

[CHINA] "Honouring and respecting are what exist before any offering of gifts" [73]

"Wan Chang asked Mencius, saying, 'I venture to ask what feeling of the mind is expressed in the presents of friendship?' Mencius replied, 'The feeling of respect'

"'How is it,' pursued Chang, 'that the declining a present is accounted disrespectful?' The answer was, 'When one of honourable rank presents a gift, to say in the mind, "Was the way in which he got this righteous or not? I must know this before I can receive it",—this is deemed disrespectful, and therefore presents are not declined'" [74]

It is up to the donor of the counter-gift to see that the things exchanged are equivalent

[TROBRIANDS] . two main principles, namely, first that the Kula is a gift repaid after an interval of time by a counter-gift, and not a bartering, and second, that the equivalent rests with the giver, and cannot be enforced, nor can there be any haggling or going back on the exchange—these underlie all the transactions [75]

[UNITED STATES] Some wit once said, *a propos* of Christmas gifts, "Ain't it hard to figure out what to get people so you break even?"

[71] Washington, D C, Community War Fund, *Keep Faith With Those Who Gave,* Washington, D C, [1945]

[72] Howitt, *op cit*, p 254

[73] *Meng-tzŭ* [3rd cent B C], ed J Legge (*Chinese Classics,* 2) (Oxford, 1895, 2nd ed), 7 1 37 2

[74] *Ibid*, 5 2 4 1–2

[75] Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific,* p 98

In most cases he does so because it is customary, but if he is remiss the usual sanctions are applied

[TROBRIANDS] The *Kula* involves the elements of trust and of a sort of commercial honour, as the equivalence between gift and countergift cannot be strictly enforced As in many other native transactions, the main corrective force is supplied by the deeply engrained idea that liberality is the most important and the most honourable virtue, whereas meanness brings shame and opprobrium upon the miser [76]

[UNITED STATES] At Christmas you buy presents for your friends and relatives according to the value of the presents they gave you the year before And when you unexpectedly get gifts from people you did not count on, you dash madly to a store to buy them something in return so that they will not know you had not planned to send them something Why do you do this? First of all, that is the thing to do And if you didn't, you would feel like a cheap skate Also, the other fellow would have the right to be peeved, he might even tell others about it

But these controls operate only under conventional conditions If you receive a present of rare candies, cigarettes, or liquor, you may hide it and consume it only when no one else is around If you leave it where others can see it, you would feel obligated to offer them some

The participants use the transaction to symbolize the relation which exists between their respective roles

[THONGA] . the laws of distribution of the joints of meat on the day when the headman [of a village] kills an ox to feast them [i e , the villagers] The various portions must be distributed to the relatives according to the place which they occupy in the family The headman, nominal proprietor of the ox, will keep the breast . This is not only the sternum and the ribs, but most of the viscera which are contained in them The headman will probably send the heart and the kidneys to his wives . The brother who comes next will receive one of the hindlegs The third in rank one of the forelegs The elder son will eat the second hindleg, and the younger son the second foreleg They will eat this meat with their families, or houses .

Let us continue the distribution To the brothers-in-law, or to the relatives-in-law generally, the tail is sent It is the portion of the sister But this does not only consist of the tail properly speaking, it comprises all the hind parts of the animal, especially the rump The maternal uncle receives part of the loins . The liver is put aside for the grandfather and the old people generally, because it is soft and they have no teeth to gnaw the bones The head belongs to all the men of the village who must eat it on the huba [village square] They may give the tongue . . . to the old men It is taboo for the women to eat it, or the

76 Malinowski, "Kula, the circulating exchange of valuables in the archipelagoes of eastern New Guinea," *Man*, 20 (1920), (pp 97–105) p 100

under lip From each limb a small piece is taken away . and placed on a skewer, it is the portion of the shepherds and of the butchers. . . . Sometimes the shepherds also receive the lungs and the spleen

This way of distributing ox meat is called "to kill an ox according to rule " [77]

[UNITED STATES] "Any husband who shall, without just cause, desert or wilfully neglect or refuse or fail to provide for the support or maintenance of his wife, or any parent who shall without lawful excuse desert or wilfully neglect or refuse or fail to provide for the support and maintenance of his, or her, child, or children, under the age of eighteen years . shall be guilty of a misdemeanor " [78]

> That the gifts are primarily symbolic can be seen from the kinds of things used Sometimes they are so much alike that there is no point to the exchange as far as the other uses are concerned

[NEW IRELAND] There is reciprocal exchange of food between members of the opposite moieties at birth, first menstruation, circumcision, and marriage rites At these feasts there are two piles of food, one contributed by the members of the Hawk moiety and the other by members of the Eagle moiety The uncooked food is arranged in two piles (as at the marriage rites) looking exactly equal, and the food brought by the members of the Eagle moiety is given to the women of the Hawk moiety, and *vice versa* At a birth feast the baked food is distributed in the same way The Eagle women bring their taro, prepare it for baking, and place it in the *liga* (stove) themselves They do not forget just where their bundles have been placed Removing them from the *liga*, they give them to the women of the Hawk moiety 'The taro is exactly the same, and prepared in the same fashion, so one gets exactly what one has given [79]

[UNITED STATES] Women often give each other handkerchiefs at Christmas

> At other times they are such that they hardly have any other use

The Kula is a form of exchange, of extensive, inter-tribal character, it is carried on by communities inhabiting a wide ring of islands [off eastern New Guinea], which form a closed circuit Along this route, articles of two kinds, and these two kinds only, are constantly travelling in opposite directions In the direction of the hands of a clock, moves constantly one of these kinds—long necklaces of red shell, called *soulava* In the opposite direction moves the other kind—bracelets of white shell called *mwali* . . Each of these articles, as it travels in its own direction on the

[77] H A Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, I, pp 299–300

[78] Alabama, *Code 1940*, 34 90

[79] Powdermaker, *op cit*, p 196

closed circuit, meets on its way articles of the other class, and is constantly being exchanged for them Every movement of the Kula articles, every detail of the transactions is fixed and regulated by a set of traditional rules and conventions, and some acts of the Kula are accompanied by an elaborate magical ritual and public ceremonies.

On every island and in every village, a more or less limited number of men take part in the Kula—that is to say, receive the goods, hold them for a short time, and then pass them on Therefore, every man who is in the Kula, periodically though not regularly, receives one or several *mwali* (arm-shells), or a *soulava* (necklace of red shell discs), and then has to hand it on to one of his partners, from whom he receives the opposite commodity in exchange Thus no man ever keeps any of the articles for any length of time in his possession One transaction does not finish the Kula relationship, the rule being "once in the Kula, always in the Kula," and a partnership between two men is a permanent and lifelong affair Again, any given *mwali* or *soulava* may always be found travelling and changing hands, and there is no question of its ever settling down, so that the principle "once in the Kula, always in the Kula" applies also to the valuables themselves [80]

no one ever keeps any of the *Kula* valuables for any length of time Indeed, in the whole of the Trobriands there are perhaps only one or two specially fine armshells and shell necklaces permanently owned as heirlooms, and these are set apart as a special class, and are once and for all out of the *Kula* "Ownership," therefore, in *Kula*, is quite a special economic relation A man who is in the *Kula* never keeps any article for longer than, say, a year or two Even this exposes him to the reproach of being niggardly, and certain districts have the bad reputation of being "slow" and "hard" in the *Kula* On the other hand, each man has an enormous number of articles passing through his hands during his life time, of which he enjoys a temporary possession, and which he keeps in trust for a time This possession hardly ever makes him use the articles, and he remains under the obligation soon again to hand them on to one of his partners But the temporary ownership allows him to draw a great deal of renown, to exhibit his article, to tell how he obtained it, and to plan to whom he is going to give it And all this forms one of the favourite subjects of tribal conversation and gossip, in which the feats and the glory in *Kula* of chiefs or commoners are constantly discussed and re-discussed.[81]

[UNITED STATES] Gift shops and gift sections of stores sell special kinds of objects Such white elephants are only given as gifts, no sane person would ever buy them under any other circumstances

However, there is a form of gift exchange which borders on trade, "Indian giving" belongs in this class. This occurs when a participant uses gift exchange to get a gift to be used for

[80] Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, pp 81–83
[81] Malinowski, "Kula," p 100

purposes other than primarily as a symbol of good will Theoretically, the gift given in a gift exchange depends upon the initiative of the donor, but one participant can put pressure on another to give him what he wants by presenting him with a *solicitory gift* and letting him know, explicitly or implicitly, what counter-gift is wanted.

[TROBRIANDS] If I, an inhabitant of Sinaketa, happen to be in possession of a pair of armshells more than usually good, the fame of it spreads It must be noted that each of one of the first-class armshells and necklaces has a personal name and a history of its own, and as they all circulate around the big ring of the *Kula*, they are all well known, and their appearance in a given district always creates a sensation Now, all my partners—whether from overseas or from within the district—compete for the favour of receiving this particular article of mine, and those who are specially keen try to obtain it by giving me *pokala* (offerings) and *kaributu* (solicitary gifts) The former (*pokala*) consists, as a rule, of pigs—especially fine bananas and yams or taro, the latter (*kaributu*) are of greater value the valuable, "ceremonial" axe blades or lime spoons of whale bone are given [82]

[UNITED STATES] If an individual wants someone to do something for him, he can obligate him by inviting him to dinner, taking him to the theater, etc

B *Trade* is exchange in order to use the things transferred The individual receives that for which he pays

1. *Fixed trade* is trade in which equivalence is set by custom (9)

[TROBRIANDS] in all cases trade follows customary rules, which determine what and how much shall be exchanged for any given article Thus the villagers of Bwoitalu are the professional carvers in hard wood and produce excellent carved dishes They are, on the other hand, in need of coconuts and yam food, and they like to acquire certain ornaments Whenever one of them has a few dishes of certain dimensions on hand, he knows that in the village of Oburaku he can get about forty coconuts for one grade, twenty for another, ten for another, and so on, in the central villages of Kiriwina, he can obtain a definite number of yam baskets, in some other villages, he can get a few red shell-discs or turtle-shell ear-rings . . .

All the trade is carried on in exactly the same way—given the article, and the communities between which it is traded, anyone would know its equivalent, rigidly prescribed by custom [83]

[82] *Ibid*, p 99
[83] Malinowski, "The primitive economics of the Trobriand Islanders," *Economic Journal*, 31 (1921), (pp 1–16) pp 13–14.

The equivalence of fish, given in return for vegetable food, is measured only roughly A standard sized bunch of taro, or one of the ordinary baskets of *taytu* (small yams) will be repaid by a bundle of fish, some three to five kilograms in weight [84]

. . exchange of vegetable food for fish plays a conspicuous part in tribal life . There is a rough equivalence between the measure of food, which is the bell-shaped standard basketful, and the measure of fish, which is a string of fish some two to three kilograms in weight [85]

[UNITED STATES] Certain items have their price set by custom. For instance, Wrigley's chewing gum is always 5¢ a pack

2 *Fluctuating trade* is trade in which equivalence is reached by bargaining

[TROBRIANDS] . bartering, pure and simple, takes place mainly between the industrial communities of the interior, which manufacture on a large scale the wooden dishes, combs, lime pots, armlets and baskets and the agricultural districts of Kiriwina, the fishing communities of the West, and the sailing and trading communities of the South The industrials, who are regarded as pariahs and treated with contumely, are nevertheless allowed to hawk their goods throughout the other districts When they have plenty of articles on hand, they go to the other places, and ask for yams, coco nuts, fish, and betel-nut, and for some ornaments, such as turtle shell, earrings and spondylus beads They sit in groups and display their wares, saying "You have plenty of coco-nuts, and we have none We have made fine wooden dishes This one is worth forty nuts, and some betel-nut, and some betel pepper" The others then may answer, "Oh, no, I do not want it You ask too much" "What will you give us?" An offer may be made, and rejected by the pedlars, and so on, till a bargain is struck [86]

[SAMOA] Upon the head of the family deciding to build a canoe, an additional quantity of taro was planted, and messengers were sent in various directions to beg or borrow as much native property as could be obtained This being collected, and the crops of breadfruit and taro appearing satisfactory, the workmen were summoned In effecting this, the negotiations required to be made with great care and tact, for the builders were a proud and independent set, ever ready to take offence and make exorbitant demands, especially if the head workman had obtained a name and renown Generally speaking, the head of the family or some other influential member went to the place where the workmen were to be found, and proffered a valuable mat or good axe to the chief workman, and formally request his attendance This part of the business was always formal, being introduced by a set speech full of compliment and praise, at

[84] Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p 188
[85] Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (London, 1935), I, p 42
[86] Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, p 189

the close of which the property was tendered to the chief builder for his acceptance The workman replied in a return set complimentary speech, and if he felt disposed to undertake the job he received the first instalment of the payment and appointed a day for commencing the work, after which the visitors took their leave Sometimes consent was not so easily given, the builders had so much work on hand that they had to refuse, in which case other builders were visited

When the work was accepted, arrangements on both sides were made to commence Shortly after a small party of workmen were sent to where the canoe was to be built to cut wood and get the *fono* or separate pieces roughly shaped out After this the timber was left to season, and a definite period fixed to begin the work

On the day appointed the canoe-builders presented themselves, master, assistants, and attendants, with a whole company of women and children, it being the custom for all the workmen to be accompanied by their families, the whole of the party being fed by the contracting party for a period of one, two, or three months, according to the time taken in the work It is strange that such a custom should have been tolerated, but so it was, and as a consequence the builders often left a family so impoverished that it took them a long time to recover their position Upon the arrival of the workmen they were received by the chief and his dependents with all due honour, and during their stay every effort was made to keep them in a good humour, so that the work might not be hindered Prior to their arrival a quantity of well plaited cinet, breadfruit pitch (*pulu*), and *u'a* (native cloth in an early stage of preparation) had been prepared in readiness for the work This was now commenced in good earnest, a temporary shed having been erected for the work, and the spot where the canoe was to be built formally *tapued*, so as to ensure quiet, and to compel all passers-by to make a detour and avoid the spot, thus doing homage to the work in progress Persons of all ranks submitted to this exaction as long as required without murmuring As the work proceeded, either the head of the family or some other influential member of his household daily seated himself with the workmen, watched the progress of the work, engaged in conversation with the workmen, saw that their wants were attended to, and prepared cinet for the work An omission in this time-honoured custom, or any lax attention to the duties of host, was an insult to the builders not easily overlooked by them

The necessary payments were made according to the progress of the work, and always with much ceremony A curious custom prevailed as to the payment of the builders No formal agreement was made as to the amount to be paid, but payments were tendered at five different stages of the work, and in the event of the workmen being dissatisfied with the first two or three instalments, they very unceremoniously abandoned the work until the employer apologized or came to terms, no other party of workmen daring to finish an abandoned canoe upon pain of bringing upon themselves the wrath of the whole fraternity of canoe-builders, in which case the offending parties would have their tools taken from them, be

expelled from their clan, and prohibited from exercising their calling during the pleasure of the fraternity This was surely trades unionism rampant!

The five separate payments were made as follows — (1) *O le taunga*, given upon the first interview with the principal workman, (2) *O le oloa*, given on the laying of the keel, (3) *O le tao fanonga*, (4) *O le sa*, given on the completion of the sides This last instalment consisted of five portions, each having a different name referring to the different stages of the work, viz *O afu-i-vao* (covering in the bush) referring to the time the workmen were occupied in cutting timber for the canoe, *O le solinga* (the cutting), *O le afu o-le-tufunga* (the covering of the principal workman), *O le-afu-o-le-ava* (covering for the wife), *O le si'itanga-o-le-taumua* (the lifting up of the prow), and *O le salusalunga-o le taele* (the adzing smooth of the keel) —a mat or mats being set apart for each of these several payments, and each lot announced with much ceremony The fifth and last instalment was given upon the final completion of the canoe, and was called *O le umusanga* (completion of the work)

This was a critical and difficult time, and during the payment strange scenes often occurred On such occasions the builders seated themselves in a body in the open space in front of the house in which the payment was placed, the chief with his family remaining inside the house, where a consultation was carried on as to the quantity and quality of the mats to be given in payment When this point had been finally settled, the female members of the family arrayed themselves in the mats and walked forth in procession, an orator taking up his position in front of the house, and as each female came to deposit her mat the orator announced with much ceremony the name, pedigree, and description of each mat, after which it was taken to the workmen and placed before them If the builders were satisfied, all passed off well The workmen took their leave, and the company broke up with much expressed satisfaction, but if otherwise, strange scenes occurred, the builders abused, flattered, or coaxed by turns, as they endeavoured to obtain a larger amount of payment The workmen were usually well aware of the number and quality of mats possessed by a chief or landholder, and if they found that he had kept back some particular mat they coveted, they spared no pains to obtain it

Sometimes the paymaster pleaded poverty, but in vain Such a plea was promptly met by the workmen asking him, if such were the case, what he meant by summoning workmen whom he was unable to pay, thus exposing his name to ridicule and derision in every direction, whilst some times they would wind up by telling him that he was a poor, mean, poverty-stricken fellow If the builders succeeded in getting more property than had at first been offered, they were loud in their praises of the chief He was a noble fellow, and his name would be celebrated in every direction If otherwise, the builders departed, making the best of their bargain, but heaping abuse upon the so-called miserly chief wherever they went[87]

[UNITED STATES] It does seem certain that a touch of the motley rests

[87] J B Stair, *Old Samoa* (London, 1897), pp 147–52

upon the ways of price making The price of wheat is made momentarily in sensitive markets linked together by telegraph and cable, the price of fertilizer, for which there is no open market, has the support of a system of open price filing The grower of peaches, under a commission system, has to dispose of a highly perishable commodity in an auction market, the bituminous-coal operator peddles mine capacity to prospective customers and produces only on contract The price of electricity is set by a regulatory commission through a protracted process of deliberation and is subject to review in the courts, the price of calculating machines is fixed at the will of the manufacturer by virtue of rights in patents, the prices of aluminum wares derive from a single control of the virgin product, the price of copper rests upon a strategic factor variously set down as a "gentlemen's agreement," "follow the leader," or mutual forbearance among brethren of a trade.[88]

> If trade is extensive, markets and middlemen are found A *market* is an assemblage of traders taking place at definite times and place, this concentration of participants makes trade more convenient

[DAHOMEY] The market is the principal medium for the distribution of economic goods, affording a channel through which the products of farmers, artisans and craftsmen flow to the ultimate consumer, and through which compensation is returned to the producers Yet more than an economic significance attaches to this institution, for the market-place is also a center for social activities and a place where religious rites are held

A market begins about eight o'clock in the morning The place where it is held is kept clean on the days when trading is not done there The wide clearing, free of grass and with but a few trees to afford shade, has only some thatched shelters or, at the present time, two or three substantial iron-roofed pavilions provided by the French government, so that the greater part of the clearing stands exposed to the glare of the sun By nine o'clock in the morning a fair proportion of the traders have come, by ten the market is in full swing It has been estimated that as many as ten thousand people pass through the Abomey market-place on some market days Those who sell sit on the ground on mats, or on low stools, the vendors of a given commodity grouped together with their wares spread about them So closely are they grouped, indeed, that the buyer or onlooker must pick his way carefully as he moves about There is a constant hubbub of conversation, punctuated by laughter or the sound of voices raised in argument over the price of some article As the day advances and the heat of the sun increases, temporary shelters are erected, short poles being thrust into the ground and mats laid over them.

Towards noon and into early afternoon the crowd becomes more and more dense, so that the market is at its height by two o'clock After this

[88] W H Hamilton *et al*, *Price and Price Policies* (New York, 1938), p 530 By permission Copyrighted, 1938, by McGraw-Hill Book Co, Inc

the crowd begins to thin, people drift toward the side streets leading away from the city, and women who have been so fortunate as to dispose of their produce leave In the main, though, the streets are filled with buyers carrying their purchases home—a new calabash on the head filled with cloth or holding a new hoe, in one hand two or three chickens, in the other a rope attached to a goat or sheep that has just been bought By five o'clock the movement is strongly away from the market-place, and, as darkness sets in, quiet settles down over it Early the next morning eight or ten women are to be seen sweeping away the debris of the preceding day Each has a palm-leaf broom, and, bent low as she wields it, moves along step by step in time to the strokes When the women have finished, they leave traceries on the ground of a series of designs made by the regular semi-circular sweep of the broom, while the open space, spotlessly clean once more, is ready for the next market

To detail the wares sold in the market-place would be to catalogue those elements in the material culture of Dahomey that are transportable Near the center of the Abomey market, on the south side, the mat-makers are found These are usually men, and each constructs a little booth of his mats in which he sits as he awaits his customers There are several kinds of mats to be found here—the finely woven sleeping mats, the mats used in the ceremonies for the deities, the mats that hang in doorways Nearby are the sellers of native cloth, who have piles of folded material on the ground near them ready to spread out for any interested customer The greatest activity is to be found on the northern and western fringes of the market-place, where a line of trees gives shade At the western side of the market, the sellers of live animals take their place, with their chickens, ducks, and guinea-hens, goats, pigs, and sheep. The sellers of foodstuffs are found along the northern border As has been indicated, both cooked and uncooked foods are available Of the former, one finds *akasa,* yams—freshly fried for each customer—and in season boiled ears of corn Of the raw foods, corn meal, millet, yams, sweet potatoes, cassava, beans of various sorts, and peppers both fresh and dried are all offered Here, too, sit the sellers of palm-oil Little fruit besides oranges, limes, bananas, coconuts, papaya and pineapples are observable, and these not in very large quantities, for the Dahomeans are not a great fruit-eating people Beverages are also for sale in this part of the market, both those of European origin sold in bottles, usually non intoxicating, and native palm-wine

At the eastern end of the market are stationed the tradesmen Under the roofed shelters are the butcher shops, where the day's kill of pork, veal, mutton and occasionally beef is sold, besides such game as may have been brought by the hunters to the market for sale Here also one finds the iron-workers with hoes, axes, machetes and smaller knives on display, as well as the iron standards which are destined for the shrines sacred to the ancestors Nearby are to be found the unornamented types of calabashes large enough for holding grain, or small enough for drinking cups, or, in the days before the introduction of European chinaware, of a size for eating These calabashes are brought to market on the heads of the men, and come from the farming districts where they have been harvested, dried, and their inner pulp removed The bowl-like gourds, cut in half, are put one inside

the other until a stack six or eight feet high has been made Four long, narrow pieces of wood are arranged to form a frame and the rope with which these sticks are attached prevent the calabashes from falling, making it possible for a man to carry a large number of them at once The men who sell the material needed for charms of all kinds sit not far from the vendors of calabashes The ingredients for sale, arranged in front of each seller, include the skulls of monkeys, the long bones of various animal forms, bits of the pelt of leopards and other felines, dried herbs, pieces of curiously twisted iron, thongs of different lengths, creepers of special kinds, and such other ingredients as will be detailed when an analysis of the charms which were actually collected is given

Under the nearby shelters, in addition to the butchers, are the sellers of European cloth, their gaily printed lengths both piled beside them and displayed suspended from wires strung between the posts Here, too, one finds such evidences of European contact as repairers of bicycles, and the tailors who operate European sewing machines and make the trousers and shirts worn by Dahomean men These latter two groups, however, are always in their places whether there is a market or not, for the shelters they occupy constitute their permanent workshops Finally, in the north-central portion of the market, on the west side of the permanent shelters, are found those who sell pottery The various types are segregated, those who sell great storage pots, or small paired pots for twins, or whitened, elaborately decorated pottery for the cult of the founder of the royal sib, or double pots used in the worship of the snake deities, being grouped Thus one can find in the market everything needed by the native for his everyday life The only exceptions are those products of European manufacture that are sold in the shops kept by natives, which flank the market-place, though even of these commodities, sugar, salt, kerosene, thread, soap and matches are sold in the market

In addition to the great markets, there are other means of distribution which, though individually insignificant, probably account for a considerable proportion of the total business transactions Reference here is to the permanent subsidiary markets, where buying and selling is restricted almost entirely to food staples, cooked foods and other bare necessities of life, such as salt and sugar Markets of this kind may vary in size from those where two or three women sit under a tree at the juncture of two bush paths, to evening markets, such as that of Abomey, held every day in the great market-places themselves The small roadside markets operate during the day and sometimes until a short time after darkness has fallen, the evening markets begin shortly after dark, and last until past ten o'clock None of these are regarded as falling in the same category as the great gatherings to which the word "market" is to be properly applied, but are rather to be thought of as permanent outdoor shops where the Dahomean can be sure of supplementing the staples he has neglected to buy at the four-day market [89]

[89] Herskovits, *op cit*, I, pp 51, 57–60
For the United States, *vide* S R De Boer, *Shopping Districts*, Washington, 1937

A *middleman* is one who specializes in supplying the behavior and objects produced by others. (10)

[MAYA] Apaspolon . is the richest trader and has the greatest shipping traffic of anybody His commerce is very extensive, and at Nito there is an entire quarter peopled with his agents under command of one of his brothers The chief articles of merchandise in those provinces are *cacao*, cotton cloth, colours for dyeing, and a kind of stain with which they smear their bodies to protect them against heat and cold, tar for lighting purposes, resin from pines for the incensing of their idols, slaves, and certain red beads of shells which they greatly esteem for ornamenting their persons in their feasts and festivities, they trade in some gold, which is mixed with copper and other alloys [90]

RETAIL TRADE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1939 *

KIND OF BUSINESS	NUMBER OF STORES	NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL SALES
Food	560 549	798,462	24 2
General stores (with food)	39,688	60,701	1 9
General merchandise	50,267	867,007	13 5
Apparel	106,959	388,737	7 8
Furniture	52,827	213,635	4 1
Automotive	60,132	389,298	13 2
Filling stations	211,858	235,527	6 7
Lumber-building hardware	79,313	252,296	6 5
Eating and drinking	305,386	806,883	8 4
Drug stores	57,903	189,403	3 7
Other	215,473	398,268	1 0
Total	1,770,355	4,600,217	100 0 (= $42,041,790,000)

* Based upon U. S Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States 1940, Business,* I 1, pp. 9, 57 *Vide* P D Converse and H W Huegy, *The Elements of Marketing* (New York, 1940, 2nd rev ed)

His profit is the difference between the price at which he buys and that at which he sells

[TROBRIANDS] The natives of Sinaketa [Boyowa Is] act as intermediaries between the industrial centres of the Trobriands and Dobu [91]

. in this transaction a definite gain [*is*] obtained by the middlemen [92]

[90] H. Cortes, *Cartas de relacion de la conquista de Mejico* [1519–26] (*Viajes clasicos,* 19–20) (Madrid, 1932, 2nd ed), II, p. 160, tr F A MacNutt (New York, 1908)

[91] Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific,* p 364.

[92] *Idem.*

A few samples of the prices paid in Boyowa and those received in Dobu will indicate the amount of this gain.

Kuboma [Boyowa Is] to Sinaketa		Dobu to Sinaketa
1 *tanepopo* basket	= 12 coco-nuts	= 12 coco-nuts + sago + 1 belt
1 comb	= 4 coco-nuts	= 4 coco-nuts + 1 bunch of betel
1 armlet	= 8 coco-nuts	= 8 coco-nuts + 2 bundles of betel
1 lime pot	= 12 coco-nuts	= 12 coco-nuts + 2 pieces of sago

This table shows in its second column the prices paid by the Sinaketans to the industrial villages of Kuboma, a district in the Northern Trobriands In the third column what they receive in Dobu is recorded for each article, the Sinaketan would ask the price which he paid for them as well as some extra article [93]

[UNITED STATES] ". . . the great manufacturing or commercial concern which does not earn at least interest upon its capital soon becomes bankrupt It must either go forward or fall behind, to stand still is impossible It is a condition essential to its successful operation that it should be thus far profitable, and even that, in addition to interest on capital, it should make profit " [94]

There are two alternatives in judging equivalence (*a*) In gift exchange payment is approximately equal to the amount paid for the thing by the donor (cost price), while if the thing is only borrowed there is no payment for its use

[UNITED STATES] "When my wife and I bought our furniture, we ordered it through a good friend of ours who is in the wholesale furniture business Instead of letting us pay him the list price, he sent us a bill for what it cost him "

[TIKOPIA] Frequently no compensation is given for the use of the article borrowed when it is returned afterwards For instance at a marriage ceremony four taro graters were borrowed for the preparation of a feast by the people living at one end of the Namo beach from those at the other As a rule each household has only one of these graters and so must obtain others for any big event. When they were finished with they were given to a child to take back Nothing was sent in addition "because when one person is doing something he takes it It is not paid for " [95]

[UNITED STATES] When you borrow his automobile from your neighbor all that you give him is thanks

(*b*) In trade the payment is whatever amount can be commanded for it (market price), while if the thing is borrowed payment is demanded for its use.

[93] *Ibid*, pp 363–64
[94] A Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth*, p 4
[95] Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy*, p 319

[HAUSA]

"A trader's customs

"On arrival in a town he questions his landlord and says to him, 'Now, if such-and-such a thing were brought to this town, would it be in demand?' Then the landlord says to him, 'Have you brought it?' And he replies, 'Yes, I have brought a little, but I do not wish to sell it in this town, because I intend to take it to such-and-such a place'

"Then the landlord says to him, 'It would be better to sell it here, for perhaps its price at the place to which you intended to take it would not be as much as it is here, for everything is in God's hands'

"Then the trader says, 'If I find a purchaser here I will sell it, because one does not refuse to listen to people's advice.' And so the landlord replies, 'Very well, bring it out Hassan is sure to buy it all, and he will give you your money down, for he buys this kind of article and saves it, so that he may sell it and get a large profit one day when its price has risen'

"When the trader hears this, he says to the landlord, 'Very well, call him to come and look at it, and if he wants it we will do business with one another'

" 'No,' replies the landlord 'You carry it, and we will go to his house together' And the trader says, 'No It would be better for you to call him here, for perhaps we shall not come to terms if I carry it there, and I shall have the trouble of carrying it back again.' 'Yes, that is so,' says the landlord 'Let me go and call him'

"When he has called him and he has arrived, they bargain and come to terms, when they have done so, the landlord takes his commission, for he is the broker

"Then, if the trader finds he has sold this article very well, he brings out the rest, which he had hidden away, and sells it there When he has sold it all, he returns to the city, buys some more and takes it back

"There are many people in large towns like Kano who have no other business except providing lodgings for strangers" [96]

[UNITED STATES]

"10 Rules for Retailers

1 Remember you are in business to make money and for no other reason shall you continue in business
2 Buy with an eye to the sale, but be not niggardly, lest you defraud yourself
3 Sell that your customers may come back for more
4 Control your expenses, lest they control you
5 A dollar saved shall ring like a symphony in your cash-register.
6 By firm policies shall you excel, yet, behold, a shrewd merchant setteth his sail to catch the wind
7 Adapt your ways to the changing times, and in time shall you be rewarded

[96] F W Taylor and A G G Webb, *Customs of the Hausas* (London, 1932), pp 221–223

8. Sell not at a loss, unless you can thereby make a gain
9. Destroy not your competitor by unfair practices, lest they return upon you a hundredfold
10. Profit, profit, profit—and again I say unto you profit, for volume at a loss profits you nothing, but a mite at a rapid turnover shall make you rich in due time" [97]

[IFUGAO] Rice loaned at any time of the year calls for double the amount at the next harvest A pig loaned calls for two pigs of the same size or one twice as large, the next year Money loaned bears about a hundred per cent interest a year If not paid the first year the debt is four times as great as the principal at the end of the second or third year It does not take long for a chicken borrowed to become a carabao owed

Four years ago my cook's father died He borrowed three pesos He now owes twenty-four pesos The man to whom he owes it says the debt may run another year when, if not otherwise paid, a rice field must pay it [98]

Let us illustrate by an actual case Guade, of Maggok district, is the only son of parents both of whom were quite wealthy, relatively speaking

He makes a great deal of money every year by lending out rice in the "hungry season" (March, April, May) to be paid back, doubled, the coming harvest [99]

[UNITED STATES] When you borrow an automobile from an auto rental service you pay for its use

Though equivalence usually prevails in exchange, there is an exception, namely, when one of the effects of the exchange is to symbolize a difference in the status of the participants Then the things exchanged have different value. Ordinarily, the one who has lower status gives less, and the one of higher status more, than the worth of what he receives

[NEW IRELAND] A rich person might pay five *tsera* for a pig for which another man would pay four. The more he pays the more prestige the buyer has Everyone then knows he is a rich man On the other hand, the owner of the pig would gain prestige if he sold it for four *tsera* when he might have received five [100]

In gift exchange such non-equivalence is rationalized by considering the value of each gift in relation to the donor's resources, rather than in terms of the relative value of gift and counter-gift

[JABO] *One who has only a tane fish and a piece of cassada but cooks it and invites a stranger to the meal—his name will be praised by the stranger as he goes*

[97] Wakem and Whipple, Inc, *10 Rules for Retailers* (Chicago, 1944).
[98] Barton, *op cit*, p 425
[99] *Ibid*, p 41[illegible]
[100] Powdermaker, *op cit*, p 201

The *tane* is a small fish Cassada (manioc) is an important item in the staple diet of the natives who, however, much prefer rice It would not be offered at a feast, except with meat or other more palatable food The proverb suggests that even the smallest gift is appreciated since it shows good-will .

The proverb was told on an occasion when a collection was made to which every gens had to contribute its share Of a certain gens six pounds was required The gens had only five pounds but offered it for the time being to prevent further delay and to demonstrate its eagerness to fulfil its obligations When the money was produced with the proper apologies, the proverb was quoted to the gens [101]

House-rat says anything is something

Told by Kwie . . on one occasion when we offered him, almost apologetically, a rather small piece of tobacco Generally speaking, it is not the best of manners in native etiquette to voice or betray disappointment in the size of a gift, more important than the size is the gesture of giving [102]

[UNITED STATES] "It's not the cost, it's the sentiment that counts."

The relative worth of the things exchanged can become such important symbols of status that increasing the worth of what one gives may be a means of raising his status at the expense of those who give less

[KWAKIUTL] acquiring rank is done by means of the potlatch, or the distribution of property Possession of wealth is considered honorable, and it is the endeavor of each Indian to acquire a fortune But it is not as much the possession of wealth as the ability to give great festivals which makes wealth a desirable object to the Indian . . the man's name acquires greater weight in the councils of the tribe and greater renown among the whole people, as he is able to distribute more and more property at each subsequent festival Therefore boys and men are vying with each other in the arrangement of great distributions of property Boys of different clans are pitted against each other by their elders, and each is exhorted to do his utmost to outdo his rival And as the boys strive against each other, so do the chiefs and the whole clans, and the one object of the Indian is to outdo his rival Formerly feats of bravery counted as well as distributions of property, but nowadays, as the Indians say, "rivals fight with property only" [103]

[UNITED STATES] When a man tries to raise his status by giving gifts or tips which are more valuable than is commensurate with his social position, he is accused of "putting on the dog"

101 G Herzog, *Jabo Proverbs from Liberia* (London, 1936), p 121

102 *Ibid*, pp. 112–13

103 Boas, "The social organization and the secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," pp 341–43

For this reason, in an exchange between people of similar status, it may be just as much of an injury to give more, as to give less, than has been received

[TROBRIANDS] The *buritila'ulo* [competitive contest in harvested wealth] is one of the most characteristic examples of the double-edged nature of gift among the Trobrianders On the one hand it is a present given with the grandiloquent yet calculating generosity which the natives affect on such an occasion, and received with the vigilant and grudging scrutiny which is always ready to perceive meanness Thus marked as a gift, the *buritila'ulo* is a mutual pitting of economic resources in which each of the opposing sides means to score, to show that it is the richer, the superior and the more powerful For the present will have to be returned immediately in exactly the same quantity and quality If the repayment is too small, its inadequacy will be thrown into the face of the givers If the return is too generous, this will be taken as an insult to the recipients [104]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "To have received from one, to whom we think ourselves equall, greater benefits than there is hope to requite, disposeth to counterfeit love, but really secret hatred, and puts a man into the estate of a desperate debtor, that in declining the sight of his creditor, tacitly wishes him there, where he might never see him more For benefits oblige, and obligation is thraldom, and unrequitable obligation perpetual thraldom, which is to ones equal, hatefull But to have received benefits from one, whom we acknowledge for superior, inclines to love, because the obligation is no new depression and cheerful acceptation, which men call *gratitude,* is such an honour done to the obliger, as is taken generally for retribution " [105]

Worth

Reciprocity in exchange implies that the things exchanged have equal social value, *worth* is the economic expression of social value, i e , in terms of behavior and objects which function in distribution

Usually I prefer to describe my own point of view rather than to criticize other schools of thought, but here I must make an exception to my practice in order to clarify what I am driving at There are many hypotheses concerning economic value, but my argument is that these provide only partial explanations at best My own hypothesis, translated into the language of economics, is that price (worth) is the magnitude of value (social value) of anything expressed in terms of goods (objects), services (behavior), or money. But doesn't that make price depend upon general and vague con-

[104] Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic,* I, pp 182–83
[105] T Hobbes, *Leviathan,* I 11 (pp 87–88)

ditions? My answer is that a true proposition fits the data, and if the data cover a lot of ground so must the proposition (11)

Let us see if the other hypotheses fit the facts The labor theory of value states that the price of commodities depends upon the amount of labor time needed to produce them How would it explain these facts?

[SAMOA] Fine mats with a history assumed a sentimental value out of all proportion to their intrinsic value Songs have been composed giving the history and changes of name of some of them The historical value exceeded that of the fineness of plait, though where both existed the value was naturally enhanced Some of them, worn by age, have been patched again and again and the number of patches adds to the value[106]

[UNITED STATES] A broken chair that George Washington once sat in may be worth $100, while another like it which had not supported such a distinguished posterior will be thrown away as junk

According to the supply-and-demand theory, price depends upon the relative supply and demand of commodities

[NEW IRELAND] Most objects have a scale of value which does not vary[107]

"If a Navajo smith has a bracelet on his arm and another Navajo comes along and sees it, he might say, 'That's a nice bracelet, how much would I have to offer to get a bracelet like that?' The silversmith might say, 'If you like this bracelet how much do you think you could give me? I don't think that you have enough money, you know that it is expensive' Then the other fellow might say, 'I will give you twenty dollars for it' The silversmith would tell him how long it took him to make it and what a hard job it was Then he would say, 'I want thirty dollars for it because the materials and the time cost a lot of money' The buyer will say, 'I will pay you whatever you say because you know how much it cost you to make it' The Navajo buying the bracelet would then take it and he would feel proud because he had paid so much money for it A smith is doing the Navajo a favor when he sells him jewelry for a high price, because then the buyer can boast of how much he paid He wouldn't be able to do this if he sold it to him for a cheap price When a smith sells jewelry to a trader it isn't like that He sells the silver for whatever the trader offers him for it He meets the trader's price. He doesn't care about what the white man thinks of the silver "[108]

[WESTERN EUROPE] Even in the worst famines, when bread is scarce and the demand great, the price of bread has never risen to that of diamonds

The exchange value theory states that price depends upon the amount of each commodity which is exchanged for the other

[106] Buck, *op cit*, p 319

[107] Powdermaker, *op cit*, pp 201–02

[108] J Adair, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths* (Norman, 1944), p 96 By permission of the copyright proprietors, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman

To any Tikopia a canoe ranks higher than a wooden bowl, a pandanus mat than a strip of bark-cloth. Yet they are never exchanged against each other, and there is no expression of the "value" of a canoe in terms of so many bowls, or of that of a pandanus mat in terms of so many strips of bark-cloth.

A Tikopia, Pa Ranifuri, who I induced to formulate statements on the comparative utilities or "values" of goods, began by putting them into two major categories: those which are "weighty" (*mafa*) and those which are "light" (*mama*). These terms are ordinarily used to describe the degree of heaviness of objects, but can denote also the degree of ritual sanctity attaching to names of the gods, formulae, and ceremonial institutions. Here it is the degree of importance in the economic scheme that is meant, though this is related in some cases to the ritual background. As "weighty" goods he included bonito-hooks, sinnet cord (that for catching sharks only), bowls, and spears; as "light" goods he mentioned bundles of arrows, bows, and pandanus mats. Having done so he drew comparisons between them. "The mat and the bonito-hook are not equivalent, they are not exchangeable. The mat is somewhat heavy (*mamafa*), but the bonito-hook, it is alone, in the forefront. And the sinnet for the shark-hook is next to the bonito-hook, while next to it is the mat. The mat and the sinnet (of ordinary type) are reciprocally equivalent." [109]

[LANGO] There is a definite currency converting livestock to grain and vice versa, but the ratio changes from time to time according to the fluctuations in the market value of the stock and the quality of the harvest. It has little permanent value, therefore, but an examination of the standard current in 1916 is of interest as showing a lack of logical coherence between purely stock transactions and transactions of mixed stock and grain: —

1 large bull	1 small heifer
2 bulls	1 cow
6 loads grain (approximately 350 lb.)	1 he goat
11 loads grain (approximately 650 lb.)	1 young she-goat
15 loads grain (approximately 900 lb.)	1 she-goat
25 loads grain (approximately 1,500 lb.)	1 bull
1 granary full (approximately 1½ tons)	1 heifer
15 goats	1 bull

It should be noted that the purchase of a cow or bull is not complete, whatever the price, until the purchaser has paid a spear for its tail (tong me ibe), which is calculated separately. Even though the full price has been paid, the animal may not be removed until the spear has been handed over. [110]

The marginal utility theory says that price depends upon the individual's judgment of the relative usefulness of the last unit of each of the commodities at the time he buys them.

[109] Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy*, pp. 337–38.
[110] J. H. Driberg, *The Lango*, pp. 93–94.

[TIKOPIA] . . the same payment [for the use of land] (two bundles [of taro]) is made in the case of plots of varying size or varying soil productivity, and only if the crop is very poor is the payment halved[111]

In regard to labor, I would say that it affects worth only in so far as some characteristic that has social value takes a certain amount of labor to produce[112] As for supply and demand, it seems to me that this influences worth only to the extent that it affects the desirability of the thing[113] The exchange value theory, which at best only covers the cases of things which can be directly or indirectly exchanged for each other, does not explain how they come to be conceived of as equivalent, and therefore it is not an explanation of relative economic value Lastly, as far as marginal utility is concerned (even if, for the sake of argument, you were to grant the long outmoded psychology on which it is based), you get nowhere by saying that a man pays more for one thing than he does for another because he wants the first more than he does the second, the question is, Why does he want it more? and since marginal utility theory does not give an answer, it cannot explain relative economic value

To sum up, I am arguing that worth, i e , economic value, is simply an expression in terms of equivalent amounts of other things, i e., an economic expression, of the social value of a thing, and the only way its worth can be affected is by changing one or more of the factors which contribute to its social value

Money

Money is any object customarily used as a general medium of exchange in a society But, though a general, it is never a universal medium of exchange—in every society there are many exchanges in which money is not used

[TOLOWA] Money [made of dentalium shell] was serviceable in the purchase of social protection and prestige, in sex, and in maintaining familial status, but it entered hardly at all into the subsistence equation[114]

111 Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy,* p 59

112 [SAMOA] The finer the plaiting [of a mat], the greater the value —Buck, *op cit ,* p 320

113 [WESTERN EUROPE] "The rarer sable is, the more expensive it becomes, and the more expensive, the more sought after I should also state that when the price of leather is low, leather shoes will not be worn "—P. Poiret, "Who sets our styles?" *Forum,* 80 (1928), (pp 187–93) pp 189–90

114 C Du Bois, "The wealth concept as an integrative factor in Tolowa Tutuni culture," p 51, in *Essays in Anthropology Presented to A. L Kroeber,* ed. R H Lowie (Berkeley, 1936), pp 49–65

[UNITED STATES] Money is used in relatively secondary forms of interaction If someone does a favor for a good friend he will refuse to accept money, though a gift of candy or a book will be received with pleasure

Money is also a standard for expressing the worth of things (12)

[AKIKUYU] The goat is taken as the unit of value If a man wishes to buy a wife he must pay so many "goats," but the actual payment may take the form of cattle, sheep, and goats So, too, in the purchase of ivory, negotiations used to be carried on in terms of goats [115]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Instead of expressing the values of lead and tin, and corn and other things in terms of one another, we express them in terms of money in the first instance, and we call the value of each thing thus expressed its *price* If we know that a ton of lead will exchange for fifteen sovereigns at any place and time, while a ton of tin will exchange for ninety sovereigns, we say that their prices then and there are £15 and £90 respectively, and we know that the value of a ton of tin in terms of lead is six tons then and there " [116]

Many kinds of objects are used as money adjustive objects, repositories of value, symbols of adjustive objects or repositories of value, and promissory notes

[IFUGAO] Rice was and still is, to an extent, money to the Ifugao While somewhat cumbersome, it still has more of the qualities of a perfect medium of exchange than one, at the first glance, would be ready to admit Rice keeps indefinitely in an Ifugao granary without damage or injury It has a regular yearly fluctuation in value, but this can be depended on as an invariable and regular occurrence Its value at a certain season of the year is always the same There is a fluctuation within the year, but no fluctuation from year to year While somewhat bulky, still, in quantities sufficient for the Ifugao's purposes, it was not excessively so That rice was a medium of exchange and not merely used for barter is shown by the Ifugao's hesitancy to change the price of it For although lowland rice may be worth forty centavos a ganta, rice in Kiangan still remains at half that except during the growing season, when it doubles in price

[COLONIAL AMERICA] One of the greatest advantages attending the culture of tobacco is the quick, easy, and certain method of sale This was effected by the inspection law, which took place in Virginia in the year 1730, but not in Maryland till 1748 The planter, by virtue of this, may go to any place and sell his tobacco, without carrying a sample of it along with him, and the merchant may buy it, though lying a hundred miles, or at any distance from his store, and yet be morally sure both with respect to quantity and quality For this purpose, upon all the rivers and bays of both provinces, at the distance of about twelve or fourteen miles from each

115 W S and K Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p 44

116 A Marshall, *Principles of Economics* [1890] (London, 1920, 8th ed), pp 61–62

The following is a table of rice values .

RICE AT KIANGAN AND VICINITY

UNIT	NUMBER OF BUNDLES	UNIT	VALUE DURING HARVEST AND SPADING	VALUE IN SEASON OF GROWING RICE
1 botek	1		02½	05
5 botek	5	1 hongal	12½	.25
4 hongal	20	1 dalan	50	1.00
5 dalan	100	1 bongale	2 50	5 00
10 dalan	200	1 upu	5 00	10 00
4 upu	800	1 lotak	20 00	40 00
2 lotak	1600	1 gukud	40 00	80 00
10 upu	2000	1 {nabukeue / pilgil}	50 00	100 00 [117]

other, are erected warehouses, to which all the tobacco in the country must be brought and there lodged, before the planters can offer it to sale, and inspectors are appointed to examine all the tobacco brought in, receive such as is good and merchantable, condemn and burn what appears damnified or insufficient The greatest part of the tobacco is prized, or put up into hogsheads by the planters themselves, before it is carried to the warehouses Each hogshead, by an act of assembly, must be 950 lb neat [net] or upwards, some of them weigh 14 cwt and even 18 cwt and the heavier they are the merchants like them the better, because four hogsheads, whatsoever their weight be, are esteemed a tun, and pay the same freight The inspectors give notes of receipt for the tobacco, and the merchants take them in payment for their goods, passing current indeed over the whole colonies, a most admirable invention, which operates so greatly that in Virginia they have no paper currency [118]

[MALAITA] The shell bead money of Malaita is of three colours—white, red, and black It is generally known as *Rongo* The white money is called *Rongo pura* and the red money *Rongo sisi* The black is not made up in strings by itself, but a few beads of it are introduced here and there in the red and white money, either for contrast or to mark the length

The shell from which the white money is made is the *Arca granosa,* native name of Malaita, *Kakandu,* the red is made from the shell *Chama pacifica,* native name *Romu,* the black is made from the shell of the large black mussel or pinna, native name *Kurila*

These shells, especially the red ones, are articles of trade among the natives of Malaita and are bought by the basketful by the money-makers from distant parts of Malaita, and even from other islands

A fathom of white money is called *fotososo,* in the language of Malaita,

117 Barton, *Ifugao Economics,* p 428

118 Anonymous, *American Husbandry* [1775], ed H J Carman (Columbia U, *Studies in the History of American Agriculture,* 6) (New York, 1939), pp 161–62

where it is made, in the language of Gela and Guadalcanar, where much of it is taken for sale, *turumbuto*

The red money is put up in two ways first in strings of about five feet or a fathom long Ten such strings are called in the language of Malaita *tavuli-ei* or *apuala avu*, and in the language of Gela, *baru* The other way of stringing is in lengths of about ten feet or two fathoms with a patch of black or white money in the centre One such string is called *vinda* Two strings joined at each end and in the centre are called *kongana*, three strings, *sautolu*, four strings, *matambala* or *sauvati*, five strings, *rapakava*, six strings, *talina* A proper *talina* consists of six strings, although sometimes five strings only are called by that name An *isa* is ten strings of red money

One *talina*, one hundred *randi* (porpoise teeth), and four *turumbuto* are also equivalent to an *isa*

There is yet another kind of red money, more precious than the ordinary red, on account of its intense colour It is made from fragments selected from the most highly coloured part of the *romu* shell, and from selected shells only A single shell may perhaps supply one bead of the requisite colour

It is said that two years are required to make a piece of this very red money measuring in length from the hollow of the elbow joint to the end of the middle finger It is known in the language of Malaita as *ferai*, and in the language of Gela as *baru nekasa*

Another kind of black money, other than the *kurila*, above referred to, is made from a vegetable seed called *fulu* The tree upon which it grows is called *sisis*

I have obtained a small sample of another kind of shell money from Malaita which differs considerably from the shell money made on the islands described above It is made in small quantities by the bush natives living inland from Kwa, between Onepusu and Bina I am informed that only one quality is made The colour is pinkish-white, and the beads are much smaller than those of the ordinary Malaita money It is called *mamalakwai* A small piece, measured from the hollow of the elbow to the end of the middle finger, is called *lo-suu* [119]

[UNITED STATES] " the President is authorized

"By proclamation to fix the weight of the gold dollar in grains nine tenths fine and also to fix the weight of the silver dollar in grains nine tenths fine at a definite fixed ratio in relation to the gold dollar at such amounts as he finds necessary and such gold dollar . . shall be the standard unit of value, and all forms of money issued or coined by the United States shall be maintained at a parity with this standard " [120]

[119] C M Woodford, "Notes on the manufacture of the Malaita shell bead money of the Solomon Group," *Man*, 8 (1908), (pp 81–84) pp 82–83

[120] "An act to relieve the existing national economic emergency [etc], May 12, 1933," *U S Statutes at Large*, 48, Pt 1, (pp 31–51) Sec 43 a 2

Coins (metallic money issued by a government and having some token certifying its worth) made of electrum were invented about 700 B C in Asia Minor,

[UNITED STATES] "Silver Certificate This certifies that there is on deposit in the treasury of the United States of America one dollar in silver payable to the bearer on demand " [121]

[CHINA] "The next year [i e , 120 B C] Shan-tung was flooded, the people starved Then the Son of Heaven [the emperor] sent commissioners to empty the district warehouses of what had been accumulated there, in order to relieve the poor people But still that was not enough Then he convoked the powerful rich people that they might lend their money, but still it was not enough to help Then he moved the poor people to the west side of the mountain and into the region of Sun-tch'in, which extends south to Sho-fang There were more than seven hundred thousand such people, all depending for clothing and food upon the magistrates who furnished them with goods for several years There were different committees for their protection, but the officials conflicted with each other and the budget ran up to millions—finally to an incalculable amount Therefore the magistrates' funds were completely exhausted Also, rich merchants and big businessmen all hoarded their money and made the poor suffer They had hundreds of wagons of unhusked rice and they stored up goods in certain places, the local lords had to look to them for supplies They melted and cast metal and evaporated salt, which brought them thousands of units of gold, but they neither helped the governments nor families in the emergency That made the people's plight even more difficult

"Then the Son of Heaven and the dukes and lords conferred to change the monetary system and develop a new coinage in order to strike at the profiteers, to destroy the debauchees, and to gain control of the racketeering gangs At that time there was a white deer within the confines of the imperial palace, and the official treasuries contained much silver and tin From the time [the emperor] Hsiao-wan had changed the manufacture of 4 *chi* [a unit of weight] coins until this year, more than 40 years had passed, and from the time of Chien-Yuen these coins had been little used Even the magistrates, who owned mountains containing much copper, often coined money, and the people, as well, coined a countless amount of money Metal money was plentiful and light, commodities were scarce and dear

"A treasury official declared, 'Anciently there had been a leather money which the local lords used in presenting money to their superiors Also, there had been three kinds of metal money, of which yellow gold was highest in value, white metal, medium, red metal, lowest At present, half a *liang* of metal money officially weighs 4 *chi*, but the cunning and thievish shave the money down, collect the scrapings, and cast them Thus the coinage becomes lighter and thinner, and commodities more expensive Conse-

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either in Ionia or Lydia —*Vide* B V Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, 16 (London, 1892), pls 1–3 (the most primitive coin typologically, if not chronologically, is pl 3, no 3), *idem*, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia* (*ibid* , 22) (London, 1901), pl 1a

[121] U S , One dollar bill, series 1935a

quently when the money is used between far distant places, the numerous expenditures involved do not produce any profits.'

"Then they used white deerskin, in pieces of a square foot edged with string made of aquatic grass, to make a leather money worth 40,000 units. Lords, dukes, and relatives of the imperial family, when they came to court, used much of the leather money, along with jade, in order to act in the proper fashion.

"Also, silver and tin were made into white metal money. For heavenly use nothing compares with a dragon, for earthly use, nothing like a horse, and for human use, nothing like a tortoise. Therefore the white metal money was of three kinds. One was 8 *liang* in weight, round, stamped with the image of a dragon, called 'selected white,' worth 3,000 units. The second, called [*lacuna*], weighing a little less, small, square, stamped with the image of a horse, was worth 500 units. The third, called [*lacuna*], still lighter, [elliptical], stamped with a tortoise, was worth 300 units.

"Now the magistrates melted down the half-*liang* coins and changed the coinage by casting 3 *chu* pieces bearing an inscription stating their exact weight. All who counterfeited these coins were subject to the death penalty, nevertheless an incalculable number of officials and other people counterfeited the white metal coinage." [122]

[UNITED STATES] "United States Note. The United States of America will pay to the bearer on demand five dollars." [123]

The following is the earliest use of such money in Western Europe.

[WESTERN EUROPE] ... in the year of Christ 1240, the emperor Frederick ... [assaulted] the city of Faenza, which he besieged for seven months, and then he forced it to capitulate, and in the said siege he greatly lacked supplies and money, and had he remained longer at the siege he would have been impoverished, but his money having run out, and his jewels and plate having been pawned, and he could not get any more money, the emperor in his wisdom ordered his knights and those who served the army to be given a [piece of leather] stamp with his image, it being honored instead of money at the value of an *agostaro* of gold, and he permitted those stamps to be good for the said value to whoever should later bring it to his treasurer, and he caused it to be proclaimed that everyone should accept it for all supplies as if it were coin, and so it was done, and in that way he helped his army. And then having captured the city of Faenza, to each one who had these said stamps he exchanged them for *agostari* of gold. [124]

[122] Ssu ma Ch'ien (*ca.* 145–*ca.* 86 B.C.), *Shih Chi*, Sung Dynasty edition (Shanghai, 1927), XXX, Chap. 8, fol. 6.

[123] U. S., Five dollar bill, series 1928c.

[124] G. Villani (1280?–1348), *Chroniche*, ed. I. Moutier (Florence, 1823), 6.21.

Means of exchange

Exchange occurs as barter, sale, or credit *Barter* is exchange of behavior and objects used in adjusting. It is the commonest form of exchange in simple societies, but to some extent is found all over the world

[THONGA] A mat was bartered for a fowl A shihundju basket was also exchanged for a hen Another way of buying was adopted when dealing with pots the pot was filled with mealies by the buyer and the contents left to the potter as corresponding to the value of the pot For monkey-nuts, not husked, the pot had to be filled twice, or for more precious products, such as sorghum and Kafir corn, half of it only was measured out [125]

[UNITED STATES] . last year [i e , 1932] barter began to assume organized form [because of the depression] . . the three principal functions of barter groups have consisted of, first, serving as clearing houses of information for the making of private barter arrangements, second, the direct handling of goods, either in ordinary barter stores or in supply-houses or commissaries, and, third, production for barter [126]

Sale is exchange between behavior and objects on the one hand, and money on the other. It is usually found in complex societies where trade is extensive, for it is more convenient than barter. (13)

[IFUGAO] In the ancient culture of the Ifugao, barter had a large place and it still has, but not so large as formerly Examples are a breechclout is frequently given ten men for ten days' labor, three or four death blankets are traded for a jar, a brass gong might be traded for a jar As a rule, the disadvantages that apply to barter anywhere applied in the Ifugao culture, but not to so great an extent as they would apply in a higher civilization Thus when ten men won, by a day's labor each, a clout, there was considerable difficulty in arranging equitably the ownership of it The clout could not be divided for that would destroy its value. The difficulty was usually and is yet usually solved by one man's paying to each of the others four or two bundles of rice, according to the season, and taking the clout himself Without money, a factory making clouts would obviously have a hard time doing business in Ifugao In the second instance mentioned, the Ifugao who has three or four death blankets in his possession and who wants to trade them for a jar, probably has a pretty hard time finding another man who has a jar and who wants to barter it

[125] Junod, *op cit*, II, p 124

[126] W Bowden, "A survey of the recent barter and exchange movement with implications," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 16 (1933), (pp 398–407) pp 398, 403

for three or four death blankets In such a dilemma he probably sells his death blankets for a quantity of rice or a pig [127]

[NEW IRELAND] In trading . . there is a medium of exchange or currency This is the *tsera,* one unit of which consists of an arm's length of tiny flat shell discs strung together It is made on a near-by-island, Lawangai, north of New Ireland, where I am told there are only a few men who can make it While making the currency the man must be continent, and he sleeps in a separate house from his wife There are two kinds of *tsera,* white and red, the latter being twice as valuable as the former (Some of the white *tsera* is made at Laummasong, in another linguistic district of New Ireland) Sometimes the two colours will be combined Attached to the strings of *tsera* are usually dog's teeth and an ornament called *wakembaum* The teeth are supposed to cry out and attract more *tsera* to it The *wakembaum,* a small round fibre object, has a mussel shell as an "eye," also supposed to attract more *tsera* to it A native keeps his currency in a basket in the house (or to-day it may be kept in a locked box purchased from a trade store), and it is never displayed except when it is being used in some economic transaction The following are the native names and value in shillings for the different kinds of *tsera*

Muning the white *tsera* made at Laummasong, *two* arm lengths are worth five shillings

Atok red and white *tsera* mixed, one arm length worth five shillings

Lolul a half of a unit of *Atok*

Bial red *tsera, one* arm length worth five shillings

Unless otherwise indicated, when the term *tsera* is used, either *atok* or *bial* is meant *Muning* is regarded as of little value and if used double the amount of the *atok* or *bial* is required

All objects which are sold have a value in terms of *tsera*

The following is a scale of prices

	TSERA
Large *kepkep* (breast ornament) worn by men	2
Small *kepkep* (breast ornament) worn by women	1
Armband (*biuk*), five of them made of trochus shell and worn at one time by men and women	1
Spear	2
Canoe	4 to 6
Fishing-nets	2
Drum	1
Shark-catching outfit	1½
Pigs—the price varies according to size and sex	
Large male pig	2 to 4
Female pig	5 to 10 [128]

[UNITED STATES] The quoted price wears the air of pecuniary exactitude, it is the sum paid for a pencil, a dress, a radio, a telephone call Yet there are enough terms exposed to the play of forces in the market to make the

[127] Barton, *op cit*, p 427

[128] Powdermaker, *op cit*, pp 200–01

quoted price a base, an approximation, an hypothesis, or an unreality Arrangements within the industry, the incidence of an impetuous competition, the sporadic progress in technology may cause the sums which the buyer lays down to depart from the figures at which the commodity is presumed to change hands The devices by which fictions attend the quoted price are numerous, they vary from industry to industry and change their character with the passing occasion

A common cause of departure lies in the good itself To the calculating individual the outgo for oil burner or electric refrigerator is only one element in price, another and even more significant one is the recurring expense for crude oil or electrical energy, here the only significant price is that of the machine in operation

Price is sometimes confused by the play of the market It is impossible to buy a trade-marked cigarette, tooth paste, or can of tomatoes without contributing to an advertising fund which sustains good will

A unit of measurement is among the simplest of pricing conveniences Yet even so elementary a device has not been adequately adapted to the requirements of merchandising. . Even where today standards are in vogue, strict accuracy in the gross may be attended by great variation in the net—and a resulting uncertainty as to real price meats are ordinarily weighed before the bone is removed The miscellany of sizes also adds confusion Ordinarily the larger the volume in the package the lower the unit expense, yet there are instances when the opposite is true. . .

Through the whole maze of mercantile practice an array of customs hammers at quoted price A premium or gratuity may go along with the good A year's subscription to a certain Washington newspaper carries with it the gift of a set of the complete works of Dickens

In the purchase of a mechanism—the automobile is the classic example —the trade-in allowance frequently conceals a discount Prospective customers have even been advised by dealers to possess themselves of pieces of automotive junk as a ritual for concealing price concessions[129]

Credit is exchange with delayed payment It simplifies transactions when exchange is on a large scale and takes place over great distances, (14) it permits the debtor to adjust by means of things for which he cannot pay at the time, and it establishes a social relation between debtor and creditor

[UNITED STATES] . the vast bulk of consumer instalment credit is extended to individuals whose annual incomes do not exceed $5,000 an average of approximately 9 percent was added to their total purchasing power by instalment credit[130]

[129] Hamilton *et al*, *op cit*, pp 531–35 On the money used in the United States, *vide* U S Treasury Department, Division of Research and Statistics, *Summary History of United States Money* [Washington], [1937]

[130] D M Holthausen *et al*, *The Volume of Consumer Instalment Credit, 1929–38* (National Bureau of Economic Research, *Studies in Consumer Instalment Financing*, 7) (New York, 1940), p 38

[CHINA] the process of exchange within a family takes a form different from that found in the market . . The longer the time involved and the more roundabout the transfer of goods and services, the stronger are the social ties in the group The exchange of goods or services is a concrete expression of social ties Where obligations can be fulfilled only over a long period of time the individuals involved tend to feel more strongly their social relationship This is in consequence one of the cohesive forces of the group From this angle generosity can be viewed as the advance from one person to another of services or goods, bringing in consequence the persons closer to one another

A similar type of exchange is found in larger social groups such as extended kinship groups and neighbourhood groups Neighbours in the village are often allowed to take things from each other for consumption or other use in case of need Within certain limits a man is glad to be useful to his neighbour If the borrower makes repayment immediately and states the equation of exchange explicitly, the lender will be offended "We are not outsiders to each other," they will say In case extra labour is needed on the farm, relatives living nearby will come to help without payment, so will neighbours on ceremonial occasions Mutual accommodation and services between relatives and neighbours are balanced out in the long run Exchange on the basis of definite and calculated equivalence tends to diminish in proportion to the intimacy of social relationships [131]

Range of distribution

Commerce is economic social interaction (15) You will recall that individuals depend upon other members of their society for at least part of their adjustments, *domestic commerce* is the distribution which takes place within a society.

[MAORI] . two salient types of exchange characterized the former Maori economy—the exchange of coastal for inland products, food being the staple article concerned, and the movement of greenstone to the North in return for foodstuffs, cloaks, and other objects of fine workmanship [132]

Actually, few societies are self-sufficient, it would be hard to find many except those like the isolated Polar Eskimo considered in Chapter II. Commonly a society depends upon other societies for some of its adjustments, and the resulting distribution between societies is *foreign commerce,* evidences of which are first found in Upper Pleistocene 3

[131] H T Fei, *Peasant Life in China* (New York, 1939), pp 241–42.

[132] Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori,* p 102, *vide ibid*, pp 396–402 For the United States Domestic Commerce in 1940, *vide* U S Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Survey of Current Business,* 21 (1941), nos 2–3

That these rude people had communication with the outer world, or were themselves migratory, is manifest by there having been found in four different places Rock-crystal, either wrought or unwrought, which does not occur in the neighbouring country, and by the finding at three of them fossil Shells which must have been brought from the Falums of Touraine (a distance of at least one hundred miles), and all of which have been pierced for suspension the Shells they used for ornament, [were] obtained from the shores of the Atlantic and Mediterranean [138]

[DIERI AND ADJOINING GROUPS] When at Cooper's Creek I observed that the blacks used shields made of some wood not known to me in that part of Australia Subsequently, when I was able to obtain information from them, I learned the following particulars The Yantruwunta obtained these shields from their neighbours higher up Cooper's Creek, who got them from tribes farther to the north-east The Yantruwunta on their part exchanged weapons made by them, and stone slabs for grinding seeds which they brought from the south. I also saw among these tribes, though rarely, a portion of a large univalve shell, worn suspended by a string from the neck, which I was told came from the north Inquiries made later from the Dieri show that they bartered with the Mardala, or hill tribes, to the south of them, for skins

This information indicates an extensive system of intertribal communication and barter, which was apparently carried on by men who were the recognised means of communication But there are also established trade centres at which the tribes meet on certain occasions for a regulated barter One of these old trade centres is Kopperamana on the Cooper, where the surrounding tribes met periodically to confer and barter their respective manufactures It may be noted here, that the name Kopperamana is a mutilation of the true name *Kappara-mara*, from *Kappara* meaning "hand," and *Mara* meaning "root" But *Mara* also means "hair" of the head, which is connected with the head as the fingers are with the hand The meaning of the name really is, that as the fingers all come together in the "root" of the hand, so do the native tribes come together at Kopperamana to confer together, and especially to exchange their respective articles of barter Kopperamana is, therefore, one of the trade centres for the tribes allied to the Dieri

There are four different occasions on which the barter is carried on

[1] One is when a blood-feud is settled by barter of goods, so that the feud may be healed, bloodshed be avoided, and people live in peace

[2] Another occasion of barter is when there is an assembly for the great *Wilyaru* [initiation] ceremony

[3] At the termination of this ceremony, the young man who has been made *Wilyaru-mara* [i e, initiated] is sent out to call the people together, from far and near, to the market, as it may be called, which is held in his honour .

[4] There is another ceremony connected with bartering called *Kani-*

[138] F Lartet and H Christy, *Reliquiae Aquitanicae*, ed T R Jones (London, 1865–75), pp 22–23, 222

nura It arises when a mother, being out seeking for food, has with her her son, of about five years of age, and sees a *Kani* [lizard]

The Dieri exchange string-tassels, which are worn by the men for decency, netted bags, red ochre, etc Tribes from the east bring boomerangs . shields and other articles made of wood Those who come from the north bring Pitcheri [a narcotic] and feathers Those who come from the south and west bring stone slabs These particulars indicate the nature of the inter-tribal trade, and the radius within which it is carried on, taking Kopperamana as the centre It may certainly be held that reciprocal trade centres exist in the tribal countries, from which those who attend the meetings at Kopperamana come[134]

VALUE OF IMPORTS FOR CONSUMPTION, AND EXPORTS OF DOMESTIC MERCHANDISE, UNITED STATES, 1940 *

COMMODITY GROUP	IMPORTS	EXPORTS
Animals & animal products, edible	$ 72,716,050	$ 71,325,339
Animals & animal products, inedible	170,836 015	11,101,329
Vegetable food products	489,763,800	168,596,371
Vegetable products, inedible, except fibers & wood	499,100,513	141,013,827
Textiles	405,618,119	316,582 805
Wood & paper	258 112,821	160,115,323
Non-metallic minerals	161,016,385	465,891,207
Metals & manufactures, except machinery & vehicles	339,223,855	821,869,038
Machinery & vehicles	11,085,757	1,312,050,718
Chemicals & related products	58 245,171	221,851,344
Miscellaneous	71,877,718	180,150,195
Total	$2,510 656,237	$3,934,180,796

* Based upon U S Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States,* 1940, Tables 1 and 4

Historical References

(1) C Menger, *Grundsatze der Volkswirthschaftslehre* (Vienna, 1871), pp 70–72

(2) " conspicuous leisure and consumption . the utility of both alike for the purposes of reputability lies in the element of waste that is common to both In the one case it is a waste of time and effort, in the other it is a waste of goods Both are methods of demonstrating the possession of wealth, and the two are conventionally accepted as equivalents" —T Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1899), p 85

[134] Howitt, *op cit*, pp 711–16

(3) " proprietorship and community are moral qualities which have no physical and intrinsic effect upon things themselves, but only produce a moral effect in relation to other men "—S Pufendorf, *De jure naturae et gentium* [1672] (*Classics of International Law,* 17) (Oxford, 1934), 4 4 1, tr C H and W A Oldfather (Oxford, 1934)

(4) "The right of property comprehends these five rights, First, the right of possession secondly, the right of using thirdly, a right to exclude others from possession and use, for, without this, the two former rights would be nothing fourthly, the right of recovering our own when lost and fifthly, the right of transferring what is alienable "—J Beattie, *Elements of Moral Science* [1790–93] (Edinburgh, 1817, 3rd ed), II, p 102

(5) "Relating Murngin technological articles to human beings by the concept of ownership incorporates the various articles of technology into the general social order "—W L. Warner, *A Black Civilization* (New York, 1937), p 146

(6) "*Labor* Is the simple motions of men in order to comodityes, (for) so many houres as hee is naturally able to endure the same "—W. Petty (1623–1687), *Papers,* ed H W. E P FitzMaurice, Marquis of Lansdowne (London, 1927), I, p 211

(7) "There are two ways in which we can avail ourselves of the strength of other men which we are in need of One is the way of free commerce, that does not interfere with the liberty of the person who serves us, the making of contracts by which we exchange the strength and skill of another, or their products, for other performances on our part The other way is the subjection of such persons, which enables us to dispose of their strength in our behalf, but at the same time injures the personality of the subjected This subjection can be imagined as being restricted to certain purposes, for instance to the cultivation of the land, as with soil-tilling serfs, the result of which is that this subjection, for the very reason that it has a definite and limited aim, does not quite annul the liberty of the subjected But the subjection can also be an unlimited one, as is the case when the subjected person, in the whole of his outward life, is treated as but a means to the purpose of the man in power, and so his personality is entirely absorbed This is the institution of slavery "—G F Puchta, *Cursus der Institutionen* [1841–47], ed P Kruger (Leipzig, 1881, 9th ed), II, pp 82–83

(8) "Property is acquired in five ways First, by occupation, or the taking possession of what formerly belonged to nobody Second, by accession, when a man has a right to one thing in consequence of another, as of a horse's shoes along with the horse Third, by prescription, which is a right to a thing belonging to another arising from long and uninterrupted possession Fourth, by succession to our ancestors or any other person, whether by will or without one Fifth, by voluntary transference, when one man delivers over his right to another "—A Smith, *Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms* [1763], ed E Cannan (Oxford, 1896), p 107

(9) "What, in a primitive society, is the measure of Price? It can only be called Custom "—H S Maine, *Village-Communities in the East and West* [1871] (New York, 1876, 3rd ed), p 190

(10) "A tradesman is one whose business consists in the exchange of things"—Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, 2 2 77 4

(11) W Petty, *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions* [1662], pp 43–45, 48–52, 90, in *Economic Writings*, ed C. H Hull (Cambridge, 1899), I, pp 1–97

(12) Thomas Aquinas, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Ethica nicho-machea*, 5 9, in *Opera omnia*, ed S E Frette and P Mare (Paris, 1871–80), XXV, pp 231–614, XXVI, pp 1–88

(13) " exchange, ware for ware, without coine weare verie cumbersome, and would Require muche cariadge of wares up and downe, wheare now by the benifite of coine a man maie by those tokens fetch the ware he lacketh a far off, with owt anie great trowble of Cariadge, and hard weare it readely to find all wares, that the one hath, might paie the other of equall valew"—Anonymous, *A Discourse of the Common Weal of This Realm of England* [1549], ed E Lamond (Cambridge, 1893), pp 57–58

(14) "It is well known that even the precious metals however fitted to represent a great value in small bulk, nevertheless may become too unwieldy for quick circulation, and for repeated transfers of property, when the transactions of commerce come to be widely extended, and great remittance of money required in payments That, in this case, where public or private credit is sufficiently established, promissory notes, or obligations to pay, may pass through many transactions, and for a time supersede the necessity of actual payment, while the money lies ready to answer the demand, at the place from which the promissory note was issued"—A Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science*, II, p 429

(15) "*Trade* Is the making, gathering, dispensing and exchanging of Commodityes"—Petty, *op cit*, I, p 210

[ARUNTA] . gesture or sign language is strongly developed Each "gesture" consists in holding the hand, or hands and fingers, in a definite position which is often also associated with the movement of the hand and fingers or both Each "gesture" conveys a very definite meaning, indicating some object or idea In many cases the same signs or gestures are used over wide areas and amongst different tribes, so that, to a certain extent, they enable communications to be established between members of tribes speaking different languages They also enable natives to communicate with one another when too far apart to distinguish voices, but perhaps their chief use is to allow of individuals who are under a ban of silence, in accordance with some tribal rule, to "speak" to one another There are many such bans in association within initiation and mourning ceremonies, and it is no uncommon thing to find, more especially the older women, at the *Lukwurra* or women's camp, using gesture language to explain their simple ideas and wants to one another in preference to speaking [3]

[UNITED STATES] "It must not be inferred that the members of the Order [of Cistercians of the Strict Observance (Trappists)], by embracing a life of perpetual silence, renounce, once and for all time, the use of speech On the contrary he spends something like six hours a day chanting in choir the praises of God

"If he be a priest, he will be called upon at regular intervals to discuss the Holy Scriptures and sacred theology, and to deliver a sermon "

Apart from these duties of chanting or speaking in public, the Trappist does observe a rigorous silence, so that, under no circumstances, except by command or permission of his superior, may he utter or write a single word by way of communication with other members of the community [4]

The necessity of speech is supplied by gestures and signs [5]

B *Speech* vocal symbolic behavior (A *language* is a speech symbolic system [6]) Speech is the medium of symbolic interaction *par excellence* (1)

II *Emblem* symbolic object

A *Natural emblem* a natural symbolic object

[3] Spencer and Gillen, *The Arunta*, II p 600, *vide ibid*, append F

[4] F L Holmes, *The Voice of Trappist Silence* (New York, 1911), pp 92–93

[5] *Ibid* p 88 For the gestures, *vide* G W von Leibniz, "Signa, secundum ordinem Cisterciensem," *Opera omnia*, ed L Dutens (Geneva, 1768), VI, Pt 2, pp 207–11, L F Dubois, *Histoire civile, religieuse et litteraire de l'abbaye de la Trappe* (Paris, 1824), pp 218–57

[6] E g, *vide* E Sapir, "The Takelma language of southwestern Oregon," *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, ed F Boas (U S Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins*, 40) (Washington & New York, 1911–38), II, pp 1–296, C C Fries, *American English Grammar* (National Council of Teachers of English, *English Monographs*, 10), New York, 1940

XII

COMMUNICATION

You will recall that in Chapter II social acts were classified as original or substitute in form, and the latter subdivided into sign and symbol At that time some brief remarks were made on the importance of symbolic interaction to human society, but this topic deserves more attention Symbolic interaction, therefore, is the subject of the present chapter

Means of symbolic social interaction

All sorts of symbols are used in symbolic interaction, and they can be classified in many ways The following classification, based on the media employed, is perhaps the most useful for general purposes

I Symbolic behavior

A *Gesture* non-vocal symbolic behavior It usually supplements speech, but it may replace speech under certain conditions

[ILA] As pointing with the hand is considered rude in a village, they indicate direction by shooting out the lips

A mother expresses love for her child often by pressing its head to her side They do not kiss as we kiss, but a mother will run her lips over her child's face, which no doubt means the same [1]

[UNITED STATES] "In every form of bow, as distinct from merely lifting his hat, a gentleman looks at the person he is bowing to In a ceremonious standing bow, his heels come together, his knees are rigid and his expression is momentarily serious

"The informal bow is merely a modification of the above, it is easy and unstudied

"The bow to a friend is made with a smile, to a very intimate friend often with a broad grin that fits exactly with the word 'Hello', whereas the formal bow is mentally accompanied by the formal salutation 'How do you do.' " [2]

[1] E W Smith and A M Dale, *The Ila Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, pp 83, 86

[2] E Post, *Etiquette*, p 28

[ARUNTA] gesture or sign language is strongly developed Each "gesture" consists in holding the hand, or hands and fingers, in a definite position which is often also associated with the movement of the hand and fingers or both Each "gesture" conveys a very definite meaning, indicating some object or idea In many cases the same signs or gestures are used over wide areas and amongst different tribes, so that, to a certain extent, they enable communications to be established between members of tribes speaking different languages They also enable natives to communicate with one another when too far apart to distinguish voices, but perhaps their chief use is to allow of individuals who are under a ban of silence, in accordance with some tribal rule, to "speak" to one another There are many such bans in association within initiation and mourning ceremonies, and it is no uncommon thing to find, more especially the older women, at the *Lukwurra* or women's camp, using gesture language to explain their simple ideas and wants to one another in preference to speaking [3]

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[6] E g, *vide* E Sapir, "The Takelma language of southwestern Oregon," *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, ed F Boas (U S Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins*, 40) (Washington & New York, 1911–38), II, pp 1–296 C C Fries, *American English Grammar* (National Council of Teachers of English, *English Monographs*, 10), New York, 1940

[WESTERN EUROPE] The lamb has been a symbol of Jesus at least since the time of John of Patmos[7]

B. *Token* an artificial symbolic object

[PAPAGO] "He was a clever man a man who could think and count. He had a long stick of cactus rib, and on it he had kept the history of our desert people He began it when he was ten years old, long before I was born

"There was a great battle in Mexico, then, between our people and the Mexicans Our people gathered all their women and their cattle into a big fort, on Elder Brother's mountain, and they tried to keep the Mexicans away But they could not They were conquered We call that 'the year the world went wrong' My husband was frightened in that year, he a little boy and hearing of all those people dead So he got a long stick and made a mark on it, to remember Every year, after that, he made a mark and some strange figure in blue or red to tell what had happened that year

"All our people used to come to hear that history, and he would sit on his mattress, blinking his eyes, for he was already getting blind He would put his thumb on a mark and tell them all that happened that year with the names of the people who ran in the races and who made the dancing songs, and what nicknames were given All the way from one end of the stick to the other, he would go and never forget While I lived with him, those marks stretched farther and farther down the stick He put his marriage to me on it When you see the stick, you will find it there "[8]

[UNITED STATES] "As long as the United States endures as a democratic country the Washington Monument will symbolize to the world its steadfast faith in the principles of its founders

" it is the material symbol of the veneration of George Washington by the Nation which he led in war and peace and to whose formation he so greatly contributed Here is represented the admiration of Americans for those qualities of immutable, unselfish devotion to principle and to country that constituted the greatness of George Washington Straight and lofty, the huge obelisk symbolizes in stone his uprightness and resolution It represents also American gratitude for his military accomplishments, his sagacious statesmanship, his stainless integrity In its enduring marble is expressed the continuing pride and faith of the American people in the Declaration of Independence, in the Federal Constitution, and in the other liberal achievements of the Revolution "[9]

Tokens, of which writing is an example, are the chief means of mediated social interaction in human society As such, they extend social interaction beyond the spatial and temporal range of other kinds of symbolic interaction (2)

[7] *Vide Revelation* [*ca.* 95 A D ?], in *New Testament*

[8] R Underhill, *The Autobiography of a Papago Woman*, pp 58–9

[9] U S Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Washington Monument* (Washington, 1942), p 3

[KUURN] a signal smoke is raised by setting fire to a wide circle of long grass in a dry swamp This causes the smoke to ascend in a remarkable spiral form, which is seen from a great distance The summons thus given is strictly attended to Or, if there is not a suitable swamp, a hollow tree is stuffed with dry bark and leaves, and set on fire Or, a fire is made on a hill top [10]

[UNITED STATES] "Intelligence having been received by the Corporation of New York, from the acting Canal Commissioners, that the gigantic work [i e, the Erie Canal] would be completed and prepared for navigation on the twenty-sixth of October [1825] . to guard against the disappointment that might arise from any unforeseen accident, which might have retarded the work beyond the specified time, arrangements were made for the firing of a grand salute, to be commenced at Buffalo, at a given hour, and continued to New York, by guns stationed at suitable points along the whole intermediate distance

"Everything being prepared, the signal was given, and the discharge of a thirty-two pounder from the brow of the terrace announced that all was in readiness, and the boats under way! The salute of artillery was continued along from gun to gun, in rapid succession, agreeably to previous arrangements, and, in the short space of one hour and twenty minutes, the joyful intelligence was proclaimed to our citizens " [11]

> This in turn makes it easier to accumulate and transmit customs, (3) so it is not surprising that writing is a token found in every civilization except the Inca (4)

[TIKOPIA] The absence of any well defined institutionalized transmission of knowledge must have meant considerable inefficiency in Tikopia life, since on many occasions elder relatives must have died before they had handed on to their descendants their own theoretical and practical equipment These people must then have had to apply elsewhere The Tikopia themselves are conscious of this defect and also of the liability of memory to failure One of them, contrasting European accuracy with the native defects, said neatly "Tikopia here has its paper in lips," meaning that the records were verbal only [12]

[ROME] "Our predecessors, wisely and with advantage, proceeded by written records to hand down their ideas to after times, so that they should not perish, but being augmented from age to age and published in book form, they should come step by step in the course of time to a complete and accurate body of knowledge " [13]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " they shall read our written records, for we have

[10] J Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (Melbourne, 1881), p 72

[11] W L Stone, "Narrative of the festivities observed in honor of the completion of the Grand Erie Canal," pp 291–95, in C D Colden, *Memoir* (New York, 1825), pp 289–331, *vide ibid*, pp 138–41, 148–50

[12] R Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy*, p 107

[13] Vitruvius, *De architectura*, 7 praef 1

already arranged not to lose the words spoken on these problems, and to tie together the things that tend to drop out of memory by the bond of writing, so to speak, by which they can be retrieved " [14]

Since speech is the most important means of symbolic interaction, it is also useful to classify symbols according to whether or not they stand for linguistic symbols *Non-verbal symbols* are neither speech symbols themselves, nor stand for such symbols, a good example of a non-verbal symbol is a pictograph

[YUKAGHIR] Pictographic writing is still in use among the Yukaghir of the Yassachnaya and Korkodon Rivers Like the American Ojibway, they trace with the point of a knife figures and lines on the inner surface of birchbark Drawings are also made by puncturing Formerly this was done with a bone awl

We find two kinds of pictographic writing—realistic and conventionalized.

The realistic form of graphic art is used in birchbark letters in which one person or a group of people communicate to other persons his or their exploits or experiences This form of writing, of course, can be called realistic only so long as the writer is able to trace figures of men, animals and objects When a hunter is leaving his temporary camp or seasonal habitation he leaves on a tree a birchbark letter to inform passing tribesmen where he has gone and what has happened .

[PLATE IA] shows the Korkodon River (1) and its tributary, the Rassokha (5) The rivers are indicated each by a pair of equidistant wavy lines The line in the middle of the river shows the route of the writer The lines across the Korkodon River just above the mouth of the Rassokha indicate the place where the river was dammed for fishing Farther to the right is a representation of a grave (2) with a double cross showing that there a man died and was buried Still farther to the right, three conical tents are shown At this place the whole Yukaghir group lived for some time From there two tents moved farther up the Korkodon River They had two boats, preceded by four canoes (4) One tent moved back and ascended the Rassokha (6) There they stopped for a time on the left shore and moved up the Rassokha with two boats and two canoes This means that the people of the tent consisted of two families, although they had only one tent A boat is distinguished by its steering oar and paddles while the canoe has only a double paddle This letter was found on a tree by my Yukaghir travelling companions when we ascended the Korkodon River in the autumn of 1895, so that my companions learned where their clansmen had been during the summer and what they had done They guessed who had died and told me why two families had one tent on the Rassokha River The cover of the other tent was in our boat one of my oarsmen belonged to the family that lived in a neighbor's tent On the Korkodon River are shown three small tributaries The information such a letter

[14] Augustine, *De ordine*, 1 9 27
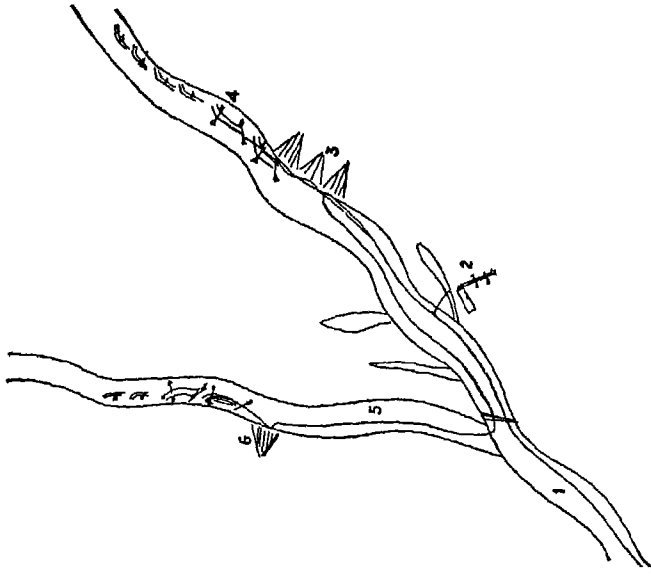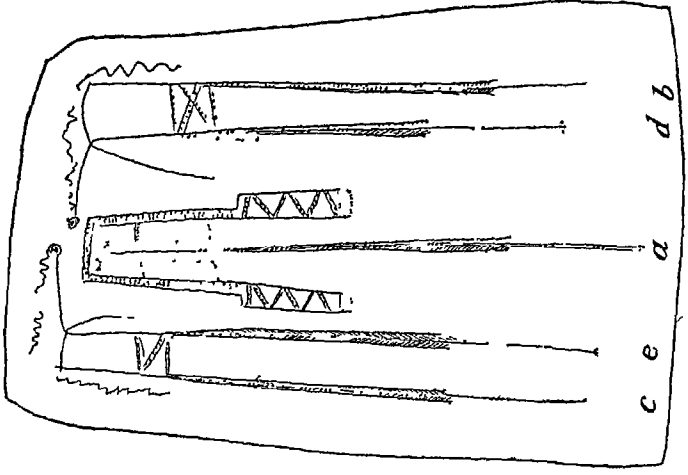
PLATE I YUKAGHIR PICTOGRAPHS

From W Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus* (*Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, 9) (New York, 1926) pp. 434, 445

gives is not quite accurate, as the exact time of the beginning and end of the fishing is not given in the picture writing

[PLATE IB] represents a sample of a love letter Each of the figures resembling folded umbrellas represents in a conventional way a human being. The inner pair of lines indicates the legs, the outer two lines the arms, and the dots show the joints of the legs and parts of the body The dotted line extending from the side of the second figure, from right to left, indicates a braid, i e, the figure is a girl or woman The contents of the letter are as follows Above the central figure (a) is an object like a hat which represents a deserted dwelling, i e, one which figure a is leaving The minds or the desires of the two female figures were directed towards the central figure, a, but the latter is too important a person for the Yukaghir girls who composed this letter Their minds stop on the way, not daring to go to their original destination, turn around for a great while, and go back The mind of d goes to figure b and the mind of c goes to figure e The figures c and e and b and d are united by bands of love, but the bands of b and d are of a more durable nature than those of e and c This is shown by the diagonals uniting the heads of both pairs In the first case we have two diagonals, and in the other only one [15]

Verbal symbols, on the other hand, are either themselves linguistic symbols, i e, speech, or stand for such symbols

the Ashanti were able to convey messages over great distances and in an incredibly short space of time by means of drums

The drum only gives the tones, number of syllables, and the punctuation accurately The actual vowels and the individual consonants cannot be transmitted It is therefore generally impossible to "read" accurately any particular word when standing alone, because a combination of, say, a low and a high tone, i e, a word of two syllables, might be common to a dozen words each of which was made up of a low and a high tone, and containing two syllables, but each of which had a different meaning, when such an isolated word—or, in this context, simple combination of two tones—comes to take its place in a phrase or sentence, the combination of tones becomes more complex, and we have thus a series which will be much less likely to be found combined in another phrase having a different meaning, thus the chance of confusion is somewhat reduced, and when it is stated that the *repertoire* of Ashanti drummers consists of certain holophrases which are in constant use by all drummers, it will be readily understood that they become absolutely familiar with these Should a drummer depart however, from one of these "set pieces" and strike out on his own, drumming at fancy, new phrases, i e, new combinations of tones, &c, then, though to himself the drum would still continue to speak, yet another drummer, who heard these new combinations for the first time, could not, I am convinced, read his message with any accuracy That is, sender and receiver have to be familiar with the phrases drummed [16]

[15] W Jochelson, *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirized Tungus* (American Museum of Natural History, *Memoirs*, 13) (New York, 1926), pp 434–35, 444–45

[16] R S Rattray, *Ashanti*, pp 212, 257

Of the verbal symbols standing for linguistic symbols, the most important is writing; [17] here the symbols stand for words,[18] parts of words,[19] or phonemes (i e , categorized speech sounds) [20]

In our society literate people have become so habituated to reading and writing that they tend to overlook writing as merely a means of symbolizing speech Even most students of language concentrate on written texts rather than spoken speech A good idea of the extent to which writing has become independent of speech can be had from the fact that in the 4th century A D a man who did not read aloud to himself was considered to be remarkable,[21] while in the 20th century poetry may become so bound to the printed page that its typography is an important part of the poem [22]

Symbolic systems

A group's *symbolic system* is composed of a customary set of symbols and ways in which these symbols are combined, the associates of the symbols, and responses to the symbols and their associates Such systems vary in their complexity The simplest are really aggregates of a few more or less independent symbols, the most complex consist of an elaborate set of symbols combined in complicated ways [23]

[17] The earliest known writing, found at Uruk, in Iraq, dates from about 4500 B C

The writing of the time of the earliest tablets is to be accounted as "*word writing*", that is, a sign or a group of signs corresponds to each word Cases in which a linguistically compound expression is represented by one sign, are very isolated, the only sure example—if one assumes the Sumerian language for the oldest texts—is the sign for the goddess *Inanna*, the "sky mistress" Considerable shortcomings are of necessity attached to such a writing system They are based upon a limited capacity of expression and insufficient clarity Attempts have been made to overcome this in various ways —A Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* (Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, *Ausgrabungen* 2) (Berlin, 1936), pp 62–63

[18] E g , Chinese, *vide* B Karlgren, *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* (London 1923)

[19] E g , the Japanese *kana* syllabary, *vide* G B Sansom, *An Historical Grammar of Japanese* (Oxford, 1928), Chap 1

[20] The set of phonemic tokens used to symbolize a language is an *alphabet* The alphabet was invented by some Semitic-speaking people in Asia Minor during the 2nd millennium B C —*Vide* J Leibovitch, *Les inscriptions protosinaitiques (Memoires presentes a l' Institut d' Egypte*, 24) Cairo, 1934, R F S Starr and R F Butin, *Excavations and Protosinaitic Inscriptions at Serabit el Khadem (Studies and Documents*, 6) (London, 1936)

[21] " while [Ambrose was] reading, his eyes glanced over the pages, and his heart searched out the sense, but his voice and tongue were silent "—Augustine, *Confessiones*, 6 3 3

[22] E g , E E Cummings, *Collected Poems*, New York, 1938

[23] Perhaps the most complex gesture system in existence is that of the Hindus,

Smoke Signals of the Apaches

. The materials used in making smoke of sufficient density and color consist of pine or cedar boughs, leaves and grass These Indians state that they employ but three kinds of signals, each of which consists of columns of smoke, numbering from one to three or more

Alarm

This signal is made by causing three or more columns of smoke to ascend, and signifies danger or the approach of an enemy, and also requires the concentration of those who see them These signals are communicated from one camp to another, and the most distant bands are guided by their location The greater the haste desired the greater the number of columns of smoke These are often so hastily made that they may resemble puffs of smoke, and are caused by throwing heaps of grass and leaves upon the embers again and again

Attention

This signal is generally made by producing one continuous column, and signifies attention for several purposes, viz, when a band had become tired of one locality, or the grass may have been consumed by the ponies, or some other cause necessitated removal, or should an enemy be reported, which would require further watching before a decision as to future action would be made The intention or knowledge of anything unusual would be communicated to neighboring bands by causing one column of smoke to ascend

Establishment of a camp, quiet, safety

When a removal of camp has been made, after the signal for *Attention* has been given, and the party have selected a place where they propose to remain until there may be a necessity or desire for their removal, two columns of smoke are made, to inform their friends that they propose to remain at that place Two columns are also made at other times during a long continued residence, to inform the neighboring bands that a camp still exists, and that all is favorable and quiet [24]

[UNITED STATES] "Visual signalling . in the infantry includes . . pyrotechnic devices . . .

"The pyrotechnic devices consist of signal cartridges, position lights, and Very pistol cartridges

"Pyrotechnic devices are used for sending prearranged signals which require immediate action and in special cases when other means are uncertain or slow. . .

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vide [Bharata], *Natyasastra*, [4th–8th cents ?], ed M Ramakrishna Kavi (*Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, 36, 68,), Baroda, 1926– , [Nandikesvara], *Abhinayadarpana* [10th cent ?], ed M Ghosh (*Calcutta Sanskrit Series*, 5), Calcutta, 1934

[24] W J Hoffman, quot G Mallery, "Sign language among North American Indians," *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1 (1879–80), (pp 263–552) pp 538–39

"A sample pyrotechnic code is as follows

Request for artillery barrage	Chain, red
Objective reached	Single star, green
We are going to advance	Caterpillar
Our front line, all is going well	Position lights, white
Our front line, we are held up	Position lights, red
Lift artillery	Single star, red" [25]

In a symbolic system, the individual symbols constitute its vocabulary, and the ways in which the symbols are combined, its grammar

A *vocabulary*, then, is the set of symbols found in a symbolic system Some of its properties deserve brief mention

(*a*) Symbols show generality A symbol stands for a class of things, (5) and if the symbol is customary it stands for a category The class may contain no, few, or many members, e g , "unicorn" (a null class), "George Washington" (a unit class), and "man" (a multiple class)

(*b*) Symbols are often ambiguous This happens when a symbol stands for either two or more different categories, or for a category made up of more or less independent sub-classes (6)

[UNITED STATES] "Ball n[oun] .

1 Any round or roundish body or mass
2 The globe or earth, any celestial body .
3 A spherical or ovoid body of any substance or size used to play with
4 A game in which a ball is thrown, kicked, or knocked .
5 In certain games, a ball delivered . in a certain way. . . .
6 Of projectiles
7 Specif , of various roundish or rounded bodies
8 A drink of liquor
9 *Arch*[*itecture*] A sphere crowning a cupola .
10 *Baseball* A pitched ball, not struck at by the batsman, that fails to pass over some portion of the home base not higher than the batsman's shoulder or lower than his knee, or that touches the ground before passing over the home base
11 *Bot*[*any*] Any small globose fruit or seed pod
12 *Cabinetwork* A material consisting largely of shoemakers' wax
13 *Hort*[*iculture*] The compact mass of earth and roots moved with a transplanted shrub or tree
14 *Print*[*ing*] A leather-covered or composition cushion, fastened to a handle .

[25] U S Infantry School, Fort Benning, Georgia, *Infantry Signal Communications* (Fort Benning, 1932), pp 259, 267–71

15 *Puddling* A solidified mass of iron as taken from the furnace
16 *Veter[inary]* A large pill

Ball . v[erb] *Transitive*
1 To form or wind into a ball
2 To confuse . .
3 Of bees, to form a dense cluster about (a queen bee)
4 *Hort* To compact a ball of earth about
5. *Metal[lurgy]* To heat in a puddling furnace and form into balls . . .
6 *Veter* To give a ball to

——, *Intransitive*
1 To gather into a ball or balls .
2 To gather balls or cakes
3 To form a ball when chilled. . .
4 *Metal* To collect into balls for rolling

Ball *n[oun]* . .
1. A dance . .
2 A large and formal assembly for social dancing " [26]

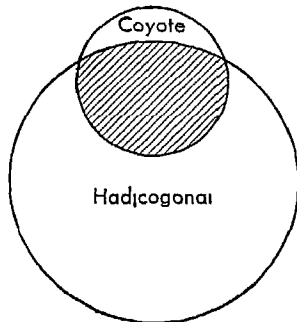
(*c*) The things symbolized differ from one culture to another. The section on categorization in Chapter III stated that things are lumped together when they can be adequately responded to by similar actions, and things are discriminated when they necessitate different responses. Therefore the vocabulary found in a culture depends upon the kinds of adjustments made by the people For instance, the richness of vocabulary dealing with a topic depends upon the extent to which the group specializes in that field [27]

The Chukchee distinguish the following colors of reindeerskin —
1 Ten-uwele ("quite black"—chestnut brown—)
2 Uurgilin ("black hair tipped")
3 Cevaro ("gray")
4 Elhicevaro ("gray with white")
5 Ipirgin ("yellowish hair tipped"—on brown ground—).
6 Uuplile ("black yellowish"—somewhat lighter than the preceding one)
7 Iplile "yellowish"—on gray ground—)
8 Ilhiplile ("whitish yellow").
9 Cechenyaqilhm ("under-leg grayish"—light-gray spots under the legs and on the groins body brown—)
10 Uwyaqachin ("black, under-leg grayish"—same as before, belly light gray, white spot on the forehead—)
11 Yaqilhin ("under-leg grayish"—same as before, brown parts less extended)

[26] *Webster's New International Dictionary*, s v "ball"
[27] Curiously enough, though many lists of specialized vocabularies are given in the literature, I know of no case where they are accompanied by accounts of how the responses of the people are correspondingly differentiated

12 Yihilhin ("whitish"—with brown stripe along the black—)
13 Elhar ("white fox")
14 Ilhilile (white-faced"—albino—)
15 Elveek ("one hind-leg in white stocking"—body gray or brown—)
16 Kemgekem ("both hind-legs in white stockings")
17 Init-qenu ("nose-tip white"—literally, "nose-tip white mixed with brown")
18 Arequano ("groin white mixed with brown").
19 Riccit-qenu ("belt white mixed with brown")
20 Qenu ("white mixed with brown")
21 Meimi-qenu ("very much qenu," i e , more white than brown)
22 Kelilin ("spotted"—white spots on brown or gray ground)
23 Rewitin ("ptarmigan-neck"—white body with a black head, like a ptarmigan in spring plumage—)
24 Iplili-qenu ("yellowish gray mixed with white")
25 Iplili-kelilin ("yellowish gray spotted with white")
26 Kergipitku-qenu ("speckled with white"—on yellowish-gray ground—) [28]

(*d*) The symbolization of things varies from culture to culture This too stems from categorization. It is improbable that two different classification systems will develop classes having exactly the same criteria, let alone be identical in all their properties Hence, though some characteristics of the symbolized categories from each group may correspond, there are often many others which differ

The Tonkawan word "hadjcogonai" is translated as "coyote" But to the Tonkawa the coyote is more than a mere animal—it is a semi-sacred being, the hero of myths and the object of ceremonial, while to us it is *Canis latrans*, a pest Drawing circles to represent the percept of each word, and shading the overlapping portion which stands for the characteristics they have in common, they may be represented thus

[28] W Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp 74–75 In our own society this phenomenon is illustrated by the existence of technical dictionaries, e g , V J Brown and D G Runner, *Engineering Terminology* (Chicago, 1939, 2nd ed)

That is why it is so hard to translate from one symbolic system to another (7)

[TROBRIANDS] The word *papapa*, "flutter" [in a spell], stands for a phrase "let the canoe speed so that the pandanus leaves flutter" Of course the word expresses much more than this sentence, because it is intelligible to those who are acquainted with the part played by the pandanus leaves in the decoration of canoes, with the native ideas about magical association between flutter and speed, and with the ritual use of pandanus streamers Therefore the word has meaning only if taken with the context of this formula, in connection with its aim, with the various associated ideas and customs To the native, who knows all this and in whose mind the whole context rises, when he hears of repeats "*papapa*," the word quivers with magical force [20]

Now let us return to the first two points, namely, the generality and ambiguity of a vocabulary If a symbol has these properties, by itself it can mean all sorts of things, as we saw in the examples of "man" and "ball" The problem, then, is to handle the symbols in such a way that they delimit the thing that the communicator wants to indicate When a single symbol is too vague, a series of symbols are used Since each symbol stands for a class of things, employing a series of symbols amounts to giving a number of categories to which the thing being pointed out belongs Thus the range of possible associates is narrowed (8)

[FOX] "The extended use of composition of verbal stems is particularly characteristic of the Algonquian languages These stems follow one another in definite order

"Every stem is stamped with the quality of abstract meaning the notion of some stems is so vague and so volatile, as they stand in detached form, as to seem almost void of tangible sense Some stems can be analyzed into elements that have at most the feeblest kind of sense, it is only as they stand in compound form that they take on a special meaning It is not altogether clear how these stems, so vague and subtle as they stand alone, came to convey the sensuous notions that they do when thrown together into a group, how, for example, an initial stem introduces a general notion, and forms a group complete in statement but incomplete in sense, as when in composition it terminates with only a pronominal ending Yet such a group can be of sufficiently frequent use as to become an idiom, in that case it takes on an added sense, which is due not so much perhaps to the inherent meaning of the combined stem and pronoun as to an acquired association with a particular activity The psychological peculiarity of the process is more marked in the wider developments, as when initial and

[20] B Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, pp 131–35

secondary stems combine for the larger groups The components seem to stand toward each other in the position of qualifiers, the sense of one qualifying the sense of another with an effect of directing the meaning toward a particular direction But, whatever be the influence at work, the result is a specialization of meaning, not only of the single member in the group, but of all the members as they stand together with reference to one another The stems seem charged with a latent meaning which becomes evident only when they appear in certain relations out of those relations they stand like empty symbols It is important to emphasize the fact that the order of stems in a group is psychologically fixed Some stems precede and others follow, not with a freedom of position and not in a haphazard manner, but with a consecutive sequence that is maintained from beginning to end with firm stability

"The following examples illustrate these principles of composition A general summary of the process can thus be put in illustration

pom is an initial stem signifying NO MORE, NO LONGER, its original sense comes out best by adding the terminal animate pronoun, and making *po'niwa* The group means that one has previously been engaged in activity, and has now come into a state of cessation, making altogether a rather vague statement, as it stands unrelated to anything else But travel has made a figure of speech of it, and so it has come to be the particular idiom for ONE CAMPS, ONE GOES INTO CAMP So much for the simpler form of a combination

An initial stem, *pag-*, has the general sense of STRIKING AGAINST SOMETHING, *-a'kw-* is a secondary stem denoting RESISTANCE, and so *paga'kw-* is TO STRIKE AGAINST A RESISTANCE The stem *-tun-* is a mobile secondary stem denoting the special notion of PLACE ABOUT A CAVITY, and has become a special term indicating THE PLACE ABOUT THE MOUTH, and so *paga'kwituna-* is TO STRIKE AGAINST A RESISTANCE AT A POINT ON THE MOUTH

Again, *-cin-* is a secondary co ordinative stem, and refers to the change from motion to rest, but leaves the character and the duration of the change to be inferred from the implications of the stems that precede, furthermore, it indicates that the performer is animate, and serves as a link between the terminal pronoun and what precedes, and so *paga'kwitu'naci* is a definite statement meaning that one strikes against a resistance and is brought for a time at least to a condition of rest HE BUMPS HIMSELF ON THE MOUTH and HE BUMPS HIS MOUTH would be two ways of putting the same thing in English " [30]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "*Lear* Here I stand your slave,
A poor, infirm, weak, and despis'd old man " [31]

Consequently, a group of symbols are commonly used in communication, which together serve to delimit the associate Such a group of symbols is a *statement*

[30] W Jones, "Algonquian (Fox)," rev T Michelson, pp 759–61, in *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, I, pp 735–873

[31] W Shakespeare, *King Lear*, 3 2 19–20

This is where grammar comes in. Symbols are combined into statements, and *grammar* is the way in which symbols are related. Two grammatical processes are used for this purpose: positional relation of the symbols (*order*), and change in the symbols themselves (*inflection*).

[UNITED STATES] "The man sees the dog." "The dog sees the man."
[CHINA] *Jen*^{2} *k'an*^{4} *chien*^{4} *kou*^{3} (The man sees the dog). *Kou*^{3} *k'an*^{4} *chien*^{4} *jen*^{2} (The dog sees the man).
[ROME] *Homo canem videt* (The man sees the dog). *Canis hominem videt* (The dog sees the man).
[UNITED STATES] "He runs away from this boy." "These boys ran away from him."

In the process of restricting meaning, the symbols that make up a statement become interdependent and qualify one another (9).

Process of communication

Communication is the conveying of experiences from one individual to another by means of substitute social interaction. Though we tend to take communication for granted, not all substitute interaction results in communication.

The difficulties involved in communication are perhaps most forcibly brought home to teachers. I for one find few things more discouraging than the grading of examinations. In my teaching I try to speak simply, to use examples drawn from the students' own experiences whenever feasible, and to draw them into discussion as much as I can. Yet when I read their examination papers, I discover to my dismay that most of the students do not seem to have any but the faintest idea of what I was talking about.

The same is true of the student's reading. A few times I have assigned a chapter in the text, a week or so in advance, and told the students that they would be examined on it. Then, instead of a regular examination, I ask the students to open their books to the assigned chapter, and to give me the gist of the first paragraph. I have yet to find more than one student in a class who can do this adequately. And so, starting with the first sentence in the chapter, I go around the class, asking each student to read one sentence aloud and to tell me in his or her own words what that sentence means. On an average, 1 student in 20 can do so, while the others misinterpret their sentence more or less completely.[32]

The process of communication depends upon the effectiveness of the substitute interaction. It is effective when the perceptions of the communicator and interceptor jibe. In the case of symbolic inter-

[32] In this connection, *vide* I. A. Richards, *Practical Criticism* (London, 1929).

action this occurs when the participants use a common symbolic system and the associate of the statement is adequately indicated Effective substitute interaction is necessary for communication Substitute interaction is ineffective when the perceptions of the communicator and interpreter differ In the case of symbolic interaction this occurs when the participants do not use a common symbolic system or the associate of the statement is inadequately indicated

An American in Paris, ignorant of French, goes up to a passer-by and asks, "Will you please tell me the way to the Louvre?" The other, not knowing English, replies, "Je ne comprends pas" Here we have symbolic social interaction, but neither understands the other and the interaction is consequently ineffective

Because of his lack of interest in communication, the schizophrene often does not make clear what he is talking about.

CL He got cold
Q Where?
CL On the street corner
Q Why?
CL He stood there for a long time
Q Why?
CL Because it was winter, and he didn't have any heavy underwear on
Q Who?
CL Francis
Q What happened?
CL He came in the house and said, "Boy, I'm cold!" [33]

Symbolic communication, then, depends upon adequate symbolization and interpretation

Symbolization is using symbols to stand for associates. The difficulties inherent in the process were given in the section on abstract and representational art in Chapter IX, here it is enough to remind you that it is not easy to symbolize the uniqueness of a thing—even one which is relatively common, not to mention something novel

[EGYPT] "Would that I had words that are unknown, utterances that are strange, expressed in new language that has never occurred before, void of repetitions, not the utterance of past speech (?), spoken by the ancestors I squeeze out my body for (?) that which is in it, in the loosing (?) of all that I say For what has been said is repeated, when (?) what has been said has been said, there is no [meaning of word unknown] the speech of men of former times, when (?) those of later times find it" [34]

[33] J S Slotkin, "The nature and effects of social interaction in schizophrenia," p 354

[34] *The Complaint of Khekheperre-sonbu*, recto, 2–4 (XII Dynasty), in A H Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (Leipzig, 1909), pp 95–112

[UNITED STATES] "It is the misfortune of men to use words that tell nothing, to die with frozen gestures on their lips, to feel the April winds of death under their eyelids and say merely Good by, good-by" [35]

[UNITED STATES] The human understanding more easily invents new things than new words, and we are hence constrained to employ many improper and inadequate expressions When several nations form a permanent league and establish a supreme authority, which, although it cannot act upon private individuals like a national government, still acts upon each of the confederate states in a body, this government, which is so essentially different from all others, is called Federal Another form of society is afterwards discovered in which several states are fused into one with regard to certain common interests, although they remain distinct, or only confederate, with regard to all other concerns In this case the central power acts directly upon the governed, whom it rules and judges in the same manner as a national government, but in a more limited circle Evidently this is no longer a federal government, but an incomplete national government, which is neither exactly national nor exactly federal, but the new word which ought to express this novel thing does not exist [36]

Well, then, how does the communicator go about symbolizing what is on his mind? He makes a statement that, in his opinion, has enough symbols to restrict the possible associates to the thing he wants to indicate. By and large, he states as little as possible (10) —usually no more than is necessary to delimit the associate What must be symbolized to delimit the associate adequately depends upon the context in which the statement is made The *context* is twofold the situation in which the communicator expresses himself, and the previous statements that refer to the given expression The *context of situation* is the relevant environmental circumstances in which the situation is made (11) When the following dialogue occurs in the first scene of *Hamlet*

Bernardo 'Tis here!
Horatio 'Tis here!
Marcellus 'Tis gone

we know what is meant because the ghost of Hamlet's father is on the stage The *context of reference* is the previous statements which have bearing on the given statement (12)

[35] H Gregory, *Poems, 1930–1940* (New York, 1941), "A footnote for mortality"
[36] A De Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique,* I, Chap 8 (pp 264–65)

> *Othello* ... she did gratify his amorous works
> With that recognizance and pledge of love
> Which I first gave her I saw it in his hand [37]

The previous statements in the play make it plain that "she" is "Desdemona", "he," "Cassio", and "it," the handkerchief The context thus helps to indicate the thing symbolized by both supplementing and restricting the information given in the statement It supplements by providing additional knowledge about the associate, it restricts by helping to delimit the range of associates possible to a general or ambiguous symbol

I have said that the communicator symbolizes as little as possible. But complex symbolic systems grammatically categorize their important symbols, and each of these categories has certain characteristics of its own

In Zulu, Nouns are divided into eight "classes" .

Class 1 Class indicating persons
Class 2 Miscellaneous class
Class 3 This is generally known as the "Animal Class" on account of the number of names of animals found in it
Class 4 Amongst the nouns of this class the following are included Groves or clumps of trees or herbs Languages Ordinal Numbers
Class 5 This is sometimes called the "Tree" or "River" class, but in Zulu it is mostly of a miscellaneous nature
Class 6 A miscellaneous class in Zulu, in many instances, however, indicating long objects
Class 7. This class contains abstract nouns for the greater part, and a number of nouns expressing collectivity
Class 8 This is the class of verbal nouns [38]

Grammatical gender [in German] . is of three kinds—masculine, feminine, neuter [39]

Therefore, what the communicator states is conditioned by the nature of the properties of the grammatical categories, for some information is contained in these categories themselves

The man is sick We express by this sentence, in English, the idea, *a definite single man at present sick* In Kwakiutl this sentence would have to be rendered by an expression which would mean, in the vaguest possible

37 Shakespeare, *Othello*, 5 2 213–15

38 C M Doke, *Text Book of Zulu Grammar (Bantu Studies*, suppl) (Johannesburg, 1927), Chap 3

39 G O Curme, *A Grammar of the German Language* (New York, 1922, rev ed), p 120

form that could be given to it, *definite man near him invisible sick near him invisible* Visibility and nearness to the first or second person might, of course, have been selected in our example in place of invisibility and nearness to the third person An idiomatic expression of the sentence in this language would, however, be much more definite, and would require an expression somewhat like the following, *That invisible man lies sick on his back on the floor of the absent house* In Eskimo, on the other hand, the same idea would be expressed by a form like (*single*) *man sick*, leaving place and time entirely indefinite In Ponca, one of the Siouan dialects the same idea would require a decision of the question whether the man is at rest or moving, and we might have a form like *the moving single man sick* If we take into consideration further traits of idiomatic expression, this example might be further expanded by adding modalities of the verb, thus the Kwakiutl would require a form indicating whether this is a new subject introduced in conversation or not, and in case the speaker had not seen the sick person himself, he would have to express whether he knows by hearsay or by evidence that the person is sick, or whether he has dreamed it [40]

To sum up, the communicator symbolizes by giving a statement which stands for an associate His perception of that associate is the meaning the statement has for him (13)

Interpretation is the process of finding the associate which a statement seems to stand for This associate is not directly experienced by the interpreter All that he can know about the associate is from inference based upon the clues he gets from the symbols in their context. (14)

[CHINA] "The written characters are not the full exponent of speech, and speech is not the full expression of ideas,—is it impossible then to discover the ideas of the sages?" [41]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Wee canne no more know what a Minister said in his sermon by 2 or 3 words pick'd out of it, then wee cann tell what tune a Musitian plai'd last upon the lute, by two or three single Notes [42]

Like any other inference, his interpretation is valid if his actions based upon the inference are successful

[CHINA] "Those who explain the odes, may not insist on one term so as to do violence to a sentence, nor on a sentence so as to do violence to the

[40] F Boas, ed, *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (U S Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins*, 40) (Washington & New York, 1911–38), I, p 43

[41] *I Ching*, tr J Legge (*Sacred Books of the East*, 16) (Oxford, 1882), Append III, 1 12 76 (Han Dynasty)

[42] J Selden, *Table Talk*, "Preaching," 18

general scope They must try with their thoughts to meet that scope, and then we shall apprehend it"[43]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "For if he takes up rashly a meaning which the author whom he is reading did not intend, he often falls in with other statements which he cannot harmonize with this meaning And if he admits that these statements are true and certain, then it follows that the meaning he had put upon the former passage cannot be the true one"[44]

This inferred associate is the meaning of the statement to the interpreter, and the basis upon which he responds to that statement How the interpreter perceives the statement, in turn, can only be inferred from his responses to the statement

Communication takes place when the communicator's and the interpreter's perceptions of the statement jibe But strictly speaking, no two individuals (15) or groups (16) perceive a symbol in exactly the same way, for their different past experiences are bound to make them perceive the symbol differently

[FULAH] We [i e, the chief and the author] often talked about our mode of government and the relation of the different classes in European society He did not attach any value to the legal equality of the citizens and asked me how my countrymen got on without slaves His conclusion was that with us the domestics and the poor classes in general were slaves of the rich, because the latter could, by refusing to give them work, reduce them to starvation in a country, where nothing is given gratuitously[45]

[UNITED STATES] "In the discussions of the Council of Foreign Ministers [in 1945] the representatives of Russia, the United States, Great Britain, France and China have employed no word with greater frequency, vehemence or approval than the word 'democracy' Yet when the Russians speak of democracy, they mean something very different from what we or the British or the French or even the Chinese mean by it At his recent press conference Foreign Commissar Molotov insisted that the present governments in Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary are 'democratic' But all the evidence that has reached Washington, London and Paris indicate that at the present time they are not democracies in our sense of the word at all That is to say, they have no clear mandate from the people they rule, they tolerate no real freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage, opposition elements in those countries have little or no rights. The Russians, however, insist that the regimes at Sofia, Bucharest and Budapest are democratic

"The question arises what do the Russians mean by democratic? In a

43 *Meng tzŭ,* 5 1 4 2

44 Augustine, *De doctrina christiana,* 1 37 41

45 L H Hecquard, *Voyage sur la côte et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique occidentale* (Paris, 1853), p 313, tr H J Nieboer (The Hague, 1910)

recent Soviet broadcast David Zaslavsky has given a curious answer He said 'In my opinion the best answer was given in the war just fought and won Without doubt, this was a war of the united forces of democracy against the joint forces of fascism, and democracy was the victor German fascism was defeated by the Red Army The Red Army liberated the democratic states of a considerable part of Europe and restored to them their independence, freedom and democratic institutions And now that the war is over, the country which is most persistently fighting for the eradication of all remnants of fascism should be considered the most democratic'

"In other words, the fact that a nation has fought Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy is enough by itself to make that nation democratic This argument clearly evades the issue. Incidentally, Zaslavsky never once discusses the presence or absence of civil liberties as a test as to whether a nation is democratic But he does make a great to-do about the possibility of democracy existing in a country, such as Russia, which is ruled by a single party Just as he says there have been nations, such as Austria, where before the war 'there were almost as many parties represented as there were deputies' and that such a multiplicity of parties did not make for democracy, so the existence of a one-party system does not mean the denial of democracy We would call such an argument a *non sequitur*, if we called it anything

"Apparently Zaslavsky realizes that this argument may sound strange to western ears Accordingly he asks the rhetorical question 'But supposing there is no opposition, what then?' His answer is that 'an opposition is an integral part of bourgeois parliamentary democracy for the simple reason that the opposing interests are proof of the very life of these countries It cannot but exist in a country which has within it classes with conflicting social interests' And he goes on to say that 'under Soviet democracy there is no opposition because we have no landlords and no capitalists All power, both in the Soviet Parliament and in Soviet economy, belongs to the people, to those who labor Is not this, then, the highest form of democracy?'

"To many Americans this may appear to be an egregious play on words, with Mr Zaslavsky begging the question he is supposed to answer But, since he is probably sincere in his belief, we can only come to the disturbing conclusion that Soviet and American conceptions of democracy are too far apart ever to meet The time has come to drop the word when dealing with the Russians and define exactly what we mean when we insist upon democratic regimes in the former enemy countries" [46]

But for all practical purposes people assume that they share common meanings if they find that their resulting social interaction is effective—to that extent their inferences as to each other's perceptions are valid (17)

[46] *Washington* [D C] *Post*, Oct 1, 1945, editorial

Effects of symbolization

Finally, let us examine the results of symbolization

We will start by considering some of the effects that symbolic acts have upon social interaction (*a*) Simply as sheer social acts, symbolization can be used to influence social relations For instance, in every society there is customary *small talk,* i e , conventional formulae which have little intrinsic meaning but provide the kind of social interaction which may lead to closer relations

> [UNITED STATES] Discussion of the weather is a common means of becoming acquainted In a Pullman, "Hot enough for you?" or "Isn't it a lovely day?" has often been the opening wedge for conversations which have ultimately led to the unburdening of such confidences as "My wife doesn't understand me" and "Here's a hot tip buy Consolidated Aircraft, it's bound to go up 10 points in a week "

Small talk is also used to maintain social relations People who say nothing but "How do you do" to each other for years, consider themselves as acquaintances This phrase, by the way, is a good example of the conventionality of such formulae In the first place, it can be contracted to "Hi!" and still do the trick Secondly, what would be your reaction if someone took the question literally? Suppose you met someone who, instead of the usual reply, "All right, thanks And you?" stopped and answered, "I feel rotten today I had a toothache all night that kept me awake This morning I felt a little feverish, and now I've got a splitting headache that's driving me crazy " (*b*) Symbolic acts are also means of eliciting a desired response from others in social interaction

> [UNITED STATES] "It is a curious delusion that words express thought Phrases like democracy, liberty, militarism, the principles of justice and humanity, are not primarily meanings at all They are epithets hurled at us to arouse some desired resentment, or they are spotlights guaranteed to create certain warm emotional glows of assent in the mind which receives them It is the reaction they touch off that makes them significant, not their meaning Words are such deadly things not because they mean something, but because they get wrapped up with our emotion and pull it out with them when they are seized "[47]

Suppose you want a pair of shoes, you go to a store, choose the shoes, say, "Charge it, my credit is good," and are given the shoes Now, if you can anticipate how others will react to given circumstances,

[47] R Bourne, "What is opinion?" *New Republic,* 4 (1915), (pp 171–72) p 171

you can often obtain the same response by symbolizing those conditions, irrespective of whether or not the circumstances actually occur. To return to the example just given, if you had said, "Charge it, but my credit is no good because I'm broke," the probability that you would be handed the shoes is very low Therefore, if in spite of your poverty you say, "Charge it, my credit is good," and the salesman takes your word, you will be given the shoes This, of course, is why people lie—to elicit a response which would not be obtained if the real facts were known (*c*) While we are on the topic, it is well to recall the material in Chapter II, which showed how much human social interaction is symbolic and the extent to which it serves the same purposes as almost all other forms of social interaction An obvious case is swearing as a kind of symbolic opposition

[KWAKIUTL]

Swear-Words (Hankwa)

1 Hastelol, Go and die Generally used by women in friendly banter
2 Tlatlelaa, You are dead there Used in friendly discussion when a person feels that he can no longer carry on his argument
2a Hanlatlelol, Die yourself Retort to the preceding Used, however, not in friendly discussion, but after a serious quarrel
3 Tlelwesta axa, You are dead there Used in a bantering way, or at the end of an argument
4 Tleldzewesta axa, You great one are dead there Used often at the end of an argument between husband and wife, or by men after a quarrel
5 Tledlzamasa, Indeed, you are dead there Used as a reproach, for instance, when a person, by his lack of skill, has broken an object or hurt another person
6 Xistolitl laq, Show your teeth and your orbits there (meaning that the skull is lying on the ground)
6a Qulegemalaemtlneslas laxes watldemos gaxen Wawanemgilagas I hope what you wish will happen to me will happen to you, death-bringing-woman Retort to 6
6b Wadzo, Wawanemgilagas, Go away, Death-bringing-woman! Sometimes used like the preceding
7 Xidzithlox, Show your teeth on the floor of the house
7a Qexstolitl lox, You bite the floor of my house at the door These (7 and 7a) are used in a quarrel
8 Tlelxsotllox, Die here on the ground
8a Haxentlelol, I wish you would die right here Retort to 8 Used by men only, particularly men of high rank, in quarrels over social matters
9 Yagwitllox, Lie down dead on the floor of my house

9a. Yaquslox, Lie down dead on the ground Retort to 9 Used in similar way as the preceding

10 Yaxstolitl laq, Lie down dead on the floor of my house

10a. Yaxwelsneslas qas tlelaos laxs ladzasex, Oh, if you would die on the ground where you are standing! Retort to 10 These (10 and 10a) are never used by women, but particularly by chiefs

11. Wexenlas yaxwels qas tleloas laq, I wish you would lie down on the ground and die here

11a Sotltleltl qas qulegemalamaos laxes watldemos gaxen, You shall die, and your own word shall kill you for what you said Retort to 11 Used by men

12 Wexenlas tlelgaclsa laxos ladzasaqos qas halaxidaos keagwaelsa, I wish you would die at the place where you are standing, and disappear Used in quarrels during potlatch

13 Haska, Die with your teeth in your head

13a Ladzamas tlella qaqaxstalanemamitlgenlotl qas halabalamelos tlell, Die now, for the death dealing point of my tongue will kill you quickly Retort to 13 This is considered the worst insult [48]

Biologically considered, symbolization, like any other behavior, is a means of satisfying the motives of the organism At the very least, it permits the expression of tensions which arise as a result of disequilibrium (18)

There are in Tonkawa two classes of interjections, the first comprising exclamations having fairly definite meaning and the second including those expressive of emotional states They are as follows

'ana	look there, see it!
'agai	no!
'al	oh, all right!
'eyeu	all right, agreed!
'ogo	no!
nagw	now, go ahead!
newei	come, hurry!
he'ewa	(I) don't know!
hei'	yes!
hehei'	yes!
hedjodjok	shut up, be still!
wa'an	wait, just a moment!
wa'an-alecuk	wait, just a moment!
we'il	all right, let's go!

The above are the meaningful particles below are listed those cries indicative of emotion

[48] Boas, "Ethnology of the Kwakiutl," *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 35 (1913–14), (pp 43–1481) pp 793–94 Professional bashfulness prohibits me from listing our own customary swear words, so the reader will have to supply his or her own examples

'auye	pain
'ehehehe .	pain
'i'i	exertion (as one dragging a heavy object)
'odj	surprise, wonder
he	surprise, astonishment
heiya	pain
hu	disbelief, contempt
wel'a	pain [49]

[UNITED STATES] "An interjection is an outcry to express pain, surprise, anger, pleasure, or some other emotion, as *Ouch! Oh! Alas! Why?*" [50]

"It appeared to me a great clog and burden, that what I felt within, I could not express as I desired The inward ardor of my soul, seemed to be hindered and pent up, and could not freely flame out as it would" [51]

But in so far as symbolic interaction results in communication, it socializes experience (19) The private experiences of the individual are translated into a form in which they can be shared with others (20) This has a number of implications

(*a*) Symbolic communication is a means of vicariously assimilating the experiences of others, so that one individual can respond to a stimulus experienced by another Thus an individual learns from the experiences of others (21) Here we have the basis for the accumulation and transmission of culture (22)

(*b*) Communication influences group solidarity It was stated in Chapter II that the sharing of experiences increases solidarity, and in so far as communication results in such a sharing, it strengthens group solidarity (23)

[UNITED STATES] "No agencies of reinforcement can compare with the newspaper, the periodical, the motion picture and the radio, whose simultaneous mass impressions upon millions of people are not limited in their effect to those directly impressed, but are immediately passed on into the stream of private conversation" [52]

An additional factor comes into play in the case of symbolic communication If symbolic interaction is to be effective, the participants must use a common symbolic system Therefore people having

[49] H Hoijer, "Tonkowa," pp 134–35, in *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, ed Boas, III, pp 1–148

[50] Curme, *A Grammar of the English Language* (New York, 1931–), II, p 105

[51] J Edwards (1703–1758), "Personal narrative," p 18, in *Works*, ed S Austin (New York, 1851), I, pp 14–23

[52] M M Willey and S A Rice, *Communication Agencies and Social Life*, p 155

different symbolic systems cannot engage in effective symbolic interaction But you will recall that in Chapter II it was also argued that symbolic interaction is basic in human society Consequently, the use of different symbolic systems acts as a barrier to collective action, while the solidarity of those who do employ a common symbolic system is strengthened accordingly (24)

"Of . Arabic, we learned almost nothing The native script, of course, is only a decorative tangle of lines to the average Westerner, and so we were not even able to puzzle out pronunciations of Arab words on billboards and store fronts Perhaps another factor was that French is pretty well known to most urban 'indigenes,' and also that they learned English expressions (including some choice Billingsgate) much faster than we learned Arabic Many of us lifted one lonely phrase, 'La bes?' (How are you?) from our Pocket Guide to North Africa, and that was the beginning and end of our knowledge A train of '40 and 8' boxcars full of troops might come to a stop at a lonely way-station high in the Atlas, with a robed, hawk-faced Arab standing nearby, attentive, inscrutable, looking at us Then perhaps one of us would say 'La bes?' and our Arab friend's face would break into a grave smile, and he would answer 'La bes' For one small moment, a point of contact had been reached between the minds of this proud Moslem and the soldier of the Western World—reached, and as quickly broken " [53]

Much of the solidarity that exists between the British Commonwealth and the United States results from their use of a common language

It is for this reason that artificial international languages such as Esperanto have been invented.

"I need not here point out the considerable importance to humanity of an international language . though language is the prime motor of civilisation, and to it alone we owe the having raised ourselves above the level of the other animals, difference of speech is a cause of antipathy, nay even of hatred, between people " [54]

" could the worst of lies and calumnies have borne such awful fruit [as the Bielostok pogrom of 1905] had the people known each other, had there not stood between them walls high and thick, making it impossible for them to communicate freely with each other and to see that men of other races are just the same sort of men as ourselves, that their literature preaches no awful crimes but has the same ethics and ideals as our own? Break down, break down the walls between the peoples!" [55]

[53] R H Welker, "GI jargon, its perils and pitfalls," *Saturday Review of Literature*, 28 (1945), no 44, (pp 7–8, 37–38) p 8

[54] L L Zamenhof, *Originala verkaro*, ed J Dietterle (Leipzig, 1929), pp 17–18 [1887], tr R H Geoghan (Warsaw, 1889)

[55] *Ibid*, p 370 [1906], tr R Elliott (London, 1931)

(*c*) Symbolic communication increases the efficiency of collective action in two ways. First of all, in the process of symbolization you objectify, discriminate, and clarify your experiences (25) It follows that in symbolizing you point out the associate to yourself as well as to others, and respond to it accordingly (26)

> Language began to function in the building activities at about 110 weeks, when names were given to the structures by the children . .
>
> A study of the language during the experiments brought out a number of interesting points (1) Some of the children verbalized while building, others did not This difference was individual rather than an age difference (2) A study of the language of those children who verbalized while building showed that as the buildings became more complex and detailed, the language concerning them became more elaborate (3) The language was a source of information regarding objects and details of the objects represented by the children [56]

Inasmuch as you yourself perceive the symbols you produce, and are aware of the meanings of these symbols and the customary responses to them, you are able to anticipate the responses of other people using the same symbolic system And once you are able to infer the responses that others will make to your symbols, you can proceed to modify your own acts to fit in with the responses you anticipate from the others (27) For instance, you are trying to lift a heavy box and you attempt to pick it up from the center. Then someone walks by and you ask him to help If he agrees, you shift your position to one end of the box so that the other person can lift from the other end Thus communication makes it possible for the participants to coordinate their social acts most effectively In the second place, symbolic communication permits collective planning Reasoning is the conceptual solution of problems, and symbols may stand for concepts. Now, if you will recall the discussion in Chapter II on the reversible relation between a symbol and its associate, it becomes evident that symbolic communication allows the vicarious handling of concepts Hence, just as the individual can work out a preliminary solution for a problem, a group can do the same thing collectively This is how a group policy becomes possible. To return to the illustration given above, it may not strike you as wonderful to ask a passer-by, "Will you be good enough to help me put this box in the corner?" You both proceed to do so and think nothing

[56] F M Guanella, *Block Building Activities of Young Children* (*Archives of Psychology*, 174) (New York, 1934), pp 88–89.

of it Yet it is possible simply because we engage in symbolic interaction, without it we have another story That this is so can be seen from the following experiment on ants, an animal whose social interaction is not symbolic.

Austin, Texas August 4, 7 00 p m I gathered some mesquite pods and broke them up into fragments of various lengths one bean long, two beans, three beans, five beans, and ten beans I put five of each over the opening of an ant hill belonging to the red harvester ant (*Pogonomyrmex barbatus*)

In 5 minutes all the one bean pieces had been removed from the opening, each dragged away by a single ant At the end of 10 minutes, the two bean pieces had also been removed by individual ants, though a little more slowly

The three and five bean pieces took longer—25 and 70 minutes respectively Many ants rushed to these pieces, more working on those five beans long than on the three But the ants at each piece did not work together Some grabbed an end and pulled one way, others grasped other parts and tugged in various conflicting directions, while still others merely got on top of the piece and moved their legs vigorously Twice I noticed two ants simultaneously tugging in the same direction, but this seemed to be a matter of chance, for it lasted for a few seconds only In all the other cases, any dragging that was done was accomplished by a single ant at a time, after one left off, a second might drag it in the same or in another direction —this too seemed to depend on chance Since almost all removal of these longer pieces was done by one ant at a time, the difference in the length of time it took to remove the three and five bean pieces depended not upon the need for cooperation (for this was minimal) but rather primarily upon the fact that the longer pieces attracted the greater number of ants, and the more ants involved the more they interfered with each other's actions, thus retarding the process of removal

The ten bean pieces were too large to be dragged by a single ant, and after 90 minutes they still remained over the opening Since many ants simultaneously pulled and pushed these largest pieces, there was some random rocking back and forth, but at the end of an hour and a half not one of these ten bean pieces had been moved as much as one-eighth of an inch

August 5, 7 00 p m The ten bean pieces were still where I had placed them The ants were not even trying to remove the mesquite pods They had adjusted to their presence, and hurried in and out among the obstacles as if they were a part of the ant hill itself

August 22, 7 00 p m Three of the five longest pods were at the foot of the ant hill (presumably carried there by the ants), and about 15 ants were working on each of the other two pieces But the latter were still in the same position I had put them originally

(*d*) Symbolic communication acts as a social control The sym-

bolic system of a group implies the existence of customary symbols, categorized associates which the symbols stand for, and responses to these symbols and their associates—all of which are given to us by our culture. This has a twofold effect First, it molds the communicator's own world view We have just seen that symbolization indicates the associate to the communicator as well as to the interpreter Now, recall that in Chapter III it was shown that categorization influences the individual's world view Also, each symbol stands for a category of associates Accordingly, in the very process of symbolizing, the symbol the communicator uses has an influence upon his own attention, perception, and recall in the same way as its associated category (28) Second, even if an individual does develop a world view of his own, it is hard for him to communicate its novel features to others Since symbolic interaction is only effective when the participants use a common symbolism, great changes in the nature of the kinds of symbols used, or in the associates they stand for, produce a symbolic system which is well-nigh incomprehensible, or esoteric at best. (29)

Information

We may define *information* as knowledge gained by communication Now, if you stop to recall that most of what we learn is acquired from others, and how much of this comes to us through symbolic interaction, it becomes easy to see that we rely largely upon information for our adjustments

Information takes the form of tradition or news *Tradition* is information which has been in the group for some time, *news* is fresh and timely knowledge

A detailed analysis of the nature and effects of tradition will be found in the section on time perspective in Chapter XV Here I will simply state that most of culture is learned through tradition, which gives us the bulk of what we know and therefore to a great extent determines what we do In every society a good deal of tradition is handed down by word of mouth

[SAMOA] Certain families were set apart in the several districts to act as depositaries or keepers of these national or family records, by whom they were transmitted from father to son through the generations as they passed It has been suggested that these officials corresponded to the "Recorders" amongst the Hebrews, but the Polynesian office was much more

onerous, since it was unaided by writing of any description The record keeper had to trust to memory alone Many of the Samoans developed marvelous memories, the constant repetition and comparison of their records not only ensuring correctness, but giving wonderful power to their memories I well remember one striking example, an old orator and keeper of Uputu'u (traditions) of A'ana, named Sepetaio This chief, who was blind, had not only a perfect knowledge of his national records but a wonderful memory for other things After the introduction of Christianity and the dissemination of Christian literature, by simply listening to the reading of others he stored his retentive memory to such an extent that . I have often heard him repeat whole chapters of the New Testament without mistake [57]

[UNITED STATES] "Having grown taller and older, I now associated with older boys and I had to pay for my admittance into their company by subscribing to certain racial sentiments The touchstone of fraternity was my feeling toward white people, how much hostility I held toward them, what degrees of value and honor I assigned to race None of this was premeditated, but sprang spontaneously out of the talk of black boys who met at the crossroads

"It was degrading to play with girls, and in our talk we relegated them to a remote island of life We had somehow caught the spirit of the role of our sex, and we flocked together for common moral schooling We spoke boastfully in bass voices, we used the word 'nigger' to prove the tough fiber of our feelings, we spouted excessive profanity as a sign of our coming manhood, we pretended callousness toward the injunctions of our parents, and we strove to convince one another that our decisions stemmed from ourselves and ourselves alone Yet we frantically concealed how dependent we were upon one another

"Of an afternoon when school had let out, I would saunter down the street, idly kicking an empty tin can, or knocking a stick against the palings of a wooden fence, or whistling, until I would stumble upon one or more of the gang loitering at a corner, standing in a field, or sitting upon the steps of somebody's house

" 'Hey.' Timidly

" 'You eat yet?' Uneasily trying to make conversation

" 'Yeah, man. I done really fed my face.' Casually

" 'I had cabbage and potatoes ' Confidently

" 'I had buttermilk and black-eyed peas ' Meekly informational

" 'Hell, I ain't gonna stand near you, nigger!' Pronouncement.

" 'How come?' Feigned innocence

" 'Cause you gonna smell up this air in a minute!' A shouted accusation

"Laughter runs through the crowd

" 'Nigger, your mind's in a ditch ' Amusingly moralistic

" 'Ditch, nothing! Nigger, you going to break wind any minute now!' Triumphant pronouncement creating suspense

" 'Yeah, when them black-eyed peas tell that buttermilk to move over,

[57] J B Stair, *Old Samoa*, pp 289–90

that buttermilk ain't gonna wanna move and there's gonna be war in your guts and your stomach's gonna swell up and bust!' Climax

"The crowd laughs loud and long

" 'Man, them white folks oughta catch you and send you to the zoo and keep you for the next war!' Throwing the subject into a wider field

" 'Then when that fighting starts, they oughta feed you on buttermilk and black-eyed peas and let you break wind!' The subject is accepted and extended

" 'You'd win the war with a new kind of poison gas!' A shouted climax

"There is high laughter that dies down slowly

" 'Maybe poison gas is something good to have' The subject of white folks is associationally swept into the orbit of talk

" 'Yeah, if they hava race riot round here, I'm gonna kill all the white folks with my poison' Bitter pride

"Gleeful laughter Then silence, each waiting for the other to contribute something

" 'Them white folks sure scared of us, though' Sober statement of an old problem

" 'Yeah, they send you to war, make you lick them Germans, teach you how to fight and when you come back they scared of you, want to kill you' Half boastful and half complaining

" 'My mama says that old white woman where she works talked 'bout slapping her and Ma said "Miz Green, if you slaps me, I'll kill you and go to hell and pay for it!"' Extension, development, sacrificial boasting

" 'Hell, I woulda just killed her if she hada said that to me' An angry grunt of supreme racial assertion

"Silence

" 'Man, them white folks sure is mean' Complaining

" 'That's how come so many colored folks leaving the South' Informational

" 'And, man, they sure hate for you to leave' Pride of personal and racial worth implied

" 'Yeah They want to keep you here and work you to death'

'The first white sonofabitch that bothers me is gonna get a hole knocked in his head!' Naive rebellion

" 'Ha-ha-ha Yeah, goddammit, they really catch you now' Appreciation of the thoroughness of white militancy

" 'Yeah, white folks set on their white asses day and night, but leta nigger do something, and they get every bloodhound that was ever born and put 'em on his trail' Bitter pride in realizing what it costs to defeat them

" 'Man, you reckon these white folks is ever gonna change?' Timid, questioning hope

" 'Hell, no! They just born that way' Rejecting hope for fear that it could never come true

" 'Shucks, man I'm going north when I get grown' Rebelling against futile hope and embracing flight

"'A colored man's all right up north.' Justifying flight.

"'They say a white man hit a colored man up north and that colored man hit that white man, knocked him cold, and nobody did a damn thing!' Urgent wish to believe in justice.

"'Man for man up there.' Begging to believe in justice.

"Silence.

"'Listen, you reckon them buildings up north is as tall as they say they is?' Leaping by association to something concrete and trying to make belief real.

"'They say they gotta building in New York forty stories high!' A thing too incredible for belief.

"'Man, I'd be scareda them buildings!' Ready to abandon the now suppressed idea of flight.

"'You know, they say that them buildings sway and rock in the wind.' Stating a miracle.

"'Naw, nigger!' Utter astonishment and rejection.

"'Yeah, they say they do.' Insisting on the miracle.

"'You reckon that could be?' Questioning hope.

"'Hell, naw! If a building swayed and rocked in the wind, hell, it'd fall! Any fool knows that! Don't let people maka fool outta you, telling you them things!' Moving body agitatedly, stomping feet impatiently, and scurrying back to safe reality.

"Silence. Somebody would pick up a stone and toss it across a field.

"'Man, what makes white folks so mean?' Returning to grapple with the old problem.

"'Whenever I see one I spit.' Emotional rejection of whites.

"'Man, ain't they ugly?' Increased emotional rejection.

"'Man, you ever get right close to a white man, close enough to smell 'im?' Anticipation of statement.

"'They say we stink. But my ma says white folks smell like dead folks.' Wishing the enemy was dead.

"'Niggers smell from sweat. But white folks smell *all* the time.' The enemy is an animal to be killed on sight.

"And the talk would weave, roll, surge, spurt, veer, swell, having no specific aim or direction, touching vast areas of life, expressing the tentative impulses of childhood. Money, God, race, sex, color, war, planes, machines, trains, swimming, boxing, anything. . . . The culture of one black household was thus transmitted to another black household, and folk tradition was handed from group to group. Our attitudes were made, defined, set, or corrected, our ideas were discovered, discarded, enlarged, torn apart, and accepted." [58]

But tokens, particularly writing, are more efficient, for they allow greater accuracy in, and volume of, tradition to be transmitted than is orally possible. (30)

[58] R. Wright, *Black Boy* (New York, 1945), pp. 68–71. Copyright, 1945, by Richard Wright.

[WEST GREENLAND ESKIMO] Ethnologists and travellers will find themselves mistaken if they expect to discover traditions that might supply direct information regarding the origin and history of the Eskimo The more recent tales only may be said to include such real historical material, and that merely relating to family matters and events going back as far as four or six generations The author has often made inquiries among the natives about events that have taken place two or three hundred years ago, and more especially about such occurrences as might be supposed to have impressed themselves deepest upon the memory of the population,—as, for instance, the first arrival of European ships, or even the terrible smallpox epidemic of comparatively recent date—viz , 1733–34 But these attempts have been almost entirely without result, and, as already said, the tales dating from an intermediate period are either very scanty, or at least must be supposed devoid of any historical interest [59]

[INCA] each province has its history, and its knots with their recorded annals and traditions . . .

The ordinary judges gave a monthly account of the sentences they had pronounced to their superiors, and these to others, there be several grades of judges, according to the importance of the cases The way of making these reports to the Ynca, or to those of his Supreme Council, was by means of knots, made on cords of various colours, by which means the signification was made out, as by letters The knots of such and such colours denoted that such and such crimes had been punished, and small threads of various colours attached to the thicker cords signified the punishment that had been inflicted, and in this way they supplied the want of letters

They knew a great deal of arithmetic, and had an admirable method by knots made on strings of different colours, of keeping an account of all the tributes in the kingdom of the Yncas, both paid and still due They added up, and multiplied by these knots, and to know what portions referred to each village, they divided the strings by grains of maize or small stones, so that their calculation might be without confusion As every subject, whether relating to peace or war, to vassals, tributes, flocks, laws, ceremonies, or any other department, had special accountants who studied their special branch of administration, the counting was performed with facility For each item of an account was represented by knots or hanks, like loose leaves of a book, and although an Indian (as chief accountant) may have had charge over two or three or more branches, the counting of each one was a department by itself [60]

[MAYA] These people made use of certain characters or letters, with which they wrote in their books their ancient matters and their sciences, and by these and by drawings and by certain signs in these drawings, they

[59] H J Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p 87

[60] Garcilaso de la Vega, *Los comentarios reales de los Incas* [1609], ed H H Urteaga (Lima, 1918–20), 1 19, 2 13, 26, tr C R Markham (London, 1869–71). *Vide* L L Locke, *The Ancient Quipu* ([New York], 1923)

understood their affairs and made others understand them and taught them [61]

Their books were written on a large sheet doubled in folds, which was enclosed entirely between two boards which they decorated, and they wrote on both sides in columns following the order of the folds And they made this paper of the roots of a tree and gave it a white gloss upon which it was easy to write [62]

Though tradition provides the general background of habits by which we adjust, our actual day to day actions are determined by the specific situations which confront us at the time For a knowledge of these as they arise, so that we can anticipate the particular circumstances to which we will have to adjust, we depend upon news to a large extent News can be subdivided into reports and rumors A *report* is news which is vouched for by one considered to be an authority.

[UNITED STATES] "*Detroit, Oct 27*—A movement, started by members of the local Commercial Telegraphers Union, AFL, to force a work stoppage throughout the nation for five hours of all Western Union Telegraph Company service outside New York City next Friday afternoon drew immediate support today from local unions in three other important cities

"Robert Cartwright, chairman of the local union, stated that officials of local unions in Chicago, Minneapolis and Pittsburgh notified him that the plan for a stoppage would be placed before their members in special meetings on Monday night, 'with affirmative action assured'

"'We expect to hear from all of the other locals on Monday and Tuesday,' he said

"He predicted that from 1 P M until 5 P M next Friday every Morse key and teletype printer of the Western Union system outside New York City would be silent in protest against an average increase of 4 cents an hour granted recently by the National War Labor Board He was certain that every local of the CTU in the nation would join in the stoppage Only in New York where the Western Union employes are represented by the American Communications Association, CIO, would service be maintained, and there on a local scale only.

"Approximately 52,000 of about 60,000 Western Union employes would be affected by such a stoppage, Mr Cartwright said A stoppage in Chicago would affect 3,000 union members, while 900 would be out in Pittsburgh and about 500 in Minneapolis

"Mr Cartwright said the stoppage would be on the basis of Eastern

[61] D de Landa (1521–1579), *Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan*, ed H P Martinez (Mexico, 1938), 41 (p 207), tr ed. A M Tozzer (Cambridge, Mass, 1941)
[62] *Ibid*, 7 (p 75)

Standard time throughout the nation so as to coordinate its effect On the Pacific Coast, any employes who were idle would be off duty from 10 A M until 3 P M , and so on through the Mountain and Central time belts

"The union demanded a wage increase of 28½ per cent The increase of 4 cents an hour is held to be discriminatory 'because decision by NWLB in a current case (in New York City) involving a minority of employes of the Western Union provided for a 10 per cent per hour increase plus acceptable vacation and sick leave allowances and because the directive does not afford the majority of the company's employes, who are represented by the CTU-AFL, the satisfactory living standard which was deemed requisite by the NWLB decision in the above-mentioned case ' " [63]

A *rumor* is news which gains currency without being vouched for by one considered to be an authority.[64] There are people in every society who realize that rumors are often false.

[ASHANTI] "An elder gives no heed to idle rumours " [65]

[UNITED STATES] [A government worker in Washington] "The administrators believe everything they hear, but the workers say, 'Never believe a rumor unless it is officially denied ' "

But we saw in Chapter V that there can be no action without belief, so that if a group is confronted by an important situation, in the absence of adequate reports it is forced to act on the basis of rumors

[ASHANTI] "When war has come, rumours have come " [66]

News is transmitted verbally in all societies—either by direct or indirect social interaction Indeed, there are usually customary centers of dissemination for the direct, and customary channels of transmission for the indirect, communication of news

[MARQUESAS] From the time that my lameness had decreased I had made a daily practice of visiting Mehevi at the Ti, who invariably gave me a most cordial reception I was always accompanied in these excursions by Fayaway and the ever-present Kory-Kory The former, as soon as we reached the vicinity of the Ti—which was rigorously tabooed to the whole female sex—withdrew to a neighbouring hut, as if her feminine delicacy restrained her from approaching a habitation which might be regarded as a sort of Bachelor's Hall

And in good truth it might well have been so considered Although it was the permanent residence of several distinguished chiefs, and of the

[63] *New York Times*, Oct 28, 1915, Sec 1, p 21

[64] A classic study of rumor is F van Langenhove, *Comment naît un cycle de legends. Francs—tireurs et atrocités en Belgique* (Lausanne, 1916)

[65] Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 384

[66] Rattray, *ibid* 312

noble Mehevi in particular, it was still at certain seasons the favourite haunt of all the jolly, talkative, and elderly savages of the vale, who resorted thither in the same way that similar characters frequent a tavern in civilized countries There they would remain hour after hour, chatting, smoking, eating poee-poee, or busily engaged in sleeping for the good of their constitutions

This building appeared to be the headquarters of the valley, where all flying rumours concentrated; and to have seen it filled with a crowd of the natives, all males, conversing in animated clusters, while multitudes were continually coming and going, one would have thought it a kind of savage Exchange, where the rise and fall of a Polynesian Stock was discussed [67]

[UNITED STATES] "Sid" is the proprietor of a tailor shop in which an almost perpetual talk-fest is in progress throughout the day and often until late at night Man after man "drops into Sid's place" for a sociable chat and leaves such news as he has in return for a large supply from Sid and others who may have been present Everything is discussed from the habitual debtors of Mineville to the debtor nations of the World War, from the scandal of a Minevillier who just passed by the window to that involving presidents and kings Religion, politics, psychology, economics, milady's styles, fishing trips, smutty stories, the weather, and the merits of one another's chewing tobacco—nothing is barred But it would be a mistake to conceive of this visiting center as those of small towns are so often caricatured, that is, made up of men of naive intelligence who presume great wisdom Their ideas and attitudes on problems of larger import are not provincialisms, but rather are the same as those had by city people, because of being derived from the same immediate sources editors of leading periodicals, the radio, and the movies On the other hand, on local matters the individuals force one another to keep close to facts by the ruthlessness by which they pounce upon him who errs

There is no better place in Mineville to sense shifts in public opinion than Sid's tailor shop. For news generally is not "out" long before someone brings it to Sid's, whose position is much like that of the editor of a paper in that he tends to hear all sides of questions more rapidly than people in general From these diverse points of view he tries to arrive at the true statement of a situation. He becomes one of the best-informed men in town on local affairs, and his shop is one of Mineville's best substitutes for a daily newspaper and scandal sheet—a function pleasant to him and in no sense to his discredit, even though he is subjected to criticism by women who imagine that they are the particular objects under discussion in his shop

But Dick McLeod is even more suggestive of the newspaper in that he is a circulating gossiper He wanders from person to person on Main Street dispensing and collecting gossip It is a familiar and amusing sight to see Dick talking a short while to a person or group of persons from which he soon wanders to another person or group after standing alone and, ap-

[67] H. Melville, *Typee*, pp 211–12

parently, digesting his "scoop" His head-quarters are at Jim's moonshine joint

Both Sid and Dick are old-timers The impressions of forty years' residence upon their indelible memories furnish backgrounds for their interpretation of community events Their remarkable grasps of detail—whether of present or past events—and their proclivities and advantages for accumulating information cause them to function as information bureaus upon local affairs So well is this recognized that an inquiring individual is likely to be met with the statement "You'd better see Dick McLeod or Sid Marshall about that" [68]

PLATE II WATJOBALUK MESSAGE-STICK

From A W Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p 696

The Headmen of a branch of the Wotjobaluk tribe having consulted and decided that, for instance, some other part of the tribe should be summoned to meet them on some special occasion, the principal man among them prepared a message-stick by making notches on it with a knife In the old times this was done with a sharp flint or a mussel shell The man who is to be charged with the message looks on while this is being done, and he thus receives his message, and learns the reference which the marks on the stick have to it A notch is made at one end to indicate the sender, and probably also notches for those who join him in sending the message A large notch is made on one side for each tribal group which is invited to attend If all the people are invited to attend, then the stick is notched from end to end If very few are invited, a notch is made for each individual, as he is named to the messenger The illustration [Plate II] represents one of these sticks, which was made to convey an invitation from the Headman of the Gromilluk horde to the Yarik-kulluk horde at Lake Coorong, both being local divisions of the Wotjobaluk tribe All the people were invited to attend The three notches at the upper end on the right-hand side show the sender and his friends, who were the principal Gromilluk men The large notch represents the Yarik-killuk horde and its Headman, to whom the message was sent The notches

[68] A Blumenthal, *Small-Town Stuff* (Chicago, 1932), pp 132–33

continuing along the edge to the end and along the other edge indicate all the people of the horde being invited

The oldest man having made such a message-stick, hands it to the next oldest man, who inspects it, and, if necessary, adds some further marks and gives corresponding instructions Finally the stick, having passed from one to the other of the old men, is handed to the messenger, who has been duly told off for this duty, and he is informed at the same time when the visitors will be expected to arrive .

The messenger carries the message-stick in a net bag, and on arriving at the camp to which he is sent, he hands it to the Headman, at some place apart from the others, saying, "So and so sends you this," and he then gives his message, referring as he does so to the marks on the stick; and, if his message requires it, also to the time in days, or the stages to be made

The Headman, having examined the message stick, hands it to the other old men, and having satisfied himself how many people are wanted, and how many hordes are to be present, and having made such further inquiries as seem necessary, calls all the people together and announces the message to them

This kind of message-stick, called *galk,* that is, wood or stick, may be seen by anyone It is retained by the recipient, who carried it back to the meeting to which he has been called The messenger lives in the camp with some of his friends, until they all depart to the meeting, when he accompanies them

Such a messenger would never be interfered with No one would think of injuring a man who brings news of important matters But if anyone were to molest him, the whole of the people would take the matter up, and especially his own friends The messenger does not carry anything emblematical of his mission beyond the stick, even when carrying a message calling a meeting for an expiatory combat, or for a *Ganitch,* the initiation ceremony But when conveying news of death, he smears his face with pipe-clay in token of his message [69]

[MARQUESAS] The word "boteel boteel" was vociferated in all directions; and shouts were heard in the distance, at first feebly and faintly, but growing louder and nearer at each successive repetition, until they were caught up by a fellow in a cocoa-nut tree a few yards off, who, sounding them in turn, they were reiterated from a neighboring grove, and so died away gradually from point to point, as the intelligence penetrated into the farthest recesses of the valley This was the vocal telegraph of the islanders, by means of which, condensed items of information could be carried in a very few minutes from the sea to their remotest habitation, a distance of at least eight or nine miles On the present occasion it was in active operation, one piece of information following another with inconceivable rapidity [70]

[UNITED STATES] [The following was written by a government official in Washington.]

69 A W Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia,* pp 695–99
70 Melville, *op cit,* p 140

"How The Grapevine Works

"I stopped at Miss P——'s desk today to pass the time of day and to pick up any news she might have Our conversation began with the usual small talk which always precedes any disclosure of information She had just acquired a new staff composed largely of middle-aged cast-offs from other departments We spoke of the difficulties she faced in trying to make a competent crew of technicians out of them We'd just about exhausted this topic when she asked, 'Have you heard that C—— B—— is returning?' This was news to me, at least C—— B—— had formerly held an important position as head of a large Division. He had left the agency when things got hot for a war job in another agency His return might be a threat to certain big shots now occupying similar positions Miss P—— didn't know anything about the assignment he was expected to have, as news on the grapevine is always fragmentary. So we speculated for a while on the possibilities, but we couldn't get anywhere with that

"I have made friends with the Administrative Officer in our outfit who handles personnel matters and therefore knows many people in the Personnel Office She would be likely to have heard of C—— B——'s return so, when I saw her, I confronted her with the fact that I had heard that C—— B—— was returning so she would feel that the 'secret' was out and she would be free to tell me whatever she knew 'Yes,' she replied 'Do you know what position he will fill?' I asked She'd heard that he would be assigned to a regional office soon, but didn't know which region This information later proved to be incorrect as grapevine information frequently does Her information might have been based on a tentative decision later reversed, or it might have been based on a comment by one of those guessers who likes to represent himself as 'always in the know' and who therefore guesses when he doesn't actually know

"Today a friend in the Army who had formerly worked with me and still saw many of his friends from our agency called me up In the course of the conversation he asked me, 'By the way, have you heard that C—— B—— is back?' Sensing that he was ready to tell me whatever he knew I played dumb so he would have the full satisfaction from 'spreading the news' He continued, 'I mean back at work in the Service' 'Where in the Service?' I countered

" 'You mean you don't know?'

" 'That's right I don't know'

" 'You work for the Service, don't you?'

" 'Yes, but no one tells me anything'

" 'Oh come now, you knew he was coming back to do the —— job?'

" 'No, I didn't, but I'm glad to know where he's sitting I'd heard several days ago that he was returning, but I couldn't find anyone who knew his assignment'

"The banter and pretense of ignorance are all a part of the grapevine's tradition In order to obtain the missing pieces of information one flatters the ego of the informant and lets him make the most of his tidbit of news by teasing him out of it"

Mediated social interaction is also used for the dissemination of news

The manner in which the Gringai communicated their movements to following friends will be seen from the following anecdote My correspondent, the late Dr M'Kinlay, wished to see certain blacks, but found their camp deserted His black boy said he would see where they had gone, and going to the camp showed him a spear stuck in the ashes of the fire, with a corn cob tied to the point The spear was leaning in a certain direction. He explained this by saying that they were gone to a place in the direction in which the spear pointed to pick corn, but would be back shortly This proved to be the case [71]

[LANGO] The *bilo* proper is the war-whistle . . . made of the horn of a young hartebeeste, cob or reedbuck, and the performer blows down the wide end of the horn, the tip being pierced to form a stop, which is operated by the little finger . it can only produce two notes of a somewhat shrill and unmusical tone at an interval of a minor third Every man has his own whistle motif . which may be memorized by a few words, a catch or phrase of a private song, much in the same way as the bugle calls in the British Army are memorized by words of a more or less fanciful nature The motif may not be played by anyone else, and an infringement of this rule will certainly cause a violent quarrel, and may even lead to bloodshed Nor is this surprising when it is remembered that a man blows his whistle motif in war and hunting to signify that he has obtained a kill, and that it is his method of revealing his presence or identity from a distance to his beloved, his family and intimates [72]

Here writing is perhaps most effective, except in our own culture, where there are such relatively recent developments as the telegraph, telephone, newsreel, and radio

[BABYLONIA] The letters were probably carried from city to city by *mare shipri*, or "messengers," and a special service of swift runners was no doubt established for bearing the royal letters and despatches from one place to another

The letters of Hammurabi and his successors which have come down to us are written on small clay tablets oblong in shape and measuring some two to three inches in breadth, some three to four inches in length, and about an inch in thickness Though rather larger than the letters of the later Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, they were not too large to be conveniently carried on the person After the tablets were inscribed they were carefully enclosed in envelopes of clay which insured the privacy of their contents, and at the same time preserved the inscription from defacement Both the tablet and the envelope were baked, and the former was prevented from permanently sticking to the latter by powdering it

71 Howitt, *op cit*, p 721
72 Driberg, *The Lango*, pp 124–25

with dry clay On the outside of the envelope was written the address, i e., the name of the official or other person for whom the document was intended When the letter was delivered its recipient broke the clay envelope and usually threw it away [73]

[UNITED STATES] a newspaper can drop the same thought into a thousand minds at the same moment. . . if there were no newspapers there would be no common activity

The effect of a newspaper is not only to suggest the same purpose to a great number of persons, but to furnish means for executing in common the designs which they may have singly conceived [74]

In general, the speed and range of news transmission depends upon two factors the social value of the news and the ease of communication.

Information deals with things But all the characteristics of the thing are rarely communicated, usually it is some part only, chosen according to the perceptions and interests of the observer.

[MASAI] "When an event occurs, only a part of the truth is sent abroad, the rest is kept back " [75]

Therefore the transmission of information not only aids in adjustment by allowing people to anticipate the situations to which they will have to respond, but also acts as a social control by giving them a common perception of the situation

[WESTERN EUROPE] "The extraordinary cheapness of the newspaper, in proportion to the cost of its contents, the regularity as well as celerity of its publication, its circulation gratuitously, or at low rates of postage, through the Postoffice, and the variety and interest of its information, and of its comments on passing events, cause it to be diffused widely, and to be read by a large part of the public, to whom it not only furnishes the materials out of which their opinions on the questions of the day are chiefly formed, but often suggests the opinions themselves.

"In every civilized country, therefore, in which the newspaper press is not strictly coerced by the government, it exercises a great influence upon the opinions of the community at large, in different directions and by different means, partly by supplying facts as the groundwork of opinions, partly by argumentative discussion, and partly by its mere authority " [76]

[73] L W King, *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi* (London, 1898–1900), III, pp xxii–xxiii

[74] Tocqueville, *op cit*, III, Pt 2, Chap 6 (pp 183–84)

[75] A C Hollis, *The Masai*, p 214

[76] G C Lewis, *An Essay on the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion* (London, 1849), pp 342–43

Since the way people act depends upon the circumstances which confront them and how they perceive those situations, and much of what they learn on both counts is based upon the information they receive, it is possible to control a group's actions by manipulating the information available to it This is done by the use of propaganda and censorship *Propaganda* is the deliberate dissemination, and *censorship* the deliberate suppression, of information in order to influence collective action.[77]

Historical References

(1) "*Speech* . is the Instrument of Society "—B Jonson, *Discoveries,* ed G B Harrison (*Bodley Head Quartos,* 5) (London, 1923), p 72

(2) "Amongst people absent from one another, writing takes the place of speech whether they be separated by distance of place or time This is a great aid to memory and a faithful witness of past events "—J L. Vives, *On Education* [1531], tr F Watson (Cambridge, 1913), p 39

(3) "An educated man stands, as it were, in the midst of a boundless arsenal and magazine, filled with all the weapons and engines which man's skill has been able to devise from the earliest time, and he works, accordingly, with a strength borrowed from all past ages "—T Carlyle, "Burns" [1828], p 262, in *Works,* XXVI, pp 258–318

(4) "All civilized races are also *writing races,* without writing there is no secure tradition The firm historical ground, upon which a step in advance may be tried, is lacking "—F Ratzel, *Volkerkunde* [1885–88] (Leipzig, 1894–95, 2nd ed), I, p 64, tr A J Butler (London, 1896–98)

(5) "It is not enough for the perfection of language, that sounds can be made signs of ideas, unless those signs can be so made use of as to comprehend several particular things for the multiplication of words would have perplexed their use, had every particular thing need of a distinct name to be signified by "—J Locke, *Essay,* 3 1 3, *cf ibid ,* 3 3 2

(6) ". . objects are not single in their signification, but each one of them denotes not two only but sometimes even several different things, according to the connection in which it is found "—Augustine, *De doctrina christiana,* 3 25 37, in *Patrologia Latina,* 34, cols 13–122, tr J F Shaw (Buffalo, 1887).

(7) "So impossible is it to translate the idioms of any language! From the highest to the lowest word all has reference to the peculiarities of the natives, in character, opinions, or circumstances "—J W von Goethe, *Italianische Reise, I,* pp 290–91, in *Samtlichen Werke,* XXIX, pp 228–376, tr A J W Morrison (London, 1885)

"The translator must proceed until he reaches the untranslatable, and then only will he have an idea of the foreign nation and the foreign tongue "—Goethe, "Maximen und Reflexionen," p 62, in *ibid ,* XLV, pp 37–102, tr T B Saunders (London, 1908)

[77] H D Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (London, 1927)

(8) "The numerous epithets in poetry, by means of which the universality of every concept is narrowed more and more till we reach the perceptible"—A Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* [1819], II, p 287, in *Samtliche Werke*, ed P Deussen (Munich, 1911–12), I–II

(9) L Couturat, "Sur la structure logique de langage," *Revue de Méta physique et de Morale*, 20 (1912), (pp 1–24) 8–9

(10) H Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* [1880] (Halle, 1920, 5th ed), pp 313, 323–24

(11) *Ibid*, pp 79–80

(12) Paul, *op cit*, p 79

(13) " . words which are our subtlest and delicatest outward crea tures, being composed of thoughts and breath, are so muddy, so thick, that our thoughts themselves are so, because (except at the first rising) they are ever leavened with passions and affections —J Donne, "Letter to H Goodyer [*ca* 1609]," p 228, in E Gosse, *The Life and Letters of John Donne* (London, 1899), I, pp 227–29

(14) "No language expresses things, but names accordingly no human reason perceives things, but only marks of them which it depicts by words" —J G von Herder, *Ideen*, p 334

(15) "I had long seen but too plainly that no man really understands another, that no one attaches the same idea to the same word that another does, that a conversation, a book, excites in different persons different trains of thought"—Goethe, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, p 311, in *Samtlichen Werke*, XXIV, pp 138–399, XXV, pp 60–136, tr M S Smith (London, 1908)

(16) A Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science*, II, pp 147–48

(17) " the old crux, 'How can I be sure that I mean the same as the other person?' is in principle the same as the difficulty, 'How can I know that anything corresponds to my sensations?' All our sensations are of the nature of words, they are symbolic I have certain sensations of hardness, shape, and so on By a complex process of inference I interpret these and judge, 'This is a table.' The table then may be said to 'speak' to me, and I have to *interpret* what it says In like manner, when a person speaks to me, I have certain sensations of sound, and I infer from these what he means I have again to *interpret* The two processes are essentially the same, and I can be no more sure that my sensations really mean a table than that I have interpreted rightly the words of the speaker If I wish to tell whether I have done the latter, I do something to which I have reason to think that the speaker will respond in a certain way if I have understood him rightly And I take a like course if I wish to tell whether I have rightly interpreted my sensations to mean a table The only proof that language really *is* communication, and that there *is* a mutual understanding (συνθήκη), is that we act on the belief that there is, and that this belief is justified by results"—R L Nettleship (1846–1892), *Philosophical Remains*, ed A C Bradley (London, 1901, 2nd ed), p 138

(18) " . interjections are words that express rather an emotion

of the mind than any part of a thought we have in our mind."—Augustine, *op. cit.*, 2.11.16

(19) ". . . nature . . . has bestowed upon us all the great gift of voice and speech for fraternal relationship, thus achieving by the common and mutual statement of our thoughts a communion of our wills."—E. de La Boétie (1530–1563), *Discurs de la servitude voluntaire*, p. 27, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. L. Feugère (Paris, 1846), pp. 1–77, tr. H. Kurz (New York, 1942).

(20) "And when we speak to others, we apply to the word, remaining within us, the ministry of the voice or some other bodily sign, that by some kind of sensible remembrance some similar thing may be wrought also in the mind of him that hears—similar, I say, to that which does not depart from the mind of him that speaks. We do nothing, therefore, through the members of the body in our words and actions, by which the behavior of men is either approved or blamed, which we do not anticipate by a word uttered within ourselves. For no one willingly does anything, which he has not first said in his heart."—Augustine, *De trinitate*, 9.12, in *Patrologia Latina*, 42, cols. 815–1098, tr. A. W. Haddan (Buffalo, 1887).

(21) "*Printing*, by which the learning of the whole world is communicable to one another, and our minds and our inventions, our wits and compositions may trade and have commerce together, and we may participate of one another's understandings, as well as of our Clothes, and Wines, and Oyles, and other Merchandize."—Donne, *Fifty Sermons*, 36 (p. 326).

(22) "Man . . . is endowed . . . with the faculty of participating in the ideas and sentiments of others, of appropriating to himself those which are communicated to him, and of imitating and repeating the actions which he witnesses, or which he learns from testimony. He is enabled to take advantage of the labours of his predecessors, as well as of those of his contemporaries—to command the experience of ages; and if the means of communication with his fellow-creatures were sufficiently perfect, he might be said to live in past, present, and future time, and to coexist, as it were, with the whole human race."—P. J. G. Cabanis, *Coup-d'oeil sur les révolutions et sur la réforme de la médecine* [1804], 3.1 (p. 152), in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1823–25), I, pp. 1–360, tr. A. Henderson (London, 1806).

(23) ". . . men could not be most firmly associated unless they conversed and thus poured, so to speak, their minds and thoughts back and forth to one another—saw that names, or meaningful sounds had to be assigned to things, so that men might use the sense almost as an interpreter to link them together, inasmuch as they could not perceive one another's minds. But they could not hear the words of those not present. Therefore reason, having carefully noted and discriminated all the sounds of the mouth and tongue, invented letters."—Augustine, *De ordine*, 2.12.35.

(24) "The tie of language is, perhaps, the strongest and the most durable that can unite mankind."—A. de Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique*, I, Chap. 2 (p. 43).

(25) "For it is through language and with language that man as a thinking being has developed himself. It is communication by means of speech that brings his thinking to greater clearness, by bringing the dif-

ferent modes of thought into mutual furthering communication with each other By means of speech man is able to hold with more tenacity the impressions already obtained, and thus better to combine the old with those whose action is fresher, and generally each one with every other, and to work them up into intuitions It is the spring of self-consciousness, inasmuch as it is what enables man to distinguish himself and his emotions from the external world and so to become conscious of both"—W. H J Bleek, *Uber den Ursprung der Sprache* (Weimar, 1868), pp 43–44, tr T. Davidson (New York, 1869)

(26) "The use of words, is to register to ourselves, and make manifest to others the thoughts and conceptions of our minds"—T Hobbes, *Leviathan,* 4 46 (p 673)

(27) G H Mead (1863–1931), *Mind, Self and Society,* ed C W Morris (Chicago, 1934)

(28) ". . words plainly force and overrule the understanding words react on the understanding"—F Bacon, *Novum organum,* 1 43, 59

(29) "Now words, being commonly framed and applied according to the capacity of the vulgar, follow those lines of division which are most obvious to the vulgar understanding And whenever an understanding of greater acuteness or a more diligent observation would alter those lines to suit the true divisions of nature, words stand in the way and resist the change"—*Ibid*, 1. 59

(30) "The use of letters was invented in order to remember things For things are fettered by letters in order that they may not escape through forgetfulness For in such a variety of things all could not be learned by hearing and held in the memory"—Isidorus (d. 636), *Etymologiae,* ed W M Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), 1 3 2, tr E Brehaut (New York, 1912)

SOCIAL RELATIONS

A society consists of many individuals, each acting to satisfy his particular motives But a society is also a group of people who adjust together. Thus the question arises, How do a group of people, instead of acting at cross purposes, come to weld their individual behavior into collective action? The answer is that this takes place by means of *social organization,* which is the body of customs through which the people are correlated and their behavior coordinated Two things, then are involved here how the people are related, and the manner in which their behavior is coordinated. The former of these topics is the concern of the present chapter.

BASES FOR SOCIAL RELATIONS

No society is a single uniform group People are customarily grouped on the basis of various categories which cut across each other, (1) namely, kinship, locality, biological characteristics, common interests, and congeniality. The very multifariousness of these relationships itself strengthens the solidarity of the society as a whole. If all the people are split into groups based upon a single criterion, such as radicals and conservatives, the society is liable to be disrupted But if the members of the society are bound by many different ties so that the opposition between a conservative and a radical are offset, let us say, by their harmony as fellow townsmen, or affection as husband and wife, the society as a whole will persist. Therefore, other things being equal, the greater the number of different socially valuable bases for establishing relationships, the stronger is the solidarity of the society

KINSHIP

Kinship relations

Kinship is a social relation based upon consanguinity (descent) or affinity (marriage) Kroeber has shown that eight principles are used in categorizing kin

1. *The difference between persons of the same and of separate generations*
2. *The difference between lineal and collateral relationship* . .
3. *Difference of age within one generation* . .
4. *The sex of the relative* .
5. *The sex of the speaker*
6. *The sex of the person through whom the relationship exists* .
7. *The distinction of blood relatives from connections by marriage* . .
8. *The condition of life of the person through whom relationship* exists —The relationship may be either of blood or by marriage, the person serving as the bond of relationship may be alive or dead, married or no longer married [1]

All eight are found among the Mohave, but the resulting kinship system is so complicated that it cannot be given here.[2] In the United States only numbers 1, 2, 4, and 7 are used

PRINCIPLES USED IN CATEGORIZING KIN IN THE UNITED STATES

TERM	GENERATION	LINEAL OR COLLATERAL	SEX OF RELATIVE	CONSANGUINAL OR AFFINAL
Brother	Own	———	Male	Consanguinal
Sister	Own	———	Female	Consanguinal
Father	1 Ascending	Lineal	Male	Consanguinal
Mother	1 Ascending	Lineal	Female	Consanguinal
Uncle	1 Ascending	Collateral	Male	Consanguinal
Aunt	1 Ascending	Collateral	Female	Consanguinal
Cousin	———	Collateral	———	Consanguinal
Grandfather	2 Ascending	Lineal	Male	Consanguinal
Grandmother	2 Ascending	Lineal	Female	Consanguinal
Son	1 Descending	Lineal	Male	Consanguinal
Daughter	1 Descending	Lineal	Female	Consanguinal
Nephew	1 Descending	Collateral	Male	Consanguinal
Niece	1 Descending	Collateral	Female	Consanguinal

[1] A L Kroeber, "Classificatory systems of relationship," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 39 (1909) (pp 77–81) pp 78–89

[2] Kroeber, "Mohave," *California Kinship Systems* (U of California, *Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 12 9) (Berkeley, 1917), pp 340–46

PRINCIPLES USED IN CATEGORIZING KIN IN THE UNITED STATES
(*Continued*)

TERM	GENERATION	LINEAL OR COLLATERAL	SEX OF RELATIVE	CONSANGUINAL OR AFFINAL
Grandson	2 Descending	Lineal	Male	Consanguinal
Granddaughter	2 Descending	Lineal	Female	Consanguinal
Husband	Own	———	Male	Affinal
Wife	Own	———	Female	Affinal
Father-in-law	1 Ascending	———	Male	Affinal
Mother-in-law	1 Ascending	———	Female	Affinal
Brother-in-law	Own	———	Male	Affinal
Sister-in-law	Own	———	Female	Affinal
Son-in-law	1 Descending	———	Male	Affinal
Daughter-in-law	1 Descending	———	Female	Affinal

A classic distinction, which is really a special case of Kroeber's principles 1, 2, and 7, is that between descriptive and classificatory kinship categories (2) A *descriptive* category is one whose members are all lineally related and belong to a single generation, e g, "father," "brother," "wife," and "mother-in-law." A *classificatory* category is one whose members are collaterally or affinally related and/or belong to two or more generations, e g, "uncle" and "cousin" Since a kinship system categorizes kinship roles and regulates the social interaction between them, it follows that classificatory categories provide secondary substitutes, who assume a kinship role when the primary kin in the role does not do so This in turn gives greater security in those adjustments for which man relies upon his kin

An important sociological phenomenon in Tikopia is the frequent occurrence of what may be called representative status in kinship Certain relationships, certain configurations of units are fundamental to the particular social structure, and the position of individual persons is deliberately subordinated to them This involves the transference of obligations, both vertically and laterally, from one generation to another, and from one group to an allied group in the same generation . in Tikopia one of the basic elements in the social structure is the tie between a person and his mother's family, focused as the relationship of sister's child and mother's brother As story, song and observation of the daily life have proved, this is a bond which arouses the deepest feelings in the natives Unhappy indeed is the man who has no mother's brother, it is a deprivation quite equal to that of being bereft of parents, it is an orphaning fraught with dire terror for the passage through this world and into the next Or rather it would be if society did not supply the lack

If one's real *tuatina*, the true brothers of one's mother die, then other brothers of more distant relationship must fill the gap—substitution on the lateral principle, as it may be termed It is one of the points that can be adduced as evidence for the efficiency of a classificatory system, since it allows of this substitution with the minimum of friction Terminologically there is no change in the relationship, the new succourer simply moves one step nearer on the social chessboard But when in the course of time all the men who can fill that position have passed away this is not the end The vertical principle is in operation, whereby the duties of the mother's brother have been taken over by his son, and if the object of their care still continues to outlive him, then the grandson in turn carries out the task This operates in conjunction with the lateral principle, so that in concrete terms, when an old man or woman comes to die, all their closer kinsfolk may have long since preceded them, and the person who takes charge of the burial may be the grandson of some distant cousin on the mother's side But the aged one is still called the *tama tapu*, the sacred child of that person, despite all discrepancies in generation Kinship in Tikopia is the rod on which one leans throughout life, even in death one is propped up by it No one can be relationless while the community itself exists [3]

The degree to which classificatory kin perform the rights and duties between them is proportional to the closeness of their relationship, i e , whether they are primary or secondary kin

[TIKOPIA] All men spoken of as "father" are treated with formal respect Their personal names are not mentioned and contact with their heads is avoided In playing *fetaki*, a duelling game somewhat akin to singlesticks, a man is careful, if opposed to one who is a "father" of his, even in the widest classificatory sense, not to tap him on the head with his sago-leaf shaft weapon—the normal aim of the contestants Instead, if he penetrates his guard, he taps him in the ribs With one's true father one does not play such a game at all One day, when endeavouring to establish a point of family relationship, I pressed Mairunga to tell me the name of an old man who lived in his household At first he would not say, but finally gave me the name, and then, laughing in a shamefaced way, turned to a friend who was with him and cried, "I have spoken the name of my father " As it was on a trip round the lonely northern end of the island, and the three of us were far away from any dwellings, he gave himself more than usual latitude Then the old man was from Anuta, and by no means closely connected, so this really made the matter one of comparatively small moment He certainly would not have uttered the name of his own father, even under these conditions [4]

Similarly, in the United States, we speak of "near" and "distant"

[3] R W Firth, *We, the Tikopia* (London, 1936), p 268
[4] *Ibid*, pp 201-02

cousins, and behave to the former in a more primary way than we do to the latter

The *range* of a kinship system is the number of collateral lines which are used to categorize people as kin The most expanded range of kin is found in immobile societies where most primary social interaction occurs between kin, the most contracted, in mobile societies where much of one's social interaction is with associates and friends

[KARILRA] The recognition of relationships is so extended that everyone with whom an individual comes in contact in the ordinary course of social life is his relative It is impossible for a man to have any social relations with anyone who is not his relative because there is no standard by which two persons in this position can regulate their conduct towards one another I am compelled to treat a person differently according as he is my "brother," "brother-in law," "father," or "uncle" If I do not know which of these he is, all intercourse is impossible[5]

Although the use of the terms of relationship is based on actual relations of consanguinity and affinity, it is so extended as to embrace all persons *who come into social contact with one another* If we take a single member of the tribe, then every person with whom he has any social dealings whatever stand to him in one or other of the relations denoted by the terms in use and may be addressed by that term In this way the whole society forms a body of relatives In the Kariera tribe, a man or woman never addresses anyone, except young children, by a personal name, but uses the appropriate relationship term The method of determining the relationship of two individuals is extremely simple Let us suppose, as an example, that two men, A and B, meet each other for the first time The man A has a relative C who is his *mama* [father, father's brother, mother's sister's husband, spouse's mother's brother, etc] At the same time C is the *kaga* [mother's brother, father's sister's husband spouse's father, etc] of B It immediately follows that A and B are *kumbali* [male speaking mother's brother's son, father's sister's son, sister's husband, wife's brother, etc] to each other Yet in all this system of widely extended relationships the real relation of consanguinity are never lost sight of The natives preserve their genealogies carefully in their memories, though in these degenerate days the younger men and women neglect such knowledge With the help of the genealogical knowledge of the older men and women it is possible to trace out some relationship, however distant it may be, between any two members of the same tribe When a stranger comes to a camp that he has never visited before, he does not enter the camp, but remains at some distance A few of the older men, after a while, approach him, and the first thing they proceed to do is to find out who the stranger is The commonest question that is put to him is "Who is your *maeli*?" (father's father) The

[5] A R [Radcliffe-] Brown, "Three tribes of Western Australia," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* 43 (1913), (pp 143–94) p 157

discussion proceeds on genealogical lines until all parties are satisfied of the exact relation of the stranger to each of the natives present in the camp When this point is reached, the stranger can be admitted to the camp, and the different men and women are pointed out to him and their relation to him defined I watched two or three of these discussions in West Australia I took with me on my journey a native of the Talainji tribe, and at each native camp we came to, the same process had to be gone through In one case, after a long discussion, they were still unable to discover any traceable relationship between my servant and the men of the camp That night my "boy" refused to sleep in the native camp, as was his usual custom, and on talking to him I found that he was frightened These men were not his relatives, and they were therefore his enemies This represents the real feelings of the natives on the matter If I am a blackfellow and meet another blackfellow that other must be either my relative or my enemy If he is my enemy I shall take the first opportunity of killing him, for fear he will kill me This, before the white man came, was the aboriginal view of one's duty towards one's neighbour, and it still remains at the back of his mind at the present day in spite of the new conditions brought about by the coming of the white man [6]

[UNITED STATES] "As used . [for income tax purposes] the term 'dependent' means any of the following persons

(A) a son or daughter of the taxpayer, or a descendant of either,
(B) a stepson or stepdaughter of the taxpayer,
(C) a brother, sister, stepbrother, or stepsister of the taxpayer,
(D) the father or mother of the taxpayer, or an ancestor of either,
(E) a stepfather or stepmother of the taxpayer,
(F) a son or daughter of a brother or sister of the taxpayer,
(G) a brother or sister of the father or mother of the taxpayer,
(H) a son-in-law, daughter-in-law, father-in-law, mother-in-law, brother in-law, or sister-in-law of the taxpayer

"As used in this paragraph, the terms 'brother' and 'sister' include a brother or sister by the half-blood For the purposes of determining whether any of the foregoing relationships exist, a legally adopted child of a person shall be considered a child of such person by blood " [7]

A *kinship system* is the body of customs by which kinship roles are categorized and the social interaction between them are regulated. (3)

[UNITED STATES] The firmest kinship bonds are between members of one's "own" or immediate family The husband "owes his wife a good living", he should "be true to her," and "kind to her", he should not "meddle with the house" The wifely obligation is "to be a good help mate" She should be a good cook, a clean housewife, "saving and not

[6] *Ibid*, pp 150–51

[7] "To provide for simplification of the individual income tax, May 29, 1944," p 239, in *U S Statutes at Large*, 58 1, pp 231–55

extravagant." Her "average conception" of her "wifely duties" includes also the idea, I believe, that she should "yield to her husband (sexually) without minding it too much." She should be "a good and patient mother to her children" and a "comforter" to children and husband. She should not "nag" children or husband, especially the latter. She should "tend to her business" and "not meddle with the farm" or with "money matters." Husband and wife should "advise with" each other, however, when important decisions must be made in either's economic domain, or when problems arise concerning their children. If they fail to reach a common decision, then the wife should yield to her husband's judgment. All such consultations should occur beyond earshot of the children, and are frequently held in bed. Publicly, neither husband nor wife should "look with (sexual) interest at another person," nor should they ever demonstrate affection toward each other, by word or deed.

Parents are supposed to take care of their children until they are "educated," "grown," "married," or "able to make their own living." This "care" includes affection, feeding, clothing, medical attention through home remedies and by doctors if necessary, and home discipline and teaching. Parents also owe their children an "education" the formal level of which may be determined by the child's own interest or ability, by a family's means, or by parental ideas about what amount of formal education is either useful or harmless to children. Through all this "support" and "loving care," a "debt of gratitude" is built up in the growing child which he must "pay off" as well as he can—he can never fully repay it—through work at home and through "leading a good moral life," both as a child and as an adult. A farm boy is supposed to be "earning his way" when he begins to do full-time field work. A girl "earns her way partly" by helping her mother, but a girl who does not marry remains a "care" until she fully replaces her mother in the tasks of house, garden, and poultry yard.

The care and home-teaching of children are considered to be mostly maternal, though the father teaches the boys at least as many things as the mother does. What children are particularly expected to learn from their parents at home are morals, financial honesty, obedience, and work techniques. The ideal child is docile, obedient, and willing to work, never questioning the rightness of parental authority. While boys are expected to develop from influences other than parental a special aggressive and somewhat rebellious "male spirit," this spirit should not be displayed against parents. What children, while children, owe their parents is love, respect and obedience. Grown children owe parents love, or at least respect, the gratitude already mentioned, and economic care in case of need.

The obligations between siblings vary with sex and age. Young brothers (or sisters) near the same age are presumably leagued into especially tight bonds of love, intimacy, confidence, secrecy, and mutual support against aggression from other siblings, parents, or other (especially "bigger") children. They should willingly help each other with chores. Theoretically the bonds between a brother and a sister resemble those between two brothers or two sisters. So close and cooperative a brother-sister relation-

ship is considered very odd, however, if it lasts much beyond school age. In regard to work, especially, a boy learns early to separate proper male work from "women's and girls' work," and becomes unwilling to help his sister with her tasks. She acquires no such prejudice against his work, and helps him oftener than he helps her. Yet "any boy will protect his sister," with his fists if necessary, against bad language, insult, or harsh teasing from another boy, unless he is with boys who are banded together for cruelty against girls. A boy must also protect a younger brother from ill-treatment by a larger boy. These dictates for protection of a sister or a younger brother are the strongest obligations of a sibling toward another sibling, and they are enforced mainly by influences beyond the home. Since the obligations for mutual aid within the home are completely subject to parental judgment and authority, they are felt by the children as arbitrary pronouncements from above, rather than as personal obligations. After marriage, real responsibility ceases, though a man will always "protect his sister's honor or reputation," and will usually "offer a home" to a needy unmarried sister. Brothers or sisters can also be called upon more freely than "strangers" for help in sickness or at any task where help is needed.

Grandparents and grandchildren treat each other "with the same affection" that exists between parents and children, but more familiarly. The same restrictions on obedience, respect, and mutual care theoretically obtain, but they are actually relaxed greatly. The child "does not really have to mind" its grandparent, he can be "sassy" with a grandparent, and such "sassiness" is considered very "cute" (charming and laughable) in a child. This joking relationship which tends to equate the old and the very young in a relationship of "childishness" and at the same time to ridicule the disciplinary system by which children are governed, is more frequently established by a child with a grandfather than with a grandmother. The grandmaternal dignity is better upheld. (In general, the frailties of old women are pitied more and ridiculed less than those of old men, whose fading minds and bodies often excite laughter, and whose fixed mannerisms become motifs of parody.) Grandparents love grandchildren dearly and are proud of them. They often "spoil the child" with leniency, gifts, and candy. The grandparental home is always open to grandchildren, who visit there, not only with parents, but alone, to "spend a night" or stay a week or two. It is sometimes used as a threat of sympathetic refuge or as an actual refuge from stern parents. Parents with several children sometimes let one child live permanently with their grandparents, or send children in turn to "stay with" them.

Uncles and aunts have few fixed obligations to nieces and nephews beyond being the warm persons called Uncle This and Aunt That. Children feel little if any distinction between their blood uncles and aunts and the spouses of these. The spouses, however, are supposed to "feel but not show" warmer feelings toward their own "blood nieces and nephews." Uncles and aunts treat nieces and nephews affectionately and "give them a lot of nice things to eat" whenever the children visit them. Uncles and aunts would take an orphan nephew or niece into their home and care for it as an "own child," if its grandparents were dead or "too old to do

for it." The orphan might instead go to live with a married sibling. Cousins who live near together enjoy very intimate relationships, closely resembling those between siblings. Children often feel that even very distant cousins are "close kin." When they grow up, these bonds disappear almost completely.[8]

Kin

Your *kin* are all the people with whom you stand in a kinship relation. When kin form a group, it is a *kinship group*. In every culture the kinship group customarily provides its members with most of their basic adjustments, so that it is the typical primary group.

[WABENA] A man's *walongo* are all his blood relatives, both maternal and paternal, his and their connections by marriage, those with whom he has sworn blood-brotherhood, and lastly and particularly friends on whom he may rely for help in time of need, and who will similarly look to him for aid. It is a Mutual Service Society which constitutes the native's insurance policy against starvation. An *mlongo* [sing., *walongo*, pl.] is described as "one who will feed you ungrudgingly and from whom you can borrow." He is the friend who is the friend in need. The practical convenience of such a group in aiding the absorption of aliens into tribal life is obvious. Its existence also partly explains the mutual obligations still existing between the families of freed slaves and their former masters.

A man is at home anywhere within the circle of his *walongo*, and consequently destitution, except in times of general shortage, is an unknown phenomenon in Ubena. Within the group a man must play fair, and sharp practice is definitely regarded as discreditable; without it, he may be as crafty as he likes and a trick successfully played on an outsider is rather a good joke.

The group may perhaps seem too vague and indefinite to warrant a place among social groupings, but though its outer edges are somewhat ill-defined and the friends on the fringe of it may change from time to time, it is a very real factor in Bena society. Strictly speaking, it should be defined as man's maternal and paternal relatives, his connections by marriage and his blood-brethren. Intimate friends are really, as it were, honorary members of it, the name *walongo* is given them affectionately as a courtesy title, but of course it is not very difficult or unusual for an honorary *mlongo* to be transformed into a real one by a marriage between the two families.

The full importance of the *mlongo* can only be properly appreciated when we have grasped the uncertainty and insecurity of life in Ubena. Rice, the staple food, is a tricky crop at the best of times, and, moreover,

[8] J. West (pseud.), *Plainville, U. S. A.* (New York, 1945), pp. 60–61. The most complete description of a kinship system will be found in G. Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache*, Chicago, 1942.

under local conditions it cannot be stored for more than a year without going bad The Mbena is therefore always dependent on the next harvest, and in any year, good or bad, there are sure to be some unfortunates whose food supply is insufficient for their needs because disaster has overtaken their crops The failure of a man's crops owing to drought, floods, the depredations of game or any other cause, would mean starvation were it not for his *walongo*

We cannot now embark upon a detailed account of the working of this system and its sanctions in actual practice, but we shall select one instance in which its principles are very clearly and easily seen

When a man decides to make a new canoe, he calls upon some of his male relatives or *walongo* to help him in accordance with the general custom of mutual help They receive no direct payment for their labour, because they are his brethren, but none the less they earn something more than the right to call on him at some future date to render them similar service They enter into a special relationship with the maker of the canoe and each other, a relationship which lasts as long as the canoe is in use or until it passes from the hands of its maker, either at his death or, in rare instances by transfer They form themselves into a group whose members are bound to one another by mutual rights and obligations centering round the canoe They hollowed it out and they will be its crew This is, of course, at once a right and an obligation As a right each can demand his place in the canoe and his share in the spoils when the "captain" is going fishing, or hunting hippo, or has hired the canoe out to someone requiring transport Half of the "bag" in the first two cases is the property of the "captain," him at whose instigation the canoe was originally made and whose property it is considered to be, and half is divided out among his helpers, while when the craft is hired out the hirer pays an agreed amount to the owner and an agreed amount to each poler If the group includes more men than are required for the particular expedition on hand, the matter will be duly arranged so that each takes part in his fair share of such expeditions On the other hand, the canoe is sometimes used for purposes less attractive and profitable to the crew—the owner wants to go to another village, or orders the craft out to collect rushes or drifting wood for fuel As a duty, the necessary crew must turn out for his benefit.

In addition to these rights and obligations when the canoe is engaged in some work by command of its owner, each member of the group has further a right of use over the canoe for his own purposes of fishing, transport, collecting firewood or whatever may be his need The extent of this right is vague, the frequency with which it may be exercised undefined It is a subject for informal arrangement in the group, to suit the convenience of all parties concerned—the owner, the men required as polers, the man who wants to use it now and those who will be wanting it after him—the final word resting, of course, with the owner This is part of the general system of sharing out the use of canoes among the people of a village The mutual rights and duties within the *mlongo* are not legally enforceable, men merely say it is customary to act in such and such a

way. But it requires very little imagination to see where the sanction for so doing lies. Retribution swiftly overtakes him who would have more than his fair share of the advantages, and the man who ignores his obligations will soon find his rights disappearing.[9]

[JABO] "Where relatives gather, there is confidence. . . .

"If you have nobody, you perish an orphan."[10]

[UNITED STATES] ". . . by reason of the strictness of the union of a man and his family, their interest may be looked upon as one."[11]

However, the solidarity among kin tends to depend upon the range involved in the relation. Other things being equal, it is usually strongest in the narrowest group, namely, the nuclear family, and weakest in the widest, the tribe.

[GREECE] ". . . each of us is, as it were, circumscribed by many circles, some of which are less, but others larger, and some comprehend, but others are comprehended, according to the different and unequal habitudes with respect to each other. For the first time, indeed, and most proximate circle is that which every one describes about his own mind as a centre, in which circle the body, and whatever is assumed for the sake of the body, are comprehended. For this is nearly the smallest circle, and almost touches the centre itself. The second from this, and which is at a greater distance from the centre, but comprehends the first circle, is that in which parents, brothers, wife, and children are arranged. The third circle from the centre is that which contains uncles and aunts, grandfathers and grandmothers, and the children of brothers and sisters. After this is the circle which comprehends the remaining relatives. Next to this is that which contains the common people, then that which comprehends those of the same tribe, afterwards that which contains the citizens, and then two other circles follow, one being the circle of those that dwell in the vicinity of the city, and the other, of those of the same province. But the outermost and greatest circle, and which comprehends all the other circles, is that of the whole human race."[12]

Elementary family

An *elementary family* (or simply *family*) is a kinship group composed of spouses and their children. The different forms of families may be classified in the following way:

[9] A. T. and G. M. Culwick, "Religious and economic sanctions in a Bantu tribe," *British Journal of Psychology*, 26 (1935–36), (pp. 183–90) pp. 186–88.

[10] G. Herzog, *Jabo Proverbs from Liberia*, pp. 155–56.

[11] J. Edwards, *Dissertation Concerning the End for which God Created the World*, p. 257, in *Works*, II, pp. 191–257.

[12] Hierocles the Stoic (2nd cent. A.D.), *Ethische Elementarlehre*, ed. H. von Arnim (*Berliner Klassikertexte*, 4) (Berlin, 1906), p. 63, tr. T. Taylor (Chiswick, 1822).

I *Monogamous* or *nuclear* family a pair of spouses (husband and wife) and their children

Monogamy is the rule among the Trobrianders[13]

[UNITED STATES] "If any person, having a former wife or husband living, marries another, or continues to cohabit with such a second husband or wife in this state, he or she shall, on conviction, be imprisoned in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than five years "[14]

II *Polygamous* or *complex* family more than one husband or wife, and their children

A *Polygyny* two or more wives, but one husband

[JABO] *It is awkward to have only one wife*

In West Africa a mature man has more than one wife as a rule If he has but one he will have to do certain tasks that otherwise could be shifted to his other wives His wife will have to work hard and will grumble, his social standing will not be very high The expression *klele* ["awkward"] is perhaps better translated with "unhandy," it implies that one's hands are so full he cannot very well do anything and struggles constantly just to keep things from dropping out of his hands[15]

[ISRAEL] "Jacob said unto Laban, Give me my wife . he took Leah his daughter, and brought her to him . he gave him Rachel his daughter to wife also "[16]

B *Polyandry* two or more husbands, but one wife

The Todas have a completely organised and definite system of polyandry When a woman marries a man, it is understood that she becomes the wife of his brothers at the same time When a boy is married to a girl, not only are his brothers usually regarded as also the husbands of the girl, but any brother born later will similarly be regarded as sharing his older brothers' rights

In the vast majority of polyandrous marriages at the present time, the husbands are own brothers In a few cases in which the husbands are not own brothers, they are clan brothers, i e , they belong to the same clan and are of the same generation

There is only one instance recorded in the genealogies in which a woman had at the same time husbands belonging to different clans While I was on the hills, there was a project on foot that three unmarried youths belonging to three different clans should have a wife in common, but the project was frustrated and the marriage did not take place

The arrangement of family life in the case of a polyandrous marriage differs according as the husbands are, or are not, own brothers

[13] B Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages* (New York, 1929), p 130

[14] Alabama, *Code*, 14 47

[15] Herzog, *op cit*, pp 116–47

[16] *Old Testament, Genesis*, 29 21, 23, 28 (J source, edited by P)

In the former case it seemed that there is never any difficulty, and that disputes never arise The brothers live together, and my informants seemed to regard it as a ridiculous idea that there should ever be disputes or jealousies

When the husbands are not own brothers, the arrangements become more complicated When the husbands live together as if they were own brothers there is rarely any difficulty If, on the other hand, the husbands live at different villages, the usual rule is that the wife shall live with each husband in turn, usually for a month at a time, but there is very considerable elasticity in the arrangement [17]

C *Double polygamy* two or more of both husbands and wives

there is a tendency for the polyandry of the Todas to become combined with polygyny Two brothers, who in former times would have had one wife between them, may now take two wives, but as a general rule the two men have the two wives in common [18]

The family is the primary social unit and the basic adjustive group in situations arising out of both biological and social differentiation (4) In regard to biological differentiation, it is in the family that the helpless human infant is cared for, socialized, and taught how to get along, for adults the family is the means of sexual satisfaction and reproduction As for social differentiation, the family is customarily a cooperative group whose members mutually help each other to adjust

[TROBRIANDS] groups of people [are to be seen] *sitting in front of* their dwellings As a rule we find that each group consists of one family only—man, wife, and children—taking their leisure, or engaged in *some domestic activity which varies with the time of day* On a fine morning we would see them hastily eating a scanty breakfast, and then the man and woman preparing the implements for the day's work, with the help of the bigger children, while the baby is laid out of the way on a mat Afterwards, during the cool hours of the forenoon, each family would probably set off to their work, leaving the village almost deserted The man, in company with others, may be fishing or hunting or building a canoe or looking for timber The woman may have gone collecting shellfish or wild fruits Or else both may be working in the gardens, or paying a visit The man often does harder work than the women, but when they return in the hot hours of the afternoon he will rest, while the woman busies herself with household affairs Towards evening, when the descending sun casts longer, cooler shadows, the social life of the village begins At this time we would see our family group in front of their hut, the wife

[17] W H R Rivers, *The Todas*, pp 515–17
[18] *Ibid*, p 521, *vide ibid*, pp 518–19

preparing food, the children playing, the husband, perhaps, seated amusing the smallest baby This is the time when neighbours call on one another, and conversation may be exchanged from group to group The main meal is taken at sunset.

It will be noticed that we have not yet penetrated into the interior of a house, for in fine weather the scene of family life is always laid in front of the dwelling Only when it is cold and raining, at night, or for intimate uses, do the natives retire into the interior On a wet or windy evening in the cooler season we should find the village streets deserted, dim lights flickering through small interstices in the hut walls, and voices sounding from within in animated conversation Inside, in a small space heavy with dense smoke and human exhalation, the people sit on the floor round the fire or recline on bedsteads covered with mats

A normal day in a typical household forces the family to live in close intimacy—they sleep in the same hut, they eat in common and spend the best part both of their working and of their leisure hours together [19]

The nuclear family is basic and occurs in all societies The other forms of elementary family are merely combinations of nuclear families. Usually one of the co-spouses (commonly the first one to be married) is the primary spouse and the other co-spouses are secondary, so that with rare exceptions, a polygamous family consists of one primary, and other secondary, nuclear families, each with its own dwelling and property

The existence of these polygynous households complicates the Tikopia family relationships, but does not alter their essentially personal nature As the assigning of separate marital names to polygynous wives shows, they and their children are regarded as separate family entities, each simply happening to have a husband and father in common In the case of the children, each is cared for in life and in death by his own mother's relatives, there is never any confusion or aggregation [20]

Since the nuclear family is basic, it is found throughout the world In some societies, such as our own, it is the only form sanctioned by custom, in others, polygamy is also permitted.

[UNITED STATES] "If any person, having a former wife or husband living, marries another, or continues to cohabit with such second husband or wife in this state, he shall, on conviction, be imprisoned in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than five years" [21]

[NEW IRELAND] Marriage may be polygynous, polyandrous, or monogamous [22]

[19] Malinowski, *op cit*, pp 17–19, 21–22.
[20] Firth, *op cit.*, p 132
[21] Alabama, *Code*, 14 47
[22] H. Powdermaker, *Life in Lesu*, p 226.

However, even in the latter societies, many, and usually most, families are monogamous

STATISTICS OF FAMILIES IN AN AKAMBA COMMUNITY *

NAME OF FATHER	NUMBER OF WIVES	NUMBER OF CHILDREN LIVING		NUMBER OF CHILDREN DEAD
		Male	*Female*	
Wa mbua wa ?	2	5	3	?
Mbithi wa ?	1	4	1	–
Matita wa Kiambi	1	2	4	6
Munge wa Kavala	2	3	4	2
Bwana wa ?	2	1	3	3
Katumo wa Mulomba	2	4	6	1
Muniambu wa ?	1	2	1	3
Kituku wa Mulomba	2	3	2	2
Ngotho wa Nguli	3 †	2	1	4
?	1	–	1	3
Mukula wa Kisangi	6	4	5	3
Ngao wa Kiambi	3	2	2	9 (?)
Seke wa Niaa	1	1	1	2
Mbonge wa Kithome	1	–	3	2
Nthenge wa Nguio	2	4	1	–
Musuva wa Munene	2	6	3	3
Nsau wa ?	2	5	4	3
Kisoi wa Kiene	1	5	–	–
Munsu wa ?	1	7	2	2
Muniambu wa Wakenia	1	2	–	3
Nsau wa Kivati	2	5	5	1
Ndambuki wa Mbuo	2	6	2	4
Nginia wa Kaliu	2	5	3	–
Matuanga wa Nsau	3 ‡	10	6	2
Kitavi wa Ngavi	2 ‡	3	–	1
Muli wa Inguli	1	3	3	2
Total 26	52	100	70	61

* From G Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p 87

† Of whom one, as I chanced to learn, was barren (*nggungguu*) It is not improbable that several among all the wives are barren, since barren women are rather numerous among the Akamba

‡ Besides one deceased

[PALESTINE] The following figures show the polygyny in Artas according to my lists

Of 199 married men 26 are polygynous i e, 13% [Only 2] had 3 wives at the same time It seems fairly certain that none of the others had more than two wives at the same time For it would have been an oc-

casion for boasting and thus would have been remembered, people are proud of it [23]

In the monogamous family each spouse may develop the kind of social interaction which best suits the other, and therefore a greater degree of satisfaction in the marriage relationship becomes possible in monogamy than in polygamy where the relationship is less specialized But the monogamous family cannot produce other familial effects as adequately as the polygamous family In the latter, co-spouses share in the sexual aspects of family life, so that if one of them is sexually unavailable or sterile the co-spouses can act as substitutes, as a result, sexual satisfaction and reproduction is still possible with the family The co-spouses also share in the social differentiation, so that if one of them cannot perform the set of behavior involved in the role, the others take over, and besides, the set of behavior is divided up among the co-spouses with the usual result of specialization, namely, lighter tasks and increased efficiency. Finally, depending up the form of polygamy, if one (polygyny or polyandry) or both (double polygamy) of the spouses become handicapped or die, the family does not become disorganized and maladjusted, as is the case in monogamous families The result is that the polygamous family provides more adequate adjustment because of its greater stability as a human group But what about the competition and conflict between co-spouses resulting from jealousy? Here are some circumstances which tend to reduce such opposition (*a*) the primary co-spouse is head of the co-spouses and has authority over them, (*b*) the greater the number of co-spouses, the less work there is for any one of them, (*c*) in polygyny, the most common form of polygamy, only a rich man can afford the expense of many wives, (5) so that in a society where status is based upon wealth, becoming a member of a polygynous family is one way of achieving status Therefore, it is doubtful whether there is any more jealousy in polygamous than in monogamous families

[AKIKUYU] The leading wife of the chief Munge was asked, "What I should tell the white women on my return to England about the women of Kikuyu?" "Tell them," she said, "two things One is, that we never marry any one we do not want to, and the other is, that we like our husbands to have as many wives as possible " .

Polygamy is of course an integral part of the tribal system It is not merely a question of domestic arrangement, but of social organisation The

[23] H Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, II, pp 205–06

poverty-stricken condition of the "rich" white man in respect of wives aroused unfailing interest My husband's attempted explanation, "that a white woman preferred to have her husband to herself," fell extremely flat "Exactly an opposite view," Munge assured us, as we sat round the camp fire, "obtained among the best people in Kikuyu The first wife would soon say, 'Why have I to do all the work, why do you not buy another wife?' " The opinions of his spouse on the same lines have been already quoted "If," she said, "there is much food or drink to get ready, it is very hard work for one, it is very easy for many" The first wife also retains her pre-eminence, and her child is in any case regarded as the eldest, if it even should have been actually born after that of a later wife She is usually about the same age as her husband, the man's later wives are considerably younger than he is, and the older he grows the more difference there is in age between himself and his latest acquisition Sentiment and prestige are thus on the side of being an early comer in the matrimonial establishment, on the other hand, some girls of a practical turn of mind prefer to marry older and richer men

It is quite usual to come across a man with only one wife, many such exist, but this is by force of circumstance, and is a sign of poverty Two or three wives is a fairly ordinary allowance, while the rich man has six or seven The chief Karuri is said to have as many as sixty, who perform a useful office in looking after his interests in various parts of the country [24]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I suppose custom and tradition change the emotional attitude of people, in much the same way as when a lover does not mind when his mistress sleeps with her husband, but objects to a third intruder " [25]

Hereditary kinship groups

In most societies, people are not only members of a family but also belong to hereditary kinship groups that strengthen the solidarity between their members These persist as a group for one generation after another, in contrast to the elementary family which only exists as long as the spouses of a single generation are alive The permanence of the hereditary kinship group makes it even superior to the polygamous elementary family as far as security is concerned

[HINDU] "I live in a household of five brother families—thirty persons in all We dwell in one house, eat at one table and are looked after by one staff of servants Every month I give my salary to my father and all my brothers do likewise Thus all the incomes form a single fund All are for each and each is for all The family is a mutual insurance association, a buffer between the individual and misfortune If one of us is sick or out

24 W S and K Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, pp 124, 133–34

25 W Sachs, *Black Hamlet*, p 16

of work, he and his will not come to want If one couple has six children and another but two, the children will be equally well-fed, clothed and educated " [26]

Besides, the continuity of the hereditary group plays an important part in society as a whole Such a group can be made permanently responsible for filling roles necessary for the society's adjustments, these become hereditary roles assumed by the members of the group, including the rights and duties that are involved in the roles, and since the roles belong to the group rather than to the individual, they are handed down from one generation to another as a compact set, rather than dispersed among divergent lines of descent

The main characteristics of the clan system in Ashanti appear to be

(1) All persons bearing a common clan name, resident however widely apart, are held to be related by blood In consequence, they are considered to stand to each other in a prohibited degree of relationship with regard to marriage, and to be bound together by a sentimental tie of brotherhood

(2) The heads of the various household groups exercise complete control over these members of their clan who are directly related by a blood-tie that is practically, not theoretically, capable of demonstration, as being traceable to a common female ancestress who founded that particular family group, in other words, their authority extends only to the nearer kinsmen

(3) Clan descent alone confers the right (*a*) to inherit property, (*b*) to perform the *sacra* for ancestral spirits, (*c*) to succeed to certain offices, (*d*) to be buried in a particular cemetery, (*e*) to unite in the performance of certain funeral rites

(4) The clan tie cannot be lost or broken save by expulsion from the clan

(5) By a legal fiction, clan relationship might sometimes be acquired otherwise than by birth [27]

Compare this with the constant rise and fall of family enterprises in our own society [28]

The commonest kinds of hereditary kinship groups are (*a*) unilateral and exogamous, and (*b*) bilateral and either open or endogamous.[29]

[26] E A Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, p 41

[27] R S Rattray, *Ashanti Law and Constitution* (Oxford, 1929), pp 69–70

[28] E g, *vide* T Mann, *Buddenbrooks*, Berlin, 1922

[29] Kinship is *unilateral* when it is traced in a single line, and *bilateral* when traced in all lines *Exogamy* occurs when people customarily marry outside, and *endogamy* when they marry inside, a categorized segment of the population As for the term *open group*, you will recall that in the section on social mobility in

Families belonging to a unilateral hereditary kinship group generally live near one another Now, if such a group is exogamous, marriage raises the problem of which of the two groups, the husband's or the wife's, the couple should live with. The answer is related to the line in which descent is traced. (6) In a group which is patrilineal, i e , relations are traced unilaterally from father to son, the couple usually lives with the husband's group—in other words, residence is *patrilocal.*

[PALESTINE] On the wedding-day there is the ceremonial bringing of the bride from her father's house to the bridegroom's house [30]

In a group which is matrilineal, i e , relations are unilaterally traced from mother to daughter, the couple tends to live with the wife's group—residence is *matrilocal*

[HOPI] After marriage the husband came to live in the wife's household [31]

As a result of the relationship between spatial and social distance to be discussed in the next division, such residence of a couple increases the primary social interaction between the spouse and family living near one another and decreases that of the other

The first daughter is an event of great emotional significance to a Hopi woman There is a tremendous concentration of Hopi women on their daughters Most children are loved and most are wanted by them, a boy is a joy, though a passing one in many ways, for while he will always return to his mother's house frequently, his services and presence must of necessity be lent to another woman and her family—even his children are of another clan But a daughter is complete fulfillment She is her mother's constant companion in joy and in sorrow, additional hands and feet for an overburdened body, security in old age and in death, contributor of children to their clan—for her mother's pleasure but without her pain In short a girl is reinforcement every step of the way from the daughter's birth until her mother's death [32]

Chapter II it was defined as one whose membership requirements are such that almost any individual can achieve them and so become a member of the group, in regard to marriage, this implies that it is relatively easy to marry into the group

[30] Granqvist, *op cit*, II, p 51

[31] D Eggan, "Hopi marriage and family relations," *Marriage and Family Living*, 6 (1944), (pp 1-2, 6) p 1

[32] D Eggan, MS.

Actually, in the former case the primary interaction reaches a point where the hereditary kinship group takes over much of the behavior otherwise assigned to the family

[WABENA] The essential function of the family is the production of children and their proper upbringing as members of the community Naturally, the particular manner in which children are brought up and cared for differs from tribe to tribe, and depends largely on whether the particular people concerned are patrilocal or matrilocal or both as in the case of the tribes of which the author has had most experience But whatever the local custom, one always finds that a number of relatives are intimately concerned in the children's welfare Amongst the Wabena of Ulanga, Tanganyika, for example, a man's sister, mother, father, brother, his wife's brother, mother, father, sister, not to mention a large number of others who hold these relationships in the classificatory sense, all consider themselves responsible in some measure for the welfare of his children Should he go on a journey with his wife the children are left with one of these relatives, or they are divided between some of them, so that it is an unfounded assumption to infer that children you may find in a house belong (in our sense of the word) to the man and his wife who live there

When children are protected and educated by a large circle of relatives, and when they are equally at home in a variety of houses or even villages, the biological family of man, wife, and their children ceases to be the fundamental institution it is in a society like our own If father or mother dies, or they are divorced, the loss to the children is lessened by the fact that only one of their many homes has been broken up The others remain [33]

Therefore, in spite of the fact that the hereditary kinship group is exogamous, strong solidarity exists because of the primary social interaction between the members

The commonest kinds of unilateral groups are the lineage and the sib A *lineage* is a unilateral hereditary kinship group of lineal relatives and their siblings [34]

[ZUNI] The house belongs to the women born of the family There they come into the world, pass their lives, and within the walls they die As they grow up, their brothers leave them, each to abide in the house of his wife, but they and their children are constant visitors and intimate frequenters of the old home Each woman, too, has her husband, or succession of husbands, sharing her blankets, and as her children begin to play, their father's kin and household also resort to the house So generation succeeds

[33] A T Culwick, *Good Out of Africa (Rhodes-Livingstone Papers,* 8) (Livingstone, 1942), p 35

[34] A *sibling* is a brother or sister

generation, the slow stream of mothers and daughters forming a current that carried with it husbands, sons, and grandsons [35]

[CHINA] 'Great great grandfather [*kao*], great grandfather [*tsêng*], grandfather [*tsu*], father [*fu*] and self,
Self and son [*tzŭ*], son and grandson [*sun*],
From son and grandson on to great grandson [*yuan*] and great great grandson [*tsêng*]
These are the nine agnates [*tsu*], constituting the kinships of man " [36]

A *sib* is a unilateral hereditary kinship group consisting of both lineal and collateral relatives, it is called a *gens* if patrilineal and a *clan* if matrilineal

Every Lepcha belongs to a patrilineal clan or *ptso,* which is believed to have originated from some supernatural or legendary ancestor Nowadays the chief function of the *ptso* is the regulation of marriage and the preven tion of incest, it is, to all intents and purposes, an exogamic unit

It seems to me possible that in former times the *ptso* represented a geographical unit [37]

[TROBRIANDS] The eldest male of the eldest lineage is the head of the whole sub-clan For in the hierarchy of the sub-clan the male element preponderates, while in filiation the female element is the determining factor [38]

The structure of the Trobriand sub-clan is determined first and fore most by the principle of matrilineal filiation descent is traced in the female line exclusively, that is, a child belongs to the bodily substance of its mother and inherits her social characteristics and claims Membership of a sub-clan is absolutely inalienable—you cannot change it or affect it In the case of females, the line runs straight from mother to daughter and so on In the case of males, the succession and inheritance follow the adelphic line, that is, a man is succeeded not by his next of kin in the immediately younger generation but by his younger brother, and only after the series of brothers has been exhausted do the uterine nephews come in [39]

Membership in sub-clan means a common ancestress, unity of kinship, unity of citizenship in a local community, common title to lands and co-operation in many economic and in all ceremonial activities Legally it implies the fact of common clan and sub-clan name, common responsibilities in vendetta, the rule of exogamy, finally, the fiction of an overweening

[35] Kroeber, *Zuni Kin and Clan* (American Museum of Natural History, *Anthropological Papers,* 18 2) (New York, 1917), pp 47–48

[36] [Wang Ying-lin], *San Tzu Ching* [13th cent], tr H A Giles (Shanghai, 1910, 2nd ed), 89–96

[37] G Gorer, *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938), p 118

[38] Malinowski *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* (London, 1935), I, p 346

[39] *Ibid* , I, p 345

interest in one another's welfare, so that by a death the sub clan first and to some extent the clan are considered bereft and the whole mourning ritual is tuned to this traditional view The unity of the clan and still more of the sub-clan is, however, expressed most tangibly in the great festive distributions in which the totemic groups play a game of ceremonially-economic give and take Thus there is a multiple and real unity of interests, activities and necessarily some feelings, uniting the members of a sub-clan and the component sub-clan into a clan and this fact is very strongly emphasized in many institutions, in mythology, in vocabulary, and in current saying and traditional maxims [40]

The lineage has the greatest solidarity because the social interaction of its members is most highly primary In fact, when the lineage takes the form of a joint family [41] it has almost all the social functions of the elementary family

[HOPI] Normally a growing primary family lived in the maternal dwelling until after the birth of several children and very often became a permanent part of it Here the children were attended, pampered, and disciplined!—though very mildly for the first several years—by a wide assortment of relatives Here the young of the clan gradually learned the complicated Hopi kinship system which includes, among other close relationships in its long list, many "mothers" and many "fathers," although there was no confusion regarding physical maternity and paternity These designations were not merely verbalized terms as our own so frequently come to be, but carried with them definite behavior patterns and emotional biases which gave the children a wide range of affection security It must be emphasized in this connection that all of the female inhabitants of this abode were blood kin, the children called all mother's sisters "mother," all of the children of these "mothers" were "sisters" and "brothers," and mother's mother and her sisters were "grandmothers" Thus a Hopi infant possessed an abundant supply of nurses who contributed enormously to his faith in his intimate world, and neither parental nor filial devotion was normally as exclusively selective as we experience it in Western society Rarely did any Hopi come to feel the intense dependence upon his primary family which so often shapes the developing personality among ourselves

Without question one of the most vital functions of the *permanent* primary family is security for its children, and a social organization which is based upon an extended rather than a primary family group reduces the necessity for the permanence of the smaller unit This is particularly true when such an organization is focused upon the maternal line, because a group of sisters living together have stronger bonds of affection for each other's children than would a miscellaneous assortment of wives brought

[40] Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (New York, 1926), pp. 113-14, *vide ibid*, pp 113-15

[41] A *joint family* is two or more related elementary families sharing a common household

into a paternal household, therefore it is obvious that divorce in such a situation would be attended by fewer problems and less disorganization than elsewhere, since a mother and children would remain in the familiar haven of her family[42]

However, such a joint family usually splits up after two or three generations according to the collateral lines of descent

Ordinarily the members of a Lepcha household do not separate, but if the family gets too numerous, or if brothers, either real or classificatory, do not agree, the household will split and the land be divided and the younger brother will build a house of his own[43]

As for the sib, there is less primary interaction between its members because of the greater size of the group, and it therefore has weaker solidarity, but it can persist indefinitely since collateral as well as lineal relatives are included, so that it tends to assume relatively permanent roles

The bilateral kinship group may be either open or endogamous A *kindred* is an open bilateral hereditary kinship group

[MANUS] Children of-brother is a close group, knit together by patrilineal inheritance of adjoining house sites, and by a common inheritance of all the privileges and functions of a common gens The group own the special type of fishing apparatus that is the especial privilege of their gens, they practice the special taboo on a species of fish or other food that is a mark of their gens. It is most important to note, however, that they own a separate territory within the one village Children of-sister is a completely scattered group, since their mothers have married in any number of divergent directions, and they are of different gentes and different villages Their inheritances and their territories are completely apart

Children-of-sister, in relation to children-of-brother, are those who are disinherited from the unilateral descent group that is in power in Manus, the patrilineal descent group Although children of-sister are cut off from the gens inheritance, the inheritance of property, which keeps within the gens, and the inheritance of solidarity based on neighbouring residence, all of which children of-brother have, they are nevertheless endowed, by virtue of relationship, with the exercise of a special magico-religious cult which gives them a certain kind of superior power, magically warranted, over children-of-brother The exercise of this cult privilege is called *tandritanitani*

One form of *tandritanitani* power is the cursing of children-of-brother by the especial magical power of children-of sister Children-of sister, male or female, can curse the wives of children-of-brother with barrenness, still-

[42] Eggan, "Hopi marriage and family relations," pp 1–2
[43] Gorer, *op cit*, p 68

births, and premature deaths of infants born to them. This curse is very rarely used in point of fact. . . Also termed *tandritanitani* is the power of female children-of-sister to endow female children-of-brother with fertility by magic, magically to control the sex of infants born to female children-of-brother, and to space out births for them to prevent over-great fertility. This blessing power is used in frequent ceremonials. It should be clearly distinguished from the cursing power of *tandritanitani*. What is common to the two forms is a magical power over children-of-brother exercised by children-of-sister.[44]

A matrilineal line is entrenched in the inheritance of a special power over the collateral patrilineal line, a power which is secured by these women's exclusive control of the ghosts of the islands.[45]

The *tandritanitani* cult is the formal expression of women's power in a patrilineal society. Sons cannot be had without women, not only in natural function, but in supernatural function also. And a whole regiment of women are necessary for the performance of the supernatural function.[46]

[UNITED STATES] "My grandmother was one of four sisters. We used to visit at the home of the four sisters on holidays. After the third of the four sisters died, their children decided that they should organize in order to keep the big family together. They meet once a month at someone's house—each person brings part of the refreshments. they're told to bring a cake, sugar, coffee, cookies. Each year they elect officers. All the children are members. When you marry into the family you become eligible as a member. You just assume that the greatest possible number of people will be desired. It doesn't matter whether it's a man or woman who marry into the family. You can be an umpty-ninth cousin.

"I think dues are a dollar and a half per person—I don't know whether they pay for us kids or not. Sometimes, in an emergency, they have special assessments.

"They appoint a visiting committee to visit sick members, bring him something—flowers, candy—and give a report to the meeting. During the depression, appropriations were made to take care of those who were unemployed, and to old members of the family in other states.

"The older people play cards after the meetings. When we were kids we would go to the shindigs—it was a way to see our cousins and have fun.

"When I went home [on furlough while in the Navy during World War II] it was imperative I be at the meeting, and was called upon to say a few words. When anyone marries, it is imperative that they appear with the new bride, and meet the family. Graduations too. It's an entity that can't be ignored on these unusual occasions."

A *caste* is an endogamous bilateral hereditary kinship group (7)

[HINDU] The census figures for 1911, for all India, show the Brahmans as the first caste in point of numbers, and the leather-workers as a whole,

[44] R. Fortune, *Manus Religion*, pp. 77–78.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

or even the Chamar-Chambhar taken alone [11,493,733], as the second

The sub-castes of the Chamar are very numerous, 1,156 being returned in 1891 While these returns may not be accurate, and while numerous names are but variable pronunciations and spellings of others, still the number of sub-divisions of Chamars is very large Like many other castes they are said to be divided into seven principal sub-castes The names of these traditional seven vary in different places and their order of respectability varies also [47]

Much current tradition ascribed to him a good ancestry For example, men say that, in the beginning, there was but one family of men and they were all of the highest caste They worked in the fields, and followed other callings In this family there were four brothers It so happened that a cow died one day, and the body lay in the yard until evening Since no one could be found to remove the carcass, the three older brothers agreed that their younger brother should carry away the body, and that, afterwards, when he had bathed they would receive him on the old footing of equality To this he agreed After much pulling and hauling, he managed to drag the carcass to the jungle When he returned from his bath, his brothers refused to receive him, but compelled him to live at a distance from them He made a great fuss about it, but his complaints were of no avail They told him that henceforth he was to do the work of a Chamar, that is to skin the animals that died, and to make leather and implements of leather The brothers promised to take care of him in return for these services Thus the Chamar caste arose [48]

The Chamar has a well organized and influential council, or panchayat It is greatly feared, and exercises a very strong influence over its constituency In its simplest form it consists of the whole village or *mahalla* group, is conterminous with the sub-caste to which the Chamar belongs, and consists of all the men under its jurisdiction In its less extensive form it is a body in which the families of a village group are represented, or it may be composed of all the old men Usually the representation is by families They may be a sub-committee, often composed of five persons, which guides and rules the larger body Amongst the Chamars, as amongst most of the functional castes, the panchayat is a permanent body, that is, the headman is elected for life

All ordinary matters are brought before the local body But, when cases of major importance are to be considered, several panchayats may be called together, that is, the headmen of several villages, each with a number of influential Chamars, meet with the *panch* [council], in the village where the case has been brought In very grave matters representative men from widely scattered areas may be called together Each sub-caste has its own independent council, and, with rare exceptions, different sub-castes do not meet in council However, one or more influential men (panch) of another sub-caste may be called in for advice Cases are known, as when the inter-

[47] G W Briggs, *The Chamars* (*Religious Life in India*, 3) (Calcutta, 1920), pp 20–22

[48] *Ibid*, pp 15–16

ests of the whole caste are involved, of a general meeting of representatives of all the chief local sub-divisions of the caste Such a council is called "sabha" and is quite modern Such a one was held in Bijnor some years ago.

The jurisdiction of the panchayat is local, but other panchayats may enforce its findings The panchayat exercises jurisdiction over the following classes of cases· (1) Of illicit sexual relations, such as the discovery of a pregnant widow, of adultery, or of fornication . (2) Of the violation of the tribal rules concerning commensality (3) Of matrimonial disputes, such as the sale of widows and cases where a girl is not given in marriage after the betrothal (4) Of petty quarrels that would not come under the cognizance of the Government Courts, such as false witnessing, fighting and quarrelling (5) Of disputes about small money transactions and debts (6) Of cases connected with hereditary rights, and (7) of matters affecting the welfare of the caste

There are certain occasions, such as caste dinners of all kinds, when persons take advantage of the gatherings to bring matters before the panchayat Council meetings are avoided at marriages, but are often held during funeral services [49]

As a rule the Chamar chooses his wife locally, outside his own village group, but within his own sub-caste Although the sub-castes are essentially endogamous groups, marriages are occasionally arranged between members of different sub-castes For example, Dhusiyas and Kanaujiyas intermarry, and Jatiyas and Kaiyans sometimes do

Again, the restrictions between endogamous may apply only to the giving, not to the taking of wives Thus, Kurils will take Dohar girls in marriage, but will not give their daughters to Dohars In such instances the Kuril settles with the *biradari* by giving a feast, and, indeed, nearly all infringements of marriage regulations are usually adjusted by the panchayat's ordering the payment of a fine or the giving of a feast

Occupation may become a bar to marriage, sometimes even within the endogamous group Thus, those who remove manure and night-soil cannot intermarry with those who serve as grooms Rai Dasis (in the Punjab) will not marry with Jatiyas who skin dead animals Jatiyas in the Delhi territory, who work in the skins of "unclean" animals, are refused marriage by some clans of the Sutlej In some places Kurils who tan do not marry with Kurils who make shoes

Within the sub-caste there are smaller exogamous or "family" groups (*got, kul*) which bear the name of some mythical saint, hero, or other person, the name of some village or locality, or a name having reference to some totem Marriage between members of the same exogamous group is prohibited The *chachera-mamera phuphera-mausera* law, which prevents a man marrying anyone in the line of his uncle or aunt on either the male or the female side, is somewhat loosely observed, but the practice usually followed is that, so long as any relationship, however remote, is found on either side, marriage is forbidden In some places a marriage is not arranged

[49] *Ibid*, pp 47–50

with any family from which a mother, a grandmother or a great-grandmother has some He may not marry the daughter of a brother-in-law [50]

If all the members of the society belong to some caste, the set of castes constitutes a *caste system.*

[HINDU] There are twenty-four different castes in Karimpur In their order of social precedence and traditional occupation they are as follows

No.	Caste and traditional occupation	Group
1	Brahman—priest and teacher	Brahman and related
2	Bhat—family bard and genealogist	
3	Kyasth—accountant	Kshatriya and related
4	Sunar—goldsmith	
5	Mali—florist	Sudra
6	Kachhi—vegetable grower	
7	Lodha—rice grower	
8	Barhai—carpenter (One family does iron-smithy work and is called Lohar—iron worker, although not of that caste)	
9	Nai—barber	
10	Kahar—water-bearer	
11	Gadariya—shepherd	
12	Bharbhunja—grain parcher	
13	Darzi—seamster	
14	Kumhar—potter	
15	Mahajan—tradesman	
16	Teli—oil presser	
17	Dhobi—washerman	outcaste [51]
18	Dhanuk—mat maker	
19	Chamar—leather worker	
20	Bhangi—sweeper and cesspool cleaner	
21	Faqir—hereditary Mohammedan beggar	
22	Manihar—Mohammedan glass bangle seller	
23	Dhuna—Mohammedan cotton carder	
24	Tawaif—Mohammedan dancing girl	

Like sibs, the persistence of the caste allows it to assume customary permanent roles in social differentiation, though these are not always followed in practice

[HINDU] In a Hindu village in North India each individual has a fixed economic and social status, established by his birth in any given caste If he is born into a carpenter family, he finds himself related by blood to

[50] *Ibid*, pp 35–36

[51] W H Wiser, *The Hindu Jajmani System* (Lucknow, 1936), pp 7–8

carpenters exclusively All of his paternal and maternal relatives in that village or in other villages are members of the carpenter caste, and that alone The men folk in all of these families earn their livelihood through the carpentry trade, sometimes supplemented by agriculture Each carpenter has his own clientele, which has become established through custom, and which continues from generation to generation Where the village is large enough, the clientele will be limitd by the boundaries of the village If the village is not large, or the members of carpenter families are too numerous to meet the needs of one village, the clientele extends to small neighbouring villages where there are no carpenters in residence This relationship once established cannot be broken except by the carpenter himself who may choose to sell his rights to another carpenter It is heritable and sometimes transferable The relationship fixes responsibilities both on the carpenter and the one whom he serves The carpenter during the sowing season must remove and sharpen the plough point once or twice a week During the harvest he must keep sickles sharp and renew handles as often as demanded He must be ready to repair a cart whenever called upon by a customer, or to make minor repairs on the customer's house In exchange he receives at each harvest, twenty-eight pounds of grain, for every plough owned by his client Additional rights and responsibilities will be described later

This service relationship is established not only between carpenters and other residents of the village, but affects all castes Each caste in the village at some time during the year is expected to render a fixed type of service to each other caste As there is no exact equivalent of this system in the West, it will be necessary to use the terms in current use in North India The carpenter calls his entire clientele his "Jajmani" or "birt"—these terms being identical in meaning The individual family or head of the family whom the carpenter serves is called the carpenter's "jajman " The "jajman" speaks of the carpenter's family and all other families that serve him as his "Kam-wale" or "Kam-karne-wale" (i e , workers), if they are of the serving castes, i e , Sudras or lower If the one who serves in a "Pandit" (title for a Brahman priest), a "Bhat" (astrologer), or another from one of the three upper caste divisions, he is referred to by his caste name—"Pandit," "Bhat," etc , and not as a "Kam-karne-wale " [52]

In 1925, 187 of the 754 residents of Karimpur—about one fourth—were Brahmans They represented 41 out of the 161 families in the village . Of these 41 families, only three families were practicing the traditional work of priesthood, and only one of these was making his livelihood from this work exclusively . we find our Brahman families engaged in agriculture A few of them supplement their earnings by raising cattle—not for beef The one *Tanguirya* family keeps a small shop where one may buy a few spices, grain and tobacco

They do not lose their status in the community when they do not serve as priests and teachers [53]

[52] *Ibid* , pp 5–6
[53] *Ibid* , pp 19, 22

Since endogamy is only a special case of avoidance, which, as we saw in Chapter IV, symbolizes the high social value of the differences between related roles, it is not surprising that other kinds of avoidance also occur between castes

[HINDU] The Chamars and Muchis are very unclean castes Their very touch renders it necessary for a good Hindu to bathe with all his clothes on In the villages they generally live in a distinct quarter When their services are required by a high caste Hindu, he will allow them to enter the outer enclosure of his house, but not into the interior of any building used as a dwelling-house or chapel.[54]

the Chamar . occupies an utterly degraded position in the village life, and he is regarded with loathing and disgust by the higher castes His quarters abound in all kinds of abominable filth His foul mode of living is proverbial Except when it is absolutely necessary, a clean living Hindu will not visit his part of the village The Chamar's very name connects him with the carcasses of cattle Besides, he not only removes the skins from the cattle that have died, but also he eats the flesh The defilement and degradation resulting from these acts are insurmountable The fact that the Chamar is habitually associated in thought with these practices may partially explain why the large non-leather-working sections of the caste are still rated as untouchable [55]

The Chamar is not fastidious about his food He eats the leavings from nearly all castes, except the Dhobi and Dom

Some groups, as for example the Jaiswars, refuse to eat any food prepared by others

The rules pertaining to the drinking of water are similar to those with reference to eating The vessel in which the water is brought must belong to a member of the caste . . The rules governing smoking are quite similar Other castes do not smoke with them Chamars will smoke together, using the same *chilam* [pipe]

Since the caste is largely shut up within its own limits, social intercourse is almost wholly a caste matter Higher castes do not mingle with them and the Chamars will not associate with castes of lower social status They observe the caste rules governing marriage and commensality, and are said to conform to Hindu practices rather more strictly than better-class Hindus [56]

•

It follows, then, that the minimal social interaction occurring between castes as a result of avoidance and the variation in caste customs arising from their customary social differentiation tend to make each caste a sub-society with its own sub-culture—circumstances which give the caste a strong solidarity (8)

[54] J N Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects* (Calcutta, 1896), p 267
[55] Briggs, *op cit*, p 20
[56] *Ibid*, pp 45–47

Divisions

A *division* is a categorized hereditary segment, i e , group or aggregate, of a society. Usually there are two divisions in the society, to which all members belong, and the divisions are called *moieties*

Each of the five tribes of the [Iroquois] confederacy is divided into clans which are grouped in two "phatries" These dual divisions do not, among the Iroquois, have any names, nor is there any evidence of a former existence of such names The clans of one division or "side" call each other "brothers," while the clans of the other "side" are their "cousins," and vice versa No origin myths referring to these divisions were obtained except the account contained in the Deganawida myth Although my genealogies do not extend far enough back to bear witness to the former exogamy of the "sides," the frequency of intra-phratric marriages seems to be less in the older sections of the genealogies Moreover, all of the older informants are agreed as to the ancient exogamy of the "sides" and remember incidents falling into the period of transition when the ancient rule began to give way, presently to be superseded by another exogamous regulation, that of the clan There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that in ancient times the two main divisions of an Iroquois tribe were exogamous The functions of the sides are manifold and all-important At games, such as the peach-stone game, or lacrosse, the "sides" are lined up against each other The "brothers" and "cousins" are similarly divided at contests such as the snow-snake game or target practice with bow and arrow At all feasts the action as well as the spatial arrangement of the participants reveal the presence of the two "sides" The same is true of ceremonies of adoption, ceremonies at which "friends" are made, night wakes, memorial ceremonies, and burial In the latter instance, the functionaries at the burial ceremonies are always selected from the "side" opposite to the one of the deceased At all great periodic festivals, such as the Strawberry Festival, the Green Corn Festival, etc , which are held in the ceremonial longhouses, the members of the two "sides" are always spatially divided and face each other A speaker represents each side and, in the course of the performance, always addresses the opposite side At the preliminary meetings of officials which always precede the festivals, two men are usually appointed to go from house to house and solicit contributions to the feast, these men always represent the "brothers" and "cousins" respectively The Death Feast Society and the tribal Medicine Societies, the so-called "Little Water" or "Real Life" societies, follow in their performance, the phratric division The same seems to be true of the performances of the other medicinal societies, the False faces, Otters, Buffaloes, etc At the election of chiefs the "sides" are functionally represented, a point to be presently referred to more specifically At name-giving ceremonies, the name is bestowed by the "side" opposite to the one to which the recipient of the name belongs In

the dream guessing ritual the guesser must belong to the "side" opposite to that of the dreamer [57]

[UNITED STATES] In the southeastern states there are two divisions, "white" and "colored" "Colored" applies to those who are categorized as being American Negroes African Negroes and Chinese, for instance, are put in the "white" division.

Sometimes, though, there are three or more divisions

[SANTA ISABEL] In general there seem to be three exogamous groups which are called *vinahuhu*, the sacred objects of which are called *tindadho*

The three *vinahuhu* are called Vihuvunagi, Posomogo and Dhonggokama The chief *tindadho* of the Vihuvunagi is the *manuhutu*, that of the Dhonggokama the frigate-bird, and that of the *Posomogo* . . a parakeet In each case the tindadho may not be eaten

At Kia at the extreme north-western end of the island each of the three primary clans is divided into a number of groups, each of which takes its name from a natural object [58]

[UNITED STATES] In Texas there are three divisions "Anglo Americans," "Mexicans," and "Negroes"—with status in that order In the state capitol, all three groups are endogamous, live in segregated residential areas, and have their own restaurants, barber shops, and churches Segregation is also found in the elementary schools, and though Mexicans go to white high schools and colleges, "we never mix socially," as one student told me Mexicans sit in the white section of buses and go to white theaters, but they work alongside of Negroes in such semi-skilled jobs as construction and laundry work

First of all, like hereditary kinship groups, divisions have permanent social roles, each division has its hereditary rights and duties, and, as in the case of social differentiation in general, there is a reciprocity between the divisions which serves to strengthen the solidarity of the society as a whole Second, there is customary opposition between the divisions This provides the people with a regulated means for expressing hostility without disorganizing the society.

Divisions are either exogamous or endogamous Exogamous divisions strengthen the solidarity of a society in an additional way Marriage between divisions produces primary social interaction which tends to neutralize the customary opposition that exists between the divisions

57 A A Goldenweiser, "On Iroquois work, 1912," *Summary Report of the Geological Survey, Canada,* 1912, (pp 461–75) pp 461–65

58 Rivers, *The History of Melanesian Society* (Cambridge, 1914), I, p 245

[TROBRIANDS] Right across the political and local divisions cut the totemic clans, each having a series of linked totems, with a bird as principal one The members of these four clans are scattered over the whole tribe of Boyowa, and in each village community, members of all four are to be found, and even in every house, there are at least two classes represented, since a husband must be of a different clan from his wife and children There is a certain amount of solidarity within the clan, based on the very vague feeling of communal affinity to the totem birds and animals, but much more on the many social duties, such as the performance of certain ceremonies, especially the mortuary ones, which band the members of a clan together But real solidarity obtains only between members of a sub clan A sub clan is a local division of a clan, whose members claim common ancestry, and hence real identity of bodily substance, and also are attached to the locality where their ancestors emerged It is to these sub-clans that the idea of a definite rank attaches One of the totemic clans, the Malasi, includes the most aristocratic sub-clan, the Tabalu, as well as the lowest one, the local division of the Malasi in Bwoytalu A chief of the Tabalu feels insulted if it is ever hinted that he is akin to one of the stingaree-eaters of the unclean village, although they are Malasi like himself [59]

The totemic organization of the natives is simple and symmetrical in its general outline Humanity is divided into four clans (*kumila*) Totemic nature is conceived to be as deeply ingrained in the substance of the individual as sex, colour, and stature It can never be changed, and it transcends individual life, for it is carried over into the next world, and brought back unchanged into this one when the spirit returns by reincarnation This fourfold totemic division is thought to be universal, embracing every section of mankind

The sub-clans are at least as important as the clans, for the members of the same sub-clan regard themselves as real kindred, claim the same rank, and form the local unit in Trobriand society Each local community is composed of people belonging to one sub-clan, and to one sub-clan only, who have joint rights to the village site, to the surrounding garden-lands, and to a number of local privileges Large villages are compounded of several minor local units, but each unit has its own compact site within the village and owns a large contiguous area of garden-land There are even different terms to denote membership within the sub-clan and membership in the clan People of the same sub-clan are real kinsmen, and call one another *veyogu,* my kinsman But a man will only apply this term loosely and metaphorically to one who, though a member of the same clan, belongs to a different sub-clan, and will, if questioned directly, inform you that the other man is only pseudo kindred, using the deprecatory term *kakaveyogu* (my spurious kinsman)

Each of the four clans has its own name Malasi, Lukuba, Lukwasisiga, Lukulabuta Such a clan name is used by a man or a woman as a defini-

[59] Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific,* pp 70–71.

tion of his or of her social identity "My name is so and so, and I am a Malasi" [60]

Endogamous divisions have a totally different effect The endogamy which keeps the divisions distinct and the social interaction which symbolizes the difference between them, strengthen the solidarity of each division but weaken the solidarity of the society as a whole Consequently, endogamous divisions are found when the divisions have higher social value than the society, this occurs when there is a domination-subordination relation between them

[TODA] the Tartharol and the Teivaliol are endogamous divisions of the Toda people [61]

Each division is endogamous and each is divided into a number of exogamous septs Again, there is some amount of specialisation of function, the Teivaliol being the division from which the most sacred of the dairymen are chosen

There is little restriction on social intercourse between the two divisions So far as I am aware, they can eat together, and a member of one division can receive food from any member of another .

The only definite restriction on social intercourse is that a Teivali woman may not visit a Tarthar village There is no similar restriction on the visits of Tarthar women to Teivali villages

Although the Teivaliol hold the highest dairy offices, and while holding them have a very high degree of sanctity, it is quite clear that, apart from the holding of these offices, they have no sanctity whatever I had definite evidence in more than one instance that the priest was regarded as a paid servant, to be treated with scant respect except in the special points prescribed by custom

The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants, and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly, in this opinion Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "We have the *ti* [sacred dairies] and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants" the Teivaliol were conscious of their own inferiority in the social scale

In the ceremonial of the dairy, the relation between the two divisions is entirely one-sided The Tartharol own the buffaloes and the dairies, and the Teivaliol do the work In certain other ceremonies, there is more reciprocity in the relations of the two divisions to one another

The Tartharol have certain definite duties at a Teivali funeral and the Teivaliol at a Tarthar funeral, and in most cases the duties are thoroughly reciprocal and the two divisions appear to act on equal terms . .

[60] Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, pp 191–96

[61] Rivers, *The Todas*, p 504

There are other ceremonies in which the duties of the two divisions are reciprocal In the ceremony of ear-piercing, a Tarthar man pierces one ear of a Teivali boy and a Teivali man performs the same service for a Tarthar boy, and in the [girl's puberty] ceremony a man belonging to one division acts when the girl undergoing the ceremony belongs to the other [62]

[UNITED STATES] "The word 'negro' includes mulatto

"The word 'mulatto' or the term 'person of color' means a person of mixed blood descended on the part of the father or mother from negro ancestors, without reference to or limit of time or number of generations removed" [63]

"If any white person or any negro, or the descendant of any negro intermarry, or live in adultery or fornication with each other, each of them shall, on conviction, be imprisoned in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than seven years" [64]

"Separate schools shall be provided for white and colored children, and no child of either race shall be permitted to attend a school of the other race" [65]

"Every railroad company . must have at each of the passenger stations . sufficient sitting or waiting rooms . . having regard to sex and race." [66]

"Any person who, contrary to the provision of the statute providing for equal and separate accommodations for the white and negro races on railroad passenger trains, rides, or attempts to ride, in a coach, or a division of a coach, designated for the race to which he does not belong, must, on conviction, be fined not more than one hundred dollars" [67]

Tribe

A *tribe* is a kinship group that constitutes a society. The belief that the members of a society are descended from a common ancestor has the effect of strengthening the solidarity of the tribe, for they look upon each other as kin

the Iglulik Eskimos form no political or social unity They are only a group of families, related by the same manner of living, the same forms of implements and clothing, the same methods and customs, to some extent connected by blood ties There is no superior authority [68]

[ISRAEL] "Abram fell upon his face and God talked with him, saying, As for me, behold, my covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a father of

[62] *Ibid*, pp 680–85

[63] Alabama, *Code* (Charlottesville, Va , 1911), 1 2

[64] *Ibid*, 11 360, *vide ibid*, 11 361

[65] Alabama *Constitution*, 11 256, in *Code Cf Code*, 52 93

[66] Alabama, *Code*, 48 186

[67] *Ibid*, 48 464, *vide ibid*, 48 196–97

[68] T Mathiassen, *Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos*, tr W E Calvert (*Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, 6 1) (Copenhagen, 1928), p 209

many nations . . . Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son indeed, and thou shalt call his name Isaac and I will establish my covenant with him for an everlasting covenant, and with his seed after him." [69]

LOCALITY

Locality is an important basis for social relations on two counts In the first place, the primary problem of any organism is adjustment to its environment Now, people who live in the same locality find themselves confronted with general situations to which they must all adjust, and which involve their harmonious social interaction, no matter how heterogeneous their culture may be When an infantile paralysis epidemic hits a big city, the rich native-born family living in a penthouse and the poor immigrant family living in the slum around the corner are all potential transmitters and victims of the disease Secondly, there is a rough relation between spatial and social distance Even if people who are spatially close are not necessarily socially close, at least it is harder to be socially close with someone spatially distant

[UNITED STATES] "I lived in an apartment house in Chicago for 6 years without ever speaking to anyone in the apartments on either side of mine My friends—some of whom I saw almost daily—lived in other parts of the city Yet when my best friend moved to Louisiana, we first corresponded every few months, now we are content to exchange Christmas cards"

For these reasons, locality is an important basis for social relations.

[IFUGAO] . . . the local or geographic unit . . . is extremely important despite the fact that it is obscure, undefined, and rarely has a place in the Ifugao's consciousness The relations on which it is based grow, not out of kinship but out of propinquity First of all, the folk of a neighbourhood unite to defend their locality against attack by outsiders There is a modicum of ritual co operation throughout a whole region and still more between neighbours of the same and near-by villages. There is a degree of economic and of head hunting-raiding co-operation between neighbours The Ifugao recognizes the obligation to try to make peace between himself and his neighbour This complex, which I call "local" or "geographic" (as opposed to "blood") solidarity, or the "tie of propinquity," is ordinarily very weak as compared to kinship solidarity, and is often in opposition to it For the very principles of the two relations are contradictory.

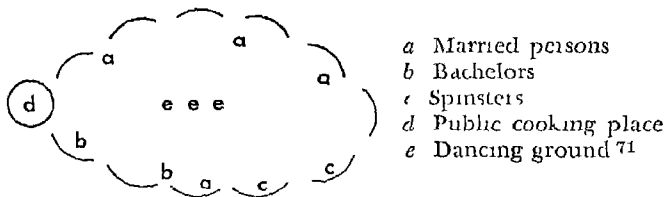
Kinship solidarity transcends geography, it is centrifugal, the kinship group lives dispersed in a hundred villages in a dozen or more regions And a kinsman is a kinsman, wherever he lives But suppose one of these

[69] Old Testament, *Genesis*, 17 3–4, 19 (P = 4th cent B C ?)

gions makes a raid on another· shall kinsmen fight kinsmen? Here is a vided duty—and it is but one of many that can arise in Ifugao society wing to the presence of two kinds of socio-economic bases. In general ead-hunting and especially head-hunting raids intensify local solidarity lave-catching when not connected with raiding, that is, when carried on ithin a region or between a region and its neutral zone, had an opposite ffect—weakened local solidarity A weakening of local solidarity effects a trengthening of kinship solidarity and vice versa [70]

To a great degree, people are categorized spatially because their ocial group is concentrated in a certain locality. Insofar as the patial relations of the people in an area reflects their social rela-ions, the community has a *social ecology*

[ANDAMANS] The following diagram will give a general idea of the plan commonly adopted in laying out an encampment consisting of several huts, though the form depends much on the nature of the ground, and on the relative position of the surrounding trees, for they do not consider it worth their while to fell these, or to clear away anything but the lightest brushwood for the mere purpose of providing space for their huts, and dancing ground. . . .

a Married persons
b Bachelors
c Spinsters
d Public cooking place
e Dancing ground [71]

In fact, spatial relations can become symbols of social relations. Under such conditions, one of the things which a person does when he wants to change his social group is to move from one area to another [72] Consequently, if the differences between social groups have high social value, the only ones who are allowed to live in an area are the members of the group symbolized by that area

[WEST GREENLAND ESKIMO] . it was a standing rule that nobody from a distance could settle down for good at the place without the general consent of its inhabitants. . . *if a new family wished to settle at an inhabited place,* the newcomers had to wait the consent of the people already settled there, which was given by means of certain signs of civility

[70] R Barton, *Philippine Pagans*, pp 8–9

[71] F H Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* (London 1883), p 40. For social ecology in the United States, *vide* Plate III.

[72] E g , *vide* L Wirth, *The Ghetto* (Chicago, 1928), Chap 12

or welcome, the strangers having meanwhile put their boat ashore, but not yet begun bringing up their goods If those signs were not given, they put off again, and went on to look for another place [73]

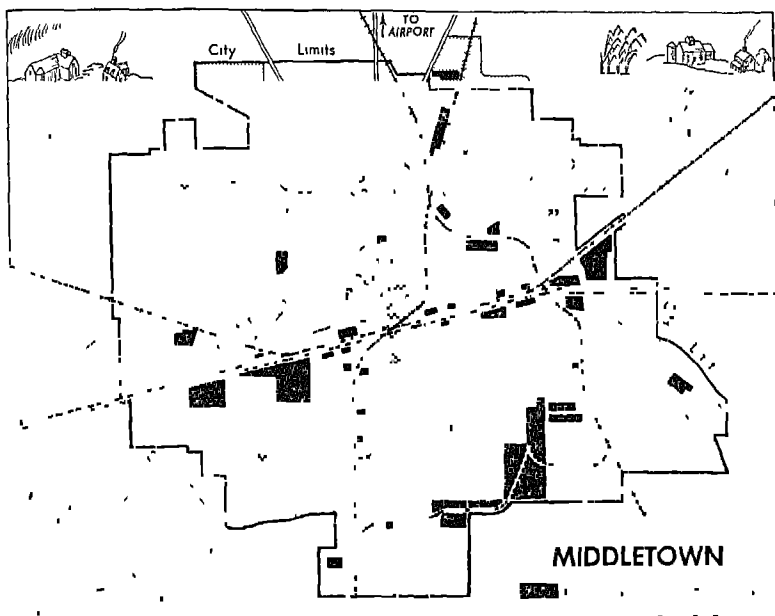



PLATE III SOCIAL ECOLOGY OF AN AMERICAN CITY
Drawn by Kathleen Voute for *Middletown in Transition* by Robert S Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, copyright, 1937, by Harcourt, Brace and Company, Inc

[UNITED STATES] "In 1921, thirty white persons . . . executed an indenture, duly recorded, in which they recited that for their mutual benefit and the best interests of the neighborhood . . they mutually covenanted and agreed that no part of these properties should ever be used or occupied by, or sold, leased or given to, any person of the negro race or blood; and that this covenant should run with the land and bind their respective heirs and assigns for twenty-one years from and after its date

" . . the prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment 'have reference to state action exclusively, and not to any action of private individuals'. . . And . do not in any manner prohibit or invalidate contracts entered into by private individuals in respect to the control and disposition of their own property " [74]

[73] Rink, *Eskimoiske eventyr og sagn,* suppl , pp 174, 177

[74] U S Supreme Court, *Corrigan v Buckley* [1926], *United States Reports,* 271, (pp 323–32) pp 327, 330–31

To sum up, in so far as an area has a social ecology, there is a relation between such social and spatial phenomena as intimacy and aggregation, distance and segregation, mobility and movement, etc [75]

Neighborhood

A *neighborhood* is a group of people who are spatially close and socially primary. Because of the kind of social interaction that exists between neighbors, the neighborhood is socially important.

[CHINA] A neighbourhood is the group of households combined for daily intimate contact and mutual help Conventionally people take the five households on each side of their residence as being their neighbours For these they have a special term *shanlin* They have towards one another special social obligations

When a new-born baby is one month of age, his mother will carry him to visit the neighbours They will be courteously received with tea and entertainments When they leave, a gift, which consists of cakes, will be bestowed on the baby This is the first visit of the baby to a house other than his own, even before he goes to his mother's father's house

In the case of marriage, the bridegroom's family will distribute a kind of cake as an announcement and invitation to the wedding ceremony Neighbours are included on the list In return they will offer a present in cash on the wedding day and participate in the feast of celebration In case of funerals, each house in the neighbourhood will send one person to assist without payment

In daily life when one needs extra labour in household work, such as removing heavy articles, neighbours will come to help In case of economic stress, money can be borrowed from them in small sums without interest Such relations of mutual help are not rigidly confined to ten households, they depend more on personal intimacy than formal prescriptions [76]

[UNITED STATES] Town people speak of which "neighborhood" in town (that is, which section of the town—the "south part," the "east part," or the "west part") they live in and which one is best to live in (their own is generally best) They speak of what people they "neighbor with" (visit, exchange meals with, borrow from, etc), or "neighbor with most" They also speak of their "neighbors" as the people whose houses are nearest their own, whether or not they actually "neighbor back and forth" with them

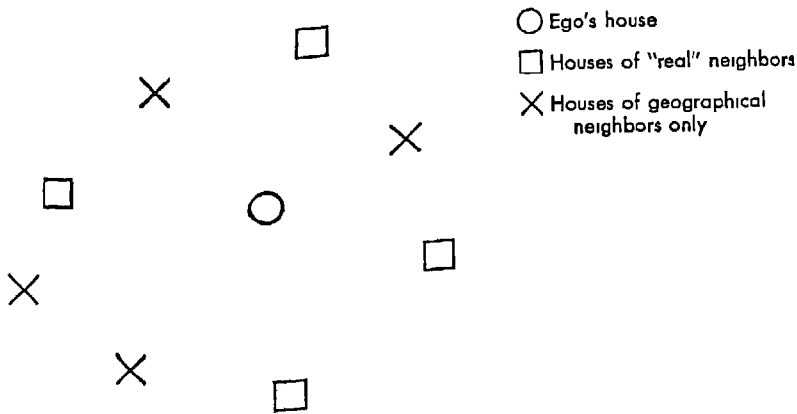
Even farm neighborhoods cannot be described in topographical terms only Each farm family belongs to at least three separate "neighborhoods," only two of which have any remote likelihood of congruence, aside from

[75] Of course, by "movement" is meant "movement of members of a society relative to one another" A nomadic society is often on the move, but that does not necessarily produce social mobility among its members

[76] H T Fei, *Peasant Life in China*, pp 98–99

all the other focal centers which the world may provide for their "neighboring" (such as Plainville on Saturday afternoon).

A farmer's "real close neighborhood" includes geographically his own house and farm, at the center, and the four to eight or ten adjoining or nearly adjoining households and farms. The occupants of these farms are his "near neighbors." They are within easy walking distance for himself, his wife, and his children. These are the people whom he and his family supposedly neighbor with most. Each neighborhood of this type is unique; there are as many of them in America as there are farm houses.

Yet actually a man's "close neighborhood," functionally speaking, is more apt to resemble the following scheme.

Ideally the occupants of these houses should be close, friendly, and cooperative neighbors, but feelings of difference in "class" or "morals" may make two separate, and what might be called "geographically simultaneous," neighborhoods out of the area. An old quarrel, rooted in a "line fence" (boundary) dispute, or in crop damage by livestock, or in a children's fight, may cause unfriendliness between neighbors, as may family alliances or misalliances, or a neighborhood division on a tax levy or an election, or a remembered quarrel over hiring a teacher, perhaps kin to one of the disaffected neighbors. The situation is rendered even more complex by the fact that social discriminations may result in very extraordinary neighboring situations: a man may "neighbor" with another man, when the wife of one "would not neighbor" or "could not neighbor" with the other wife. Their small children may play together freely, running in and out of both homes and fed between meals by both mothers, while the post-adolescent girls of the "better family" are unable to "speak friendly in town" to the big boys of the other family. Meanwhile, perhaps, the larger boys in both families can hunt and "run around" together, and even "stay all night" with each other. It is astounding how complex the ritual and taboos on human intercourse can become even in a small rural community.

where people like to say, "We're just one plain old average, everyday, working class of people here"

The important function of neighborhoods is to provide "Neighbors"—people to know more intimately than anyone else except "kinfolks", people to visit and be visited by, for a brief chat, "all day," or, frequently among children, all night; people with whom to exchange household commodities, tools, implements, and work Women and children do much informal daily running along the roads and footpaths connecting the houses of neighbors Children run over to a neighbor's to play, or are sent there to borrow or to "see how Miz Miller's all are" Sometimes the boys of a close neighborhood "spend their childhood together"—when they are not working they hunt, swim, and "run the timber" together Children and women borrow, exchange, and pass on magazines, newspapers, and the few books owned in these neighborhoods Women borrow and repay staple groceries or women's tools (knitting needles, a cooking pot, dishes for "a big dinner," even a pressure cooker) Women often "give" each other surplus garden vegetables and wild or tame fruit which "might spoil if not eaten now," or one takes or sends the other a "mess" of any particularly "nice" home grown or native food She might send, for example, wild honey, or fish—if her boys have had a lucky day in the timber—, or a panful of unusually early potatoes or peas She would not ordinarily send cooked food or "boughten" food

Men make fewer calls, unmotivated by an errand, to neighbors' houses than women make They "visit" with each other more in town, in fields, and at barns Men do much borrowing and lending, however They lend each other an ax, a plow, a wheelbarrow, a cultivator, a mower, a hay rake, a wagon, a horse or mule, or a team Modern and expensive machines like gasoline engines, cars, tractors and binders, are seldom asked for or lent If a man without a car needs one in an emergency, a neighbor who owns a car will take him wherever he has to go, at no cost ordinarily above the cost of gasoline, but expensive farm machinery is generally made available to neighbors only through rather highly paid work Men lend ordinary work freely, however, or "lend a boy" to work for a neighbor They often "give" work lasting less than a day They would certainly "give" the short labor of helping a neighbor lift a broken pump shaft out of a well, or set up a chicken house or shed that the wind has blown over [77]

Settlement

A *settlement* is a spatially distinct locality whose inhabitants engage in some social interaction, in fact, most of their direct social acts take place within the area The people may be sedentary or nomadic, and their habitations compact or scattered—it makes no difference

Settlements may be divided into communities and cities A

[77] West, *op cit*, pp 69–73

community is a settlement which, relatively speaking, is socially simple and culturally homogeneous

[CHINA] "In Hsu chou, in the District of Ku-feng
There lies a village whose name is Chu-ch'en—
A hundred miles away from the county-town,
Amid fields of hemp and green of mulberry-trees
Click, click goes the sound of the spinning-wheel,
Mules and oxen pack the village-streets
The girls go drawing the water from the brook,
The men go gathering fire-wood on the hill
So far from the town Government affairs are few,
So deep in the hills, man's ways are simple
Though they have wealth, they do not traffic with it,
Though they reach the age, they do not enter the Army
Each family keeps to its village trade,
Grey-headed, they have never left the gates
Alive, they are the people of Ch'en Village,
Dead, they become the dust of Ch'en Village
Out in the fields old men and young
Gaze gladly, each in the other's face
In the whole village there are only two clans,
Age after age Chus have married Ch'ens
Near or distant, they have kinsmen in every house,
Young or old, they have friends wherever they go
On white wine and roasted fowl they fare
At joyful meetings more than 'once a week'
While they are alive, they have no distant partings,
To choose a wife they go to a neighbour's house
When they are dead,—no distant burial,
Round the village graves lie thick
They are not troubled either about life or death,
They have no anguish either of body or soul
And so it happens that they live to a ripe age
And great-great-grandsons are often seen" [78]

A compact community is a *village*, a scattered community, an *open country community*

Sociologically, the village is an important unit in the Trobriands Even the mightiest chief in the Trobriands wields his authority primarily over his own village and only secondarily over the district The village community exploit jointly their garden lands, perform ceremonies, wage warfare, undertake trading expeditions, and sail in the same canoe or fleet of canoes as one group

A village community is represented by a headman, its members make

[78] Po Chu i, "Chu ch'en village", in *Poems*, pp 157–59

their gardens in one block and under the guidance of their own garden magician, they carry on their own feasts and ceremonial arrangements, mourn their dead in common, and perform, in remembrance of their departed ones, an endless series of food distributions In all big affairs, whether of the district or of the tribe, members of a village community keep together, and act in one group [79]

[UNITED STATES] Plainville is a community in the sense that all the people who live or trade there are labeled together under the name of their town. Wherever they go, they "came from Plainville" If they return they "come home to Plainville," if only on a visit from their "present home" In terms of social usages, sanctions, and status, they might just as well be called "Woodland County People" as Plainvillers, their county is indeed a larger community to which they belong or feel that they belong —or which they "came from," when they migrate Most sentiments for county are identical with sentiments for trading center, but within the county, rivalries between the towns create special feelings of "community" for each Plainvillers are Plainvillers, and not Stantonites or Discoveryites

In yet larger senses, Plainvillers belong to a "region" of four or five neighboring counties, to "this quarter of the state," to "this state," to "this section of the United States," and to the nation Yet only feeble sentiments attach to all of these larger areas, except the state and the nation. Identification with the state is felt during "big elections" but it is felt most keenly when traveling in other states—travelers look at car license plates and start conversations with "people from home" Identification with the nation mounts notably during wars and when past wars are remembered None of these sentiments compares in intensity or complexity with the feeling for Woodland County and for Plainville [80]

[MARQUESAS] I should imagine that there were about two thousand inhabitants in Typee, and no number could have been better adapted to the extent of the valley The valley is some nine miles in length, and may average one in breadth, the houses being distributed at wide intervals throughout its whole extent, principally, however, towards the head of the vale There are no villages The houses stand here and there in the shadow of the groves, or are scattered along the banks of the winding stream; their golden-hued bamboo sides and gleaming white thatch, forming a beautiful contrast to the perpetual verdure in which they are embowered [81]

A community is made up of one or more neighborhoods. A *city* is a compact settlement which is socially complex and culturally heterogeneous

[79] Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific,* pp 57, 70

[80] West, *op cit,* p 56

[81] H. Melville, *Typee,* p 262

[UNITED STATES] *Vide* P W Terry and V M Sims, *They Live on the Land* (U of Alabama, Bureau of Educational Research, *Studies in Education,* 1), University, Ala [1940?]

> [ROME] Athenaeus speaks of Rome as "the populace of the world," and says that one would not shoot wide of the mark if he called the city of Rome an epitome of the civilized world, so true is it that one may see at a glance all the cities of the world settled there More than one day would fail me if I tried to enumerate all the cities he counts within the heavenly city of Rome—nay, all the days numbered in the year would not be enough, so many are the cities there Even entire nations are settled there *en masse,* like the Cappadocians, the Scythians, the Pontians, and more besides [82]

If the inhabitants are relatively immobile, the city may be termed a *town,* [83] if relatively mobile, a *metropolis*

> [UNITED STATES] "Not only transportation and communication, but the segregation of the urban population tend to facilitate the mobility of the individual man The processes of segregation establish moral distances which make the city a mosaic of little worlds which touch but do not interpenetrate This makes it possible for individuals to pass quickly and easily from one moral milieu to another, and encourages the fascinating but dangerous experiment of living at the same time in several different contiguous, but otherwise widely separated, worlds" [84]

The town is made up of a number of neighborhoods, in the metropolis the neighborhood tends to disappear (9)

> Paris is a loose merger of many, very many, small provincial communities, each of which is self-sufficient and pleasantly or offensively clannish
>
> "Do you live here?" they will ask in the little local shops, and your answer makes a difference, not only in the prices, but in the service A policeman won't arrest you if you live on his beat, the accredited streetwalker won't pick your pocket, they will see you safely home Even though you are a foreigner, you may still be a *petit Parisien,* an insider, more French than a Parisian from some other quarter, he is the stranger Some quarters boast of inhabitants who have never been to Paris—the Paris of the foreigners and the financiers The *grands boulevards* are a place which the *petits Parisiens* make excursions to, as they visit Versailles, on a holiday, all dressed up, in family or neighborhood sight-seeing groups

82 Athenaeus (2–3 cents A D), *Deipnosophistae,* ed G Kaibel (Leipzig 1887–90), I 20 b–c, tr C B Gulick (London, 1927–) Reprinted by permission of the publishers, Harvard University Press

[UNITED STATES] For instance, New York City, *vide* Federal Writers Project, New York City, *New York Panorama* (*American Guide Series*), New York, 1938, *idem New York City Guide* (*American Guide Series*), New York, 1939, "The people," *Fortune,* 20 (1929), no 1 (New York City number), Pt 1

83 [UNITED STATES] *Vide* Lynd, *Middletown idem, Middletown in Transition* (New York, 1937)

84 R E Park, "The city suggestions for the investigation of human behavior in the urban environment," pp 40–41, in R E Park *et al*, *The City* (Chicago, 1925), pp 1–46

My Paris, the *petit Paris* of my student days, was the Latin Quarter, of course, but the Latin Quarter then was a simple, idyllic, fresh-water college town. Our connection with Paris was by horse busses which made the trip pleasant on a sunny day, but long, halting—a day's work. we dressed up and took the trip only to fetch money from the bank or to call on some tourist friend from home That and the opera were the only uses we had for the Right Bank I remember once an enterprising party of reckless fellows ventured with their girls to Montmartre, that was something like, and they had a good time, but they didn't get back till late the next forenoon and were all tired out and wretchedly sobered by the long, long journey No, our lives were complete in the Quarter, which was the largest of all the Parisian communities, and, we thought, the most important It had two physical centers, Montparnasse and the Boul' Mich', and it had two lobes to its brain, the Sorbonne (with the university) and the Beaux Arts (with the other private art schools), but the art students and the university students played together [85]

[UNITED STATES] The traditional neighborhood [in Los Angeles] was characterized by proximity of residence, associations continued from childhood on through adult life, common participation in the same activities, and consequently, lives "contacting" each other at the points of many shared interests In contrast, within the area today, the data suggest the separation of interests, the scattered residences of friends and the location of meeting places of lodge, club, and recreation center, for the theater and dance, as outside the area The social and emotional satisfactions of the person are largely secured in groups whose membership has little connection or none with the local area While the area represents in degree the physical structure of the traditional American neighborhood and small community, it would seem that in this urban residential area the neighborhood as a primary group has become obsolete or at any rate is obsolescent

This study consistently points to the decreasing significance of the local area as a base for personal associations and the substitution of that of specialized interests [86]

District

A *district* is a categorized set of spatially close settlements between which there is a fair amount of social interaction.

[CHUKCHEE] With the Reindeer Chukchee, who live in small camps widely scattered over the tundra, the nearest camp forms the only human group with whom one may have frequent intercourse It is called nimtakachin ("neighboring camp") Nim is the root of the noun ni mnim ("camp") Takachin is the noun takalhin ("mate," "companion") with a

[85] L Steffens, *Autobiography*, pp 159–60

[86] B A McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood* (U of Southern California, *Social Science Series*, 1) (Los Angeles, 1929), pp 107, 110

slight phonetic change: c and l, in Chukchee phonetics, often replace each other.

If some serious misfortune happens, the people of the nearest camp will always give help, the more so, since they are in most cases relatives, or at least good friends. As an instance may be given the following story, where the sudden death of a Chukchee while hunting wild reindeer is described.

"When he left the camp and followed the reindeerbuck, they both ran to the ice on a large lake. He slipped on the ice and fell down. Here he broke his neck and remained on the ice. Two nights he was absent from his camp. After the second night, his wife went to the neighbors and brought them the news. 'My husband is absent!'—'Oh, where is he?'—'He was following the wounded reindeer.'—'Oh, oh! let us go and look for him . . . Well, do you know what direction we are to take?' They went together, the woman and one of the neighbors. The woman sought on the land. He took the road across the ice. Then he found him, and gave a signal to the woman, who also came. The dead man was lying on the ice."

Neighboring camps often, in changing the pasture grounds, follow the same route, in order to keep all the time in the same neighborhood as before. They gather their skins and peltries and give them to one man, who goes to some distant place for trading-purposes. They also assemble for ceremonial and races.[87]

[UNITED STATES] "There is a significant trend in urbanization which in recent decades had become quite marked. It is revealed by the extraordinarily rapid growth of small satellite towns and rural communities within the orbit of metropolitan centers as compared with the central cities themselves. This is in a sense an expression of the coming into more general use of the automobile, electric service, the telephone, and the extension of urban utilities into the surrounding territory. As a result, a new type of urban community has come upon the scene—the metropolitan region."[88]

Region

A *region* is a categorized set of settlements occupying a geographically homogeneous area and having relatively similar customs. People living in the same geographic area tend to have similar problems of environmental adjustment. And since the area is usually bounded by geographic barriers (rivers, mountains, etc.), it is easier for them to interact socially with each other than with people outside of the area. To the extent that this occurs, they not only become socially important to one another, but their customs become quite different from those of other areas.

[87] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, pp. 627–628.

[88] U. S. National Resources Committee, Urbanism Committee, *Our Cities* (Washington, 1937), p. 33, *vide ibid.*, map facing p. 32.

[IFUGAO] The folk living in a single valley or region are fairly homogeneous in language, much intermarried, and usually manage to get along with each other without a great deal of actual fighting. And when fighting does occur, neighbourly counsel intervenes to prevent a permanent feud from resulting Surrounding the home region is a ring of other regions with whom relations are less cordial, which may be called the "neutral zone" There is also much intermarriage with these regions and the folk there may not be beheaded even if it becomes necessary to kill them Beyond the neutral zone and encircling it is a "feudist zone" nearly every kinship group in the home region is at more or less active feud with one or more groups there, and heads are taken of those slain in feuds Beyond this zone is what may be called a "war zone" with which enmity is on a geographic basis rather than one of blood feud that is, practically all the people there are unrelated and enemies, and are killed and beheaded on sight if a good opportunity offers

Still, it is necessary to warn that all this is only (and very decidedly) schematic Many factors besides distance enter into the relations between regions, as, for example, tradition, trading relations, degree of kinship and intermarriage, and geographic factors Thus, as illustrating the last named factor, it is to be noted that regions situated on the same stream are never at so deadly enmity as those on opposite sides of a range, are more homogeneous, and have a tradition of co operation But in general it is fairly safe to say, at least, that linguistic differences and outlandishness increase with distance and that tolerance decreases [80]

Nation

A *nation* is a spatial group which is a society.

[KARIERA] The tribe is distinguished from its neighbours by the possession of a name, a language and a defined territory There is no tribal chief, nor any form of tribal government The fights that formerly took place were not wars of one tribe with another, but of one part of one tribe with one part of another, or at times of one part of a tribe with another part of the same tribe Thus there was no unity of the tribe in warfare

As a rough estimate . we may suppose that the tribe consisted of between twenty and twenty-five local groups .

The clans numbered XVIII and XIX are doubtful They lie at the boundary of three tribes, the Kariera, Ngaluma, and Injibandi, and it is impossible to say with certainty to which tribe each clan belongs. Thus I was told more than once that XVIII was "half Ngaluma, half Kariera," and it was sometimes spoken of as a Kariera clan and sometimes Ngaluma In exactly the same way there is some doubt whether XIX is Kariera or Injibandi, or even Ngaluma . The fact is that one tribe is not clearly

[80] R F Barton, *Philippine Pagans*, pp 1–2

For a discussion of regions in the United States, *vide* H W Odum and H E Moore, *American Regionalism* (New York, 1938)

marked off from its neighbours, but there are often near the border a number of local groups that occupy an indeterminate position [90]

BIOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Chapter IV discusses the influence of biological characteristics in the qualifications for roles And in so far as these characteristics are used as criteria in social differentiation, they can be used to categorize together those people who have similar biological characteristics As a result, when the members of a society are put into biological segments, these segments emphasize the similarity in the roles of the members of each segment and the differences in the roles assumed by the members of the different segments Therefore the biological segment acts as a social control by which the qualifications and sets of behavior for each segment's roles, and the reciprocal rights and duties between the roles of the various segments, are reinforced.

Sex-age segments

Our data is pretty much limited to sex-age segments, so far It seems that such segments exist in every society And in so far as the members of such segments have strong solidarity, they are found to have customs of their own—even to the extent of approximating a sub-culture.

[OJIBWA] Traditionally there is a cleavage between the pursuits of men and those of women Men occupy themselves outside of the home they hunt, trap, fish, hold religious performances, and engage in war Women are supposed to stay at home and convert the fruits of hunting and fishing into edibles and clothing, they make the lodge furnishings, do beadwork and porcupine quill work, make twine, fish-nets and bark matting, pick berries, cure sugar and rice with the help of the men, collect medicinal herbs, cook, mend, and bear children Whenever men fulfill their duties creditably, they are lauded In company they tell endless stories about their adventures, for their duties are always "adventures", they hold stag feasts of religious importance after a successful hunt Even the mythology occupies itself with the pursuits and rewards of men The important visions, which men have been driven all their youth to pursue, bestow power for the masculine occupations A successful hunter can parade this fact in ways licensed by his visions, songs that he sings publicly, amulets that are conspicuous and worn in public, charms that he can sell He has also sumptuary privileges, such as polygyny Women's work on the contrary "is spoken

90 Radcliffe-Brown, *op cit*, pp 144–46, 160–61

of neither for good nor for evil" at least in a gathering of men Conventionally it is not judged in any way, it is simply not given any thought Privately, a man may be proud of his wife's handiwork in tanning or bead-weaving, in an unguarded moment he may even explain that these excellences had led him to walk many miles to claim the woman as his wife The women themselves live in a world of values all their own, a world closed to the men Mother and daughters discuss the merits of their work just as men do the merits of theirs, and when the village quarter of the year comes about, the various families visit, and wider groups of women discuss their own interests But these discussions and boasts are not formal, as the men's are, they belong to the level of gossip

In the absence of the men, the women form a closed world where each woman is distinctive, where women's work is valued explicitly, and where women's values are pursued It is completely dissociated from the world of men where women's work is conventionally ignored and where no individual woman is distinctive In the relaxed smoking hours after the hunt and at the feasts, men talk about the "important" things within their experience, about adventures of the hunt and war, quarrels of shamans, metaphysics of the mide rite The women listen and say little In their continuous busy hours, while the men are gone from the lodge, women talk about their important experiences the number and peculiarities of their husbands, the number of their children, the reasons for a case of adultery, the objections to plural marriage, the queerness of some women who war, hunt, and practice seership like men, the merits of individual pieces of work in regard to technique or ingenuity of pattern, sexual aberrations such as illegitimacy, abortion, incest, or suspected homosexuality, the private motives behind interesting actions

From living in the same lodge with the older women, listening to their talk, assisting them, trying to imitate them, the girl learns the duties and also the opportunities of her sex She develops incentives in the women's world that in limited ways parallel the incentives of men in their world Thus excellence of handiwork excites the informal attention of women as widely as the boy's talent in hunting excites the attention of men Other women—relatives, village neighbors, visiting women from distant villages—come for instruction and to place orders, the achievements of a gifted woman set the standards for a region [91]

[UNITED STATES] Some 6,000,000 U S teen-age girls live in a world all their own . It is a world of sweaters and skirts and bobby sox and loafers, of hair worn long, of eye-glass rims painted red with nail polish . It is a world of Vergil's *Aeneid*, second-year French and plane geometry, of class plays, field hockey, "moron" jokes and put-on accents It is a world of slumber parties and the *Hit Parade*, of peanut butter and popcorn and the endless collecting of menus and match covers and little stuffed animals

It is also a world of many laws They are capricious laws, changing or

[91] R Landes, *The Ojibwa Woman* (Columbia U , *Contributions to Anthropology*, 31) (New York, 1938), pp 10–11, 18–19

reversing themselves almost overnight. But while they are in effect, the laws are immutable and the punishment for violation is ostracism, swift and terrifying practice of ancient peoples. Months ago colored bobby sox folded at the top were decreed, not by anyone or any group but, as usual, by a sudden mysterious and universal acceptance of the new idea. Now no teen-ager dares wear anything but pure white sox without a fold. She must not let a beauty parlor do her hair, nor can she wear heavy make-up, too-long fingernails, a hat, stockings or high-heeled shoes. She must not drink, must not neck with boys she does not know well and, above all, she must never do anything too grown-up or too sophisticated.[92]

[MASAI] All those warriors who pass from the novice stage to the warrior stage at the same time—in fact, all those boys circumcised between a single ox-seizing ceremony and the succeeding hair-shaving ceremony—are grouped as members of a single age-group.[93]

The Age-group system plays such a large part in the tribal organization that I will deal with it in detail.

A right-side circumcision is called *E-Murata e tatene* = the circumcision of right. A left-side circumcision is *E-Murata e kedyanye* = the circumcision of left.

Each of these groups is called *Ol poror*, an age-group. Each age-group takes a temporary name soon after circumcision and receives a new one at its *E-Unoto* ceremony. For example, the present age of Purko warriors was called *Il-Tiegi* prior to their *E-Unoto*, when they took the name of *Il-Salaash*.

A right and a left age-group together form a larger group, which I shall refer to as a generation in contradistinction to an age. The term for a generation is *Ol aji*, but it is also often loosely designated as *Ol poror*.

Speaking generally, each section has a different name for its warrior age-groups. The exceptions are (a) Loita and Siria (b) Kabuter,'L Odokilani and Matapato, who respectively share a single *E Unoto* ceremony and therefore have age-names common to their respective groups.

The generation names emanate from the Kissongo in Tanganyika Territory and are common to all the Masai. They are given soon after the warriors of the combined ages have become elders. Thereafter the age-names tend to fall into disuse and be replaced by the generation-name. . . .

Spirit.—The age-group of each section forms one or more *spirit* or companies. Each *spirit* has its Aigwenan, who performs some of the duties of a captain. The word literally means counsellor. One of the captains is considered to have authority over all the age-group as well as his own *spirit*, and he is called *'L-Aigwenan l'ol poror* in contrast to the others who are *'L aigwenak loo spirit*.

As an example of the *spirit* divisions, the Il Kitoip age group of the Purko has three *spirits*—Il-Meshuke, 'L-Aitetti and Il-Kanyara.

[92] Anonymous, "Teen-age girls," *Life*, 17 (1944), no. 24, (pp. 91–99) p. 91. Copyright *Time Inc.*, 1944.

[93] L. S. B. Leakey, "Some notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 60 (1930), (pp. 185–209) p. 191.

When the warriors become elders the *Aigwenak* usually retain their authority

An *Aigewenan* appears to be chosen in the first instance by the elders, but if he proves unsatisfactory the warriors sometimes exert themselves successfully to get him changed [94]

INTEREST

When an activity cannot be carried out by a single individual, it is performed by a group of cooperating or collaborating individuals If the activity is customary, the members of the group tend to be categorized as socially related on the basis of the customary activity which they jointly perform The resulting group is an *association,* and the members of the group are *associates*

[ASHANTI] *Asafo* A union or company of men banded together under a leader, chosen from among their number by popular vote, to compel the recognition of a real or imaginary grievance or to further some plan, good or perhaps bad, upon which all are of one mind; or perhaps again, merely for the purpose of joining together to work in turns for each other, say at cultivating or clearing a plantation

These companies or confederations adopt a leader, as already stated, and assume an emblem or flag, and the confederation is given a name, generally one explaining the *raison d'être* for the amalgamation The following are a few examples of "company" names

Kviriamin, "We hate greediness"

Apesemaka, "We wish to present our grievance"

Apagya, "Strike a light" (with flint and steel) [95]

The political associations that exist in the United States are only a single feature in the midst of the immense assemblage of associations in that country. Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies, in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds, religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive The Americans make associations to give entertainments, to found seminaries, to build inns, to construct churches, to diffuse books, to send missionaries to the antipodes, in this manner they found hospitals, prisons, and schools If it is proposed to inculcate some truth or to foster some feeling by the encouragement of a great example, they form a society. Wherever at the head of some new undertaking you see the government in France, or a man of rank in England, in the United States you will be sure to find an association

As soon as several of the inhabitants of the United States have taken up

[94] D S Fox, "Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony," *ibid*, (pp 447–65) pp. 449–50

[95] Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, pp 45–46

an opinion or a feeling which they wish to promote in the world, they look out for mutual assistance, and as soon as they have found one another out, they combine From that moment they are no longer isolated men, but a power seen from afar, whose actions serve for an example and whose language is listened to The first time I heard in the United States that a hundred thousand men had bound themselves publicly to abstain from spirituous liquors, it appeared to me more like a joke than a serious engagement, and I did not at once perceive why these temperate citizens could not content themselves with drinking water by their own firesides I at last understood that these hundred thousand Americans, alarmed by the progress of drunkenness around them, had made up their minds to patronize temperance They acted in just the same way as a man of high rank who should dress very plainly in order to inspire the humbler orders with a contempt of luxury[96]

CONGENIALITY

In becoming socialized, man acquires a desire for companionship that is satisfied by the process of social interaction itself Under ordinary conditions harmonious social interaction is the most gratifying, and individuals who establish more or less permanent relations for the sake of the harmonious social interaction that exists between them are *comrades* These are divided into two categories, depending upon whether or not they are kin The former are *favored kin* and make up an *affectionate kinship group*, the latter are *friends* and form a *friendship group*

[TROBRIANDS] The real importance of the clan in native imagination and society is illustrated by an interesting linguistic distinction The native word for "friend" is *lubaygu*, signifying "the man with whom I associate from choice, because I like him" . But this word may only be applied to a man's friend from another clan, and it is not only incorrect, but even

[96] A De Tocqueville, *De la democratie en Amérique*, III, Pt 2, Chap 5 (pp 175–76, 181)

One harried American was led to exclaim

"In fact, are not our modern reformers carrying the joke a little too far? They are becoming, it strikes us, a real annoyance The land is overspread with them, and matters have come to such a pass, that a peaceable man can hardly venture to eat or drink, to go to bed or to get up, to correct his children or kiss his wife, without obtaining the permission of some moral or other reform society The individual is bound hand and foot, and delivered up to the sage doctors and sager doctresses, who have volunteered their services in the management of his affairs He has nothing he can call his own, not even his will There is left him no spot, no sanctum, into which some association committee cannot penetrate, and dictate to him what he may do or what he ought to suffer"—O A Brownson, "Ultraism [1838]" pp 108–09, in *Works*, ed H F Brownson (Detroit, 1882–87), XV, pp 107–12

improper, to use it of a kinsman . Thus a twofold scheme in the relations between men is clearly defined linguistically by the two words for friend, one meaning "friend within the barrier," the other "friend across the barrier "[97]

Affectionate kinship group

Little attention has been paid to the affectionate kinship group Yet people in our own society often talk of their favorite parent, sibling, child, etc , and for millennia writers have used the plot of competing relatives who try to ingratiate themselves with a wealthy old person so as to become the favorite kinsman and heir

[JAPAN] "Not only To no Chujo but all his sons were there but Princess Omiya [To no Chujo's mother] would not receive any of them behind her curtains-of-state Sayeman no Kami and Gon Chunagon, who were not her own children but had been born to the late Minister of the Left by another wife, were also in the habit of calling, out of respect to their father's memory, and on this occasion, thinking to please and interest their stepmother, they had brought their little sons with them But the only result was that comparing them in her mind with her favourite Yugiri [her daughter's son], she thought them very ugly, unattractive little boys Yugiri and Kumoi [To no Chujo's daughter], these were the only grandchildren for whom she really cared[98]

It would be important to know just how the rights and duties prescribed by a kinship system are modified by the presence of an affectionate kinship group among some of the kin One aspect of the subject has been described by Malinowski He has shown that that among the matrilineal Trobrianders, where a man's heir is customarily his sister's son, the greater the affection he has for his own son, the more he is led to be generous to the latter at the expense of the former

[TROBRIANDS] Physiological fatherhood is unknown, and no tie of kinship or relationship is supposed to exist between father and child, except that between a mother's husband and the wife's child Nevertheless, the father is by far the nearest and most affectionate friend of his children In ever so many cases, I could observe that when a child, a young boy or girl, was in trouble or sick, when there was a question of someone exposing himself to difficulties or danger for the child's sake, it was always the father who worried, who would undergo all the hardships needed, and never the

[97] Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, p 501

[98] Murasaki shikibu (b 978?), *The Tale of Genji*, tr A Waley (Boston, 1935), p 418

[WESTERN EUROPE] *Vide* Shakespeare, *King Lear*

maternal uncle This state of things is quite clearly recognised and explicitly put into words by the natives In matters of inheritance and handing over of possessions, a man always shows the tendency to do as much for his children as he is able, considering his obligations to his sister's family

It is difficult, in one phrase or two, to epitomise the distinction between the two relations, that between a boy and his maternal uncle, and that between a son and a father The best way to put it shortly might be by saying that the maternal uncle's position of close relation is regarded as right by law and usage, whereas the father's interest and affection for his children are due to sentiment, and to the intimate personal relations existing between them He has watched the children grow up, he has assisted the mother in many of the small and tender cares given to an infant, he has carried the child about, and given it such education as it gets from watching the elder ones at work, and gradually joining in In matters of inheritance, the father gives the children all that he can, and gives it freely and with pleasure, the maternal uncle gives under the compulsion of custom what he cannot withhold and keep for his own children [99]

Friendship group

As far as I know, there is no society without friendship groups and some customary expression of their importance

[CHINA] "On the trees go the blows *chang-chang*,
And the birds cry out *ying-ying*
One issues from the dark valley,
And removes to the lofty tree,
While *ying* goes its cry,
Seeking with its voice its companion
Look at the bird,
Bird as it is, seeking with its voice its companion,
And shall a man
Not seek to have his friends?
Spiritual beings will then hearken to him,
He shall have harmony and peace " [100]

[UNITED STATES] "The soul selects her own society,
Then shuts the door,
On her divine majority
Obtrude no more

Unmoved, she notes the charoit's pausing
At her low gate,
Unmoved, an emperor is kneeling
Upon her mat

99 Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, pp 71–72, *vide idem, Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (New York, 1926), pp 101–11

100 *Shih Ching* [9th–6th cents B C], ed J Legge (*Chinese Classics*, 4) (Hong Kong, 1871), 2 1 5 1

> I've known her from an ample nation
> Choose one,
> Then close the valves of her attention
> Like stone." [101]

In so far as they are related solely through congeniality,[102] the interaction between friends is more harmonious than any other, and as a result the greatest solidarity is found in friendship groups.

[GREECE] Dionysius . . . having fallen from his tyranny and come to Corinth, narrated to us the particulars concerning Phintias and Damon the Pythagoreans, and these were respecting the one being sponsor for the death of the other. But the mode of the suretyship was as follows. He said that certain persons, who were familiar with him, had frequently made mention of the Pythagoreans, defaming and reviling them, calling them arrogant, and asserting that their gravity, their pretended fidelity, and apathy would be laid aside, if any one should cause them to fall into some great calamity. Certain persons however contradicting this, and contention arising on the subject, recourse was had to artifice, and one of the accusers of Phintias said before him, that he evidently conspired with certain others against the life of Dionysius. This also was testified by some that were present, and the charges against Phintias appeared to be very probable. Phintias therefore was astonished at the accusation. But when Dionysius had unequivocally said, that he had accurately explored all these particulars, and that it was necessary that he should die, Phintias replied, that if it appeared requisite to him that this should take place, he requested that he would grant him the remainder of the day, in order that he might settle his own affairs, and also those of Damon. For those men lived together, and had all things in common. Phintias, however, being the elder, the management of the domestic concerns was for the most part undertaken by him. He requested therefore, that Dionysius would suffer him to depart for this purpose, and he would appoint Damon for his surety. Dionysius therefore said that he wondered at the request, and that he asked him whether there was any man who was willing to become security for the death of another. But Phintias asserting that there was, Damon was sent for, who, on hearing what had happened, said that he would become the sponsor, and that he would remain there till Phintias returned. Dionysius therefore said, that he was immediately astonished at these circumstances, but that they who at first introduced the experiment, derided Damon as one who would be caught, and said sneeringly that he would be the vicarious stag. When therefore it was near sunset, Phintias came to die, at which all that were present were astonished and subdued. But Dionysius said, that having embraced and kissed the men, he requested that they would

101 E. Dickinson, *Poems*, p. 8.

102 . . . for both men and women birds of a feather are more likely to flock together than that opposites attract.—F. G. Flemming, "Best friends," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 3 (1932), (pp. 385–89) p. 389.

receive him as the third into their friendship They however would by no means consent to a thing of this kind, though he entreated them to comply with his request [103]

[UNITED STATES] "When a friend asks, there is no tomorrow " [104]

It follows that the friendship relation often overrides all others—even those of kinship

[AKAMBA] Just in the same way as the bonds of natural relationship are very strong and the feeling of affinity within the family (clan) stands out in violent contrast to the old hostility and dissension between the different parts and districts, so does sworn brotherhood unite men with strong bonds If two men wish to become blood-brothers, the preliminary step is the mutual exchange of presents, consisting of beer and goats, which latter they kill and consume together The final and conclusive ceremony consists in their meeting in the hut of one of them a calabash of beer is produced, out of which they alternately take mouthfuls of the liquid, which are then ejected back of the right hand, and sucks the blood which wells forth from the hand of the partner The blood brotherhood is now sealed, and if either of them afterwards breaks it, he will be overtaken by misfortunes and certain death Even if both should tire of the friendship, they cannot sever the bond without incurring calamitous consequences

This relationship seems to be equally binding and to have the same consequences as the natural relationship, of which it is probably an imitation The children of the parties look upon each other, and are looked upon, as brothers and sisters, and may not marry together Two men united by such a bond are under the obligation to render each other mutual help If one of the foster-brothers is a part in a law suit, or if he is charged with some crime, the other appears at the trial, even if he has important affairs of his own to see to For example, if the son of one of them receives a blow at the dancing place—during the dancing, the youths engage in violent rivalry for the favour of the girls, and hence blows are often exchanged—the sons of the other family come to his assistance [105]

[GREECE] "Ah! the old saying again, 'Get friends, not relations only ' For a man whose soul is knit with thine, though he is not of thy kin, is better worth owning as a friend than a whole host of relations " [106]

Historical References

(1) "The human species, though disposed to associate, is disposed to separation also It is ever found in divisions and compartments, under the denomination of families, tribes, nations, or hordes "—A Ferguson, *Principles of Moral and Political Science,* II, p 293

[103] Pythagorean School, D 7, in H Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker,* rev W Kranz (Berlin, 1934–37, 5th ed), tr T Taylor (London, 1926)

[104] W G Smith, *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs,* p 570

[105] Lindblom, *The Akamba,* p 140

[106] Euripides, *Orestes,* pp 804–06

(2) "All the forms thus far discovered resolve themselves, in a comprehensive sense, into two, the *descriptive* and the *classificatory*, which are the reverse of each other in their fundamental conceptions."—L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Smithsonian Institution, *Contributions to Knowledge*, 17. 2 [218]) (Washington, 1870), p. vi, *vide ibid.*, pp. 12–13, 468–70.

(3) "The aim of these lectures is to demonstrate the close connection which exists between methods of denoting relationship or kinship and forms of social organisation, including those based on different varieties of the institution of marriage. In other words, my aim will be to show that the terminology of relationship has been rigorously determined by social conditions."—W. H. R. Rivers, *Kinship and Social Organization* (London School of Economics, *Studies in Economic and Political Science*, 36) (London, 1914), p. 1.

"One who applies a given term of relationship to another person has to behave towards that person in certain definite ways. He has to perform certain duties towards him, and enjoys certain privileges, and is subject to certain restrictions in his conduct in relation to him."—*Ibid.*, p. 12.

(4) "Families may be considered as the elementary forms of society, or establishments the most indispensably necessary to the existence and preservation of the kind."—Ferguson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 27.

(5) " . . . wherever there are considerable social differences, dependent on differences in property and rank, it is principally the wealthy or the aristocratic man who possesses many wives."—W. M. Wundt, *Elemente der Volkerpsychologie* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 44, tr. E. L. Schaub (London, 1916).

(6) "There are two alternatives, either for the wife to remain in her own home, or to be taken by her husband to his home, according to which of these customs prevails, the family will be prone to become maternal or paternal."—E. B. Tylor, "The matriarchal family system," *Nineteenth Century*, 40 (1896), (pp. 81–96) pp. 93–94.

(7) " . . . let us picture a corporate group, exclusive and, in theory at least, rigorously hereditary. It possesses a certain traditional and independent organization, a chief and a council, and as occasion demands it meets in assemblies endowed with more or less full authority. Often united in the celebration of certain festivals, it is further bound together by common customs which bear more especially upon marriage, food, and various cases of impurity. Finally, it is armed, in order to assure its authority, with a jurisdiction of fairly wide extent, capable by the infliction of certain penalties, especially by banishment, either absolute or revocable, enforcing the power of the community. Such, briefly, is the caste system as it appears to us.

"We are in the presence of an hereditary organization, marriage laws therefore must and do occupy the first place in its mechanism. This is so striking that some writers have been led to represent the rules and restrictions concerning it as the very essence of the caste—an exaggeration, but a significant one."—E. Senart, *Les castes dans l'Inde* (Paris, 1896), pp. 23, 25, tr. E. D. Ross (London, 1930).

(8) "[In India] the members of a caste not only have their own special

objects of worship . . . but they exclusively eat together and exclusively intermarry You will see at once that a solidity is thus given to all groups of men which has no counterpart in the Western world, and you can understand, I think, without difficulty, how it is that all the old natural elements of society have been preserved under the influence of caste in extraordinary completeness, along with the institutions and ideas which are their appendages"—H S Maine, *Village-Communities in the East and West* [1871] (New York, 1876, 3rd ed), pp 219–20

(9) " in a great town friends are scattered, so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods"—F Bacon, *Essays*, "Of friendship"

XIV

POLITICS

Chapter XIII concerned itself with the customary ways in which people are related to one another Now we focus our attention on the customary ways in which related people come to act collectively

The process of social interaction itself produces a tendency to conformity in the behavior of the participants

the evaluation and comparison of stimuli, has been subjected experimentally to the group influence In the first study of this sort the writer used judgments of pleasantness or unpleasantness of odors . . The unpleasant odors were estimated as *less unpleasant* in the group than when judging alone, and the pleasant were estimated as *less pleasant* in the group than in the solitary judgments

The entire experiment was repeated using series of weights instead of odors When judging in the group the heavier weights were judged as lighter than when judging alone; and the lighter weights were judged as heavier

A social attitude of considerable importance is here revealed Barring individual exceptions (a few of which were found in the experiments described), there is a basic human tendency to temper one's opinions and conduct by deference to the opinions and conduct of others In the writer's experiment all discussion was prohibited The individuals were aware that their judgments would not be compared and that there was no possible advantage in adhering in their reactions to an imagined group average Yet the mere proximity and co-working of other persons were stimuli which sufficed to evoke this modified form of response To think and to judge with others is to submit one's self unconsciously to their standards We may call this the *attitude of social conformity* [1]

[1] F H Allport, *Social Psychology* (Boston, 1924), pp 271–78.

But this holds true only within certain limits. Customary ways for achieving a still greater degre of conformity are necessary in most cases of group adjustment.

In the first place, the members of a group may have different opinions as to how they should act, and if each were to go his own way they would be at sixes and sevens and never get anywhere So if people are to act effectively as a group, they have to have some means of determining group *policy*, i e., deciding upon a collective goal and means of achieving it In the second place, once the question of group policy is settled, the members have to coordinate their behavior in order that the policy can be put into effect The *polity* of a group, then, is the body of customs by which the group decides upon (*determination*) and carries out (*execution*) a policy (1)

This determination and execution of group policy takes place through a process of social interaction At this point it should be recalled that by definition, social interaction involves a certain amount of reciprocal influence between the acts composing it. It follows, therefore, that the social interaction occurring in the determination and execution of group policy produces some mutual modification in the acts of the participants As a result, the collective action of the group tends to be somewhat different from the actions of the individual members of that group when taken separately

When the social acts involved in the interaction are on a parity in their effects, the members of the group are in a relation of *equality*, and all the members of the group contribute uniformly to the determination and execution of policy But if the social acts of some become the dominant stimulus, so that the influences of the others are minimal, a *domination-subordination* relation exists Those who preponderantly influence the actions of others in the process of social interaction are *dominant*, while those whose actions are thus influenced become *subordinate* (2)

> [ASHANTI] "No one sends a child on an errand and looks to see if he is pleased or not." . . .
>
> "Between master and slave there is no 'pull and let me pull' (no striving for the mastery) " [2]

Domination and subordination can arise on a number of grounds, so it may simplify matters to start with a table. (3)

[2] R S Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 356, 462

KINDS OF DOMINATION AND SUBORDINATION

GROUND	BASIS FOR DOMINATION	BASIS FOR SUBORDINATION
1. Formulation	Aptness of program	Concurrence
2. Prestige	Status	Emulation
3 Affection	Object of admiration	Accedence
4. Authority	Role	Deference
5 Coercion	Power	Submission

1. A *formulator* is one who has an apt program [3] which seems adequate for organizing and directing the disorganized and random behavior of the group. (4)

[CHINA] "To that which agrees with our own opinions we assent, from that which does not we dissent We regard that which agrees with our own opinion as right We regard that which differs from our opinion as wrong " [4]

[UNITED STATES] "New York in the nineties was about what Tennessee is nowadays, a provincial, moral community with a conscience, to which Dr Parkhurst and the reformers could appeal, as they did, with fine blind faith . Everybody knew what was bad; our city government was bad We knew that in a general way, and Dr Parkhurst was making our vague sense of evil acutely definite by the simplest sort of moral revelation and reasoning . .

"Bribery was the answer to all our questions, and bribery was wrong Wasn't it?

"Dr Parkhurst's constructive ideas were as simple and moral as his charges, which he continued to deliver with force and effect His analysis of his facts was that, since only bad men would take bribes and since the Tammany police and political officers not only accepted but exacted them, our government was bad because there were bad men in office And the cure was to discharge the bad men and elect good men That expressed our popular mind " [5]

2 In domination based on prestige, the individual has a high social status which also tends to adhere to his proposals The subordinates, in trying to emulate him, accept his program

. certain attitudes can be easily and suddenly changed by a manipulation of the prestige element [6]

[ASHANTI] "When you are a poor man, you remain at home and do not mix in public affairs

"When a poor man makes a proverb, it does not spread abroad . .

[3] A *program* is a proposed policy

[4] *Chuang tzŭ*, 27 (p 363)

[5] L. Steffens, *Autobiography*, pp 217–19

[6] C E Arnett *et al*, "Prestige as a factor in attitude changes," *Sociology and*

"The rich man is the elder (i e, man of importance whose words carry weight in council)" [7]

3 The program of a favorite is accepted by his admirers because their liking diffuses to the things he does, as well as because they want to please him (5)

[HAUSA] " a man will always prefer to believe those that are dear to him first" [8]

[UNITED STATES] dogmatic statements are more likely to have greater verbal acceptance when they are attributed to well liked personages than in the situations in which they are attributed to disliked people [9]

4 An *authority* is one whose program is accepted by virtue of his social role Two kinds of roles enter in here One is that of the *expert* Other things being equal, people who are ignorant about something are willing to accept the proposal of someone they feel is in a position to know (6)

[IGLULIK ESKIMO] [They] tacitly follow the counsel or steps of the most active seal-catcher on their hunting excursions [10]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "When the obscurity of things perplexes us, we follow a twofold path reason, or at least, authority" [11]

The other authoritarian role is that of the *official* He makes his proposal, and the others accept it, as part of the rights and duties involved in their respective roles

[UNITED STATES] "If the president of our club asks us to do something, we usually do it even if we don't feel like it You ask why? Oh, well, I guess it's because someone has to give the orders if we're to get things done, and that's his business as president"

5 A *coercer* is one who forces others to accept his program He is able to do so because he can apply sanctions to them, rewarding the amenable and punishing the recalcitrant

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Social Research, 16 (1931–32), (pp 49–55) p 54, *vide* F Aveling and H L Hargreaves, "Suggestibility with and without prestige in children," *British Journal of Psychology,* 12 (1921–22), pp 53–75, G H Estabrooks, "Experimental studies in suggestion," *Journal of Genetic Psychology,* 36 (1929), pp 120–39

[7] Rattray, *op cit*, 615, 631, 618

[8] F W Taylor and A G G Webb, *Customs of the Hausas,* p 83

[9] M Saadi and P R Farnsworth, "The degrees of acceptance of dogmatic statements and preferences for their supposed makers," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 29 (1934–35), (pp 143–50) p 150

[10] W E Parry, *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North West Passage* (London, 1821–25), p 534

[11] Augustine, *De ordine,* 2 5 16

[XOSA] The authority of a parent lasts over his children so long as they remain with him. He may inflict corporal punishment, but has not the power of life and death, and is fined for inflicting permanent injuries to their persons, such as causing the loss of an eye or a tooth, or breaking a limb.[12]

[UNITED STATES] "The capitalist represents power over those social values that are tangible and obvious enough to have a definite standing in the market. His money and prestige will command food, houses, clothes, tools and all conventional and standard sorts of personal service, from lawn-mowing to the administration of a railroad, not genius or love or anything of that nature. That wealth means social power of this coarser sort is apparent in a general way, and yet merits a somewhat closer examination.

"We have, first, its immediate power over goods and services: the master of riches goes attended by an invisible army of potential servitors, ready to do for him anything that the law allows, and often more. He is in this way, as in so many others, the successor of the nobleman of medieval and early modern history, who went about with a band of visible retainers eager to work his will upon all opposers. He is the ruler of a social system wherever he may be.

"The political power of wealth is due only in part to direct corruption, vast as that is, but is even more an indirect and perfectly legal pressure in the shape of inducements which its adroit use can always bring to bear—trade to the business man, practice to the lawyer and employment to the handworker. every one when he thinks of his income wishes to conciliate the rich. Influence of this sort makes almost every rich man a political power, even without his especially wishing to be. But when wealth is united to a shrewd and unscrupulous political ambition, when it sets out to control legislation or the administration of the laws, it becomes truly perilous. We cannot fail to see that a large part of our high offices are held by men who have no marked qualification but wealth, and would be insignificant without it; also that our legislation—municipal, state and national—and most of our administrative machinery, feel constantly the grasp of pecuniary power. Probably it is not too much to say that except when public opinion is unusually aroused wealth can generally have its way in our politics if it makes an effort to do so.

"As to the influence of the rich over the professional classes—lawyers, doctors, clergymen, teachers, civil and mechanical engineers and the like—we may say in general that it is potent but somewhat indirect, implying not conscious subservience but a moral ascendency through habit and suggestion. The abler men of this sort are generally educated and self-respecting, have a good deal of professional spirit and are not wholly dependent upon any one employer. At the same time, they get their living largely through the rich, from whom the most lucrative employment comes, and who have many indirect ways of making and marring careers. The ablest men in the legal profession are in close relations with the rich and commonly become capitalists themselves; physicians are more independent, because their art

[12] C. Brownlee, "Notes," p. 118, in *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, ed. J. Maclean (Mount Coke, 1858), pp. 110–27.

is not directly concerned with property, yet look to wealthy patients for their most profitable practice, clergymen are under pressure to satisfy wealthy parishioners, and teachers must win the good will of the opulent citizens who control educational boards.

"Now there is nothing in social psychology surer than that if there is a man by whose good will we desire to profit, we are likely to adapt our way of thinking to his. Impelled to imagine frequently his state of mind, and to desire that it should be favorable to our aims, we are unconsciously swayed by his thought, the more so if he treats us with a courtesy which does not alarm our self-respect. It is in this way that wealth imposes upon intellect. Who can deny it?

"Newspapers are generally owned by men of wealth, which has no doubt an important influence upon the sentiments expressed in them, but a weightier consideration is the fact that they depend for profit chiefly upon advertisements, the most lucrative of which come from rich merchants who naturally resent doctrines that threaten their interest. Of course the papers must reach the people, in order to have a value for advertising or any other purpose, and this requires adaptation to public opinion, but the public of what are known as the better class of papers are chiefly the comparatively well-to do. And even that portion of the press which aims to please the hand-working class is usually more willing to carry on a loud but vague agitation, not intended to accomplish anything but increase circulation, than to push real and definite reform.

"All phases of opinion, including the most earnest and honest inquiry into social questions, finds some voice in print, but—leaving aside times when public opinion is greatly aroused—those phases that are backed by wealthy interests have a great advantage in the urgency, persistence and cleverness with which they are presented. At least, this has been the case in the past. It is a general feeling of thoughtful men among the hand-working class that it is hard to get a really fair statement of their view of industrial questions from that portion of the newspaper and magazine press that is read by well-to-do people. The reason seems to be mainly that the writers live unconsciously in an atmosphere of upper class ideas from which they do not free themselves by thorough inquiry. Besides this, there is a sense of what their readers expect, and also, perhaps, a vague feeling that the sentiments of the hand-working class may threaten public order.

"The power of wealth over public sentiment is exercised partly through sway over the educated classes and the press, but also by the more direct channel of prestige. Minds of no great insight, that is to say the majority, mould their ideals from the spectacle of visible and tangible success. In a commercial epoch this pertains to the rich, who consequently add to the other sources of their influence power over the imagination. Millions accept the money-making ideal who are unsuited to attain it, and run themselves out of breath and courage in a race they should never have entered; it is as if the thin-legged and flat-chested people of the land should seek glory in football. The money-game is mere foolishness and mortification for most of us, and there is a madness of the crowd in the way we enter into it. Even those who most abuse the rich commonly show mental sub-

servience in that they assume that the rich have, in fact, gotten what is best worth having." [13]

Determination of policy

When the social acts of the members of the group have equivalent effects, the participants are equally influential in the determination of policy.

[UNITED STATES]

"He was my host, he was my guest,
I never to this day
If I invited him could tell
Or he invited me.

So infinite our interview,
So intimate indeed,
Analysis like capsule seemed
To keeper of the seed." [14]

In a domination-subordination relation, the one who is most influential in determining group policy is the *leader*, and his subordinates are his *followers*.

[XOSA] The councils of the confederated Caffer chiefs were . . . directed by an extraordinary individual . . . Makanna. He had been originally a Caffer of common rank, and without any claim to alliance with the line of Toguh, which, with the exception of the Konga family, constitutes the noble blood of the Amakosa tribe, but by his talents and address he had gradually raised himself to distinction. . . . he was in the habit of frequently visiting the British head quarters at Graham's Town, and had evinced an insatiable curiosity and an acute intellect on such subjects as fell under his observation. . . . Combining what he had learned respecting . . . Christian doctrines, with some of the superstitious traditions of his countrymen and with his own wild fancies, he framed a sort of extravagant religious medley, and . . . boldly announced himself as a prophet and teacher directly inspired from Heaven. He endeavoured to throw around his obscure origin a cloud of religious mystery, and called himself "the brother of Christ." In his usual demeanour he assumed a reserved, solemn, and abstracted air, and kept himself aloof from observation, but in addressing the people, who flocked in multitudes to hear him, he appeared to pour forth his soul in a flow of affecting and impetuous eloquence. My friend Mr. Read, the missionary, who visited him in Cafferland in 1816, describes his appearance as exceedingly imposing, and his influence both over chiefs and common people as most extraordinary.

By degrees he gained a complete control over all the principal chiefs, with the exception of Gaika, who feared and hated him. He was consulted

[13] C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, pp. 268–72.

[14] E. Dickinson, *Bolts of Melody*, ed. M. L. Todd and M. T. Bingham (New York, 1945), p. 153. Published by Harper & Brothers. Copyright, 1945, by Millicent Todd Bingham.

on every matter of consequence, received numerous gifts, collected a large body of retainers, and was acknowledged as a warrior-chief as well as a prophet

[After] the unexpected invasion of the country by the English troops in 1818 . by which Makanna's followers, in common with the other confederate clans, had suffered most cruelly, his whole soul seems to have been bent upon revenging the aggressions of the colonists, and emancipating his country from their domination He saw that this was not be effected by mere marauding incursions, such as had always hitherto characterised Caffer warfare The great difficulty was to concentrate the energies of his countrymen, and bring them to attempt a decisive blow, and this he at length effected He told them that he was sent by Uhlanga, the Great Spirit, to avenge their wrongs, that he had power to call up from the grave the spirits of their ancestors to assist them in the battle against the English . . whom they should drive, before they stopped, across the Zwartkops river and into the ocean "and then," said the prophet, "we will sit down and eat honey!" . . they were led on by their various chiefs, but all under the general direction of the prophet himself, and the chief captain, Dushani . . [toward] Graham's Town The Caffers rushed on to the assault with their wild war-cries . in order to rush in upon the [English] troops, according to Makanna's directions, and decide the battle in close combat. This was very different from their usual mode of bush-fighting, but the suggestion of it evinces Makanna's judgement, for if promptly and boldly acted upon, it could not have failed of success . [However, the amaXosa were finally defeated, and] wild panic and irretrievable rout ensued Makanna, after vainly attempting to rally them, accompanied their flight .

This formidable attempt, altogether unprecedented in Caffer warfare, alarmed the Colonial Government, and awakened all its vengeance The villages of the hostile clans were burnt, their cattle carried off, their fields of maize and millet trodden down, and the inhabitants of all classes, driven into the thickets, were there bombarded with grape-shot and congreve-rockets Dispirited by their late failure, defeated in every attempt at resistance, their women and helpless old people often slaughtered with the armed men, their principal chiefs —above all, their prophet, Makanna, —denounced as "outlaws," and the inhabitants threatened with utter extermination if they did not deliver them up "dead or alive", the Caffer people yet remained faithful to their chiefs Among the multitudes now driven to despair, and perishing for want, not one was found willing to earn the high reward offered for their apprehension by the conquerors

The course adopted by Makanna under these circumstances was remarkable, and gives a higher idea of his character than any other part of his history that has become known to us He resolved to surrender himself as a hostage for his country, and . . . that chief walked unattended into the [English] camp with an air of calm pride and self-possession which commanded involuntary respect . . [Then] said the African chief, with a magnanimity which would have done honour to a Greek or Roman patriot, "people say that I have occasioned the war let me see whether my delivering myself up to the conquerors will restore peace to my country"

. [He did not succeed] in obtaining a reprieve for his countrymen, who were still sternly called upon to deliver up those who had been outlawed by the Cape Government. All efforts, however, to get possession of the persons of the other chiefs were unavailing even treachery is said to have been tried in vain After plundering the country, therefore, of all cattle that could yet be found, and leaving devastation and misery behind them, our "Christian commando" retired into the colony, without gaining the object from which the war was professedly commenced—but with an additional spoil of about 30,000 head of cattle captured from the famishing and despairing natives

Meanwhile, the treatment and fate of Makanna were briefly as follows By order of the Colonial Government, he was forwarded by sea to Cape Town, there confined as a prisoner in the common gaol, and finally, with others of his countrymen guilty of no other offence than fighting for their native land against its *civilised* invaders, he was condemned to be imprisoned for life on Robben Island—the Botany Bay of the Cape—a spot appropriated for the custody of convicted felons, rebellious slaves, and other malefactors, doomed to work in irons in the slate quarries After remaining about a year in this wretched place, Makanna, with a few followers, Caffers and slaves, from among the inmates of that house of bondage, over whom he had acquired his characteristic ascendancy, rose upon the guard, overpowered and disarmed them, then, seizing a boat, he placed his adherents in it, and would, in all probability, have effected his escape with them, but by some mischance the overloaded pinnace, in which he was the last man to embark, was upset, in attempting to land on the iron-bound coast, and the unfortunate African chief was drowned Several of his companions who escaped relate that Makanna clung for some time to a rock, and that his deep sonorous voice was heard loudly cheering on those who were struggling with the billows, until he was swept off and engulfed by the raging surf

Mr Kay, who lately resided several years in Cafferland, states, in his recent work, that such was the universal belief in Makanna's preternatural powers and character among his countrymen, that many of them would give no credit to the accounts of his death, and still confidently expected his return among them [15]

The customary procedures that are used in determining policy vary with the nature of the group In relatively small groups whose culture is homogeneous, and especially in the case of the primary group, the social interaction is usually informal and a decision is reached when consensus occurs

[WESTERN EUROPE] The Commune is, in fact, a living institution, whose spontaneous vitality enables it to dispense with the assistance and guidance

[15] T Pringle, *African Sketches* (London, 1834), pp 428–38

For the United States, *vide* N W Stephenson and W H. Dunn, *George Washington* (New York, 1940)

of the written law, and its constitution is thoroughly democratic The Elder represents merely the executive power The real authority resides in the Assembly, of which all Heads of Households are members

The simple procedure, or rather the absence of all formal procedure, at the Assemblies, illustrates admirably the essentially practical character of the institution The meetings are held in the open air, because in the village there is no building—except the church, which can be used only for religious purposes—large enough to contain all the members, and they almost always take place on Sundays or holidays, when the peasants have plenty of leisure Any open space may serve as a Forum The discussions are occasionally very animated, but there is rarely any attempt at speech-making If any young member should show an inclination to indulge in oratory, he is sure to be unceremoniously interrupted by some of the older members, who have never any sympathy with fine talking The assemblage has the appearance of a crowd of people who have accidentally come together and are discussing in little groups subjects of local interest Gradually some one group, containing two or three peasants who have more moral influence than their fellows, attracts the others, and the discussion becomes general Two or more peasants may speak at a time, and interrupt each other freely—using plain, unvarnished language, not at all parliamentary—and the discussion may become a confused, unintelligible din, but at the moment when the spectator imagines that the consultation is about to be transformed into a free fight, the tumult spontaneously subsides, or perhaps a general roar of laughter announces that someone has been successfully hit by a strong *argumentum ad hominem,* or biting personal remark In any case there is no danger of the disputants coming to blows .

Theoretically speaking, the Village Parliament has a Speaker, in the person of the Village Elder The word Speaker is etymologically less objectionable than the term President, for the personage in question never sits down, but mingles in the crowd like the ordinary members Whatever we may call him, the Elder is officially the principal personage in the crowd, and wears the insignia of office in the form of a small medal suspended from his neck by a thin brass chain His duties, however, are extremely light To call to order those who interrupt the discussion is no part of his functions If he calls an honourable member "Durak" (blockhead), or interrupts an orator with a laconic "Moltchi!" (hold your tongue!), he does so in virtue of no special prerogative, but simply in accordance with a time-honoured privilege, which is equally enjoyed by all present, and may be employed with impunity against himself Indeed, it may be said in general that the phraseology and the procedure are not subjected to any strict rules The Elder comes prominently forward only when it is necessary to take the sense of the meeting On such occasions he may stand back a little from the crowd and say, "Well, orthodox, have you decided so?" and the crowd will probably shout, "Ladno! ladno!" that is to say, "Agreed! agreed!"

Communal measures are generally carried in this way by acclamation, but it sometimes happens that there is such a diversity of opinion that it

is difficult to tell which of the two parties has a majority In this case the Elder requests the one party to stand to the right and the other to the left The two groups are then counted, and the minority submits, for no one ever dreams of opposing openly the will of the *Mir* [16]

The peasants are accustomed to work together in this way, to make concessions for the Communal welfare, and to bow unreservedly to the will of the *Mir* I know of many instances where the peasants have set at defiance the authority of the police, of the provincial governor, and of the central Government itself, but I have never heard of any instance where the will of the *Mir* was openly opposed by one of its members [17]

The Assembly discusses all matters affecting the Communal welfare, and, as these matters have never been legally defined, its recognised competence is very wide It fixes the time for making the hay, and the day for commencing the ploughing of the fallow field, it decrees what measures shall be employed against those who do not punctually pay their taxes, it decides whether a new member shall be admitted into the Commune, and whether an old member shall be allowed to change his domicile, it gives or withholds permission to erect new buildings on the Communal land, it prepares and signs all contracts which the Commune makes with one of its own members or with a stranger, it interferes whenever it thinks necessary in the domestic affairs of its members, it elects the Elder—as well as the Communal tax-collector and watchman, where such offices exist—and the Communal herdboy, above all, it divides and allots the Communal land among the members as it thinks fit [18]

[UNITED STATES] "For a good many years I have sat on boards of trustees and boards of directors Except for the balloting of elections to self-perpetuating bodies, I can recall but few cases of formal voting in the hundreds of such meetings I have attended Sometimes there is a rapid mental appraisal of positions which makes formal balloting unnecessary or inexpedient, but generally there is another reason for this absence of formality

"As a rule the process of reaching a decision which characterizes small groups of experienced administrators, while it is very informal, is nevertheless a very complex process As a discussion proceeds there is a constant weighing of what is said, as well as of the intelligence, judgment, experience, motives and interests of the speakers Sometimes the silence of one or more of the group is more eloquent than anything which is spoken Gradually there tends to emerge a dominant weight of opinion which is recognized by the group as a whole, becomes the consensus of judgment, and takes form as the decision is reached Sometimes this decision grows out of the general give and take of discussion, sometimes it represents the opinion of a single person who is especially well qualified to appraise the issue" [19]

[16] D M Wallace, *Russia* (New York, 1905, rev ed), pp 115–17.

[17] *Ibid*, p 123

[18] *Ibid*, pp 118–19

[19] A E Morgan, "Vitality and formalism in government," *Social Forces*, 13 (1934–35), (pp 1–6) p 1

And even when no real consensus can be achieved, the informal social controls are usually strong enough to bring about outward agreement

the Zuni in their civil council adhere to the universal Indian principle that no decision is arrived at until complete unanimity of opinion, or at least of expression, is attained I have the impression that this principle is prevented from degenerating into paralyzed inefficiency by a strong impulse to defer to general sentiment A fractional minority may voice its opinion at the outset, but will not directly press its contention once the tide has definitely turned against it, no matter how grave the issue, so that in practice the requisite unanimity is almost invariably obtained[20]

[UNITED STATES] [Juries must be unanimous] "I was on the jury in the P—— trial To me, he was not guilty But the others all said, 'Yes, he is' Boy, did they put the heat on me! They really gave me the works 'Everybody knows he's a son-of-a-bitch and a low-down crook, do you want to see him go free?' 'Don't be a stubborn jackass,' 'If you keep on being so damned bull-headed there'll have to be a new trial and we'll have wasted our time,' 'Nobody'll have anything to do with you if you're so pig-headed' Well, I finally gave in"

In a secondary group, and particularly if the culture is heterogeneous, the social interaction tends to be ceremonial, and the decision reached is based upon the program of the dominant segment

[THONGA] the headman *presides over all the discussions* which take place in the village He is the master of the hubo. The discussion can be conducted in three different places when it deals with a secret matter, the men go *inside the hut* they debate the matter indoors The private questions affecting the life of the village are generally settled there Questions discussed with strangers and those regarding which there is no secrecy, and in which everybody can take part, are discussed *on the central square*, on the "hubo" *Hubo* means the square and also the council of men of the village which the headman summons there to settle matters Should they be able to come to an agreement together or with their visitors who have come to bring a claim, the matter is "cut" . viz, "ended" In the opposite case, when they disagree altogether, the question will be carried to a third place, before the *hubo of the chief*, at the capital

Everybody is welcome to take part in the discussions except women. As a rule men speak as little as possible with women on these matters If a husband has a sensible, discreet wife, he may ask her advice But if he has agreed with his companions on a point and changes his mind after having spoken with his wife, he will be severely blamed and accused of "spoiling the village"

[20] A L Kroeber, *Zuni Kin and Clan*, p 181

The *chief* makes the laws . and presides at discussions which end in a resolution But his counsellors assist him

Here is an example of such a decision taken at Maphunga's court There was no uniformity as to the money to be paid for a lobolo ["bride price"], and some fathers claimed as much as £20 or £30 for their daughters The great counsellors of the capital decided . . that a lobolo should be £15 10 at the maximum . with the assent of the chief Then all the sub-chiefs and counsellors were summoned to the capital The chief called the roll to ascertain if they were all present The great counsellor then said to the assembly "The herds which people claim are too large Have you gold mines and do you know how to cast coins? Henceforth do not lobola with too much money £15 10 is quite enough!" Every sub-chief, on his return home, called his men and informed them of the decision " Such are the matters!" said they Men were disappointed They wept! But they had to accept the decision To oppose it is taboo! . .

A *native debate* or discussion is conducted on very different lines from those to which we are generally accustomed, nothing ever being put to the vote The chief presides A proposition is put forward in short sentences, generally interrogative, by one of the counsellors The assembly listens in silence until the mover concludes with an energetic "Ahina," being the equivalent of "that's all right" Another individual elaborates the matter proposed, saying "Have you not heard what he said? He said so and so" This is the way of seconding the motion The debate proceeds, and, little by little, the objections are brought forward and the assembly comes to a decision

It often happens that the chief does not say a word when he sees that the counsellors are agreed and he has no objection, he merely shows his assent by nodding the head So the decision is arrived at without his intervention and without any vote being taken The voice of the majority has not been ascertained by any show of hands but it is generally perceived by intuition in a very remarkable way, and grave counsellors, who have been squatting in a circle all through the discussion, jump to their feet and disperse, knowing perfectly well what has been decided If however the counsellors do not agree, they put the matter in the hand of the chief, and the chief, after having listened to the arguments pro and con, "cuts the matter" . by some short sentences, after which everybody must shout the royal salutation "Bayete!"

When there are two parties present the debate is conducted according to other rules For instance, if a stranger wants to have speech with a chief or to proffer some request, he is generally accompanied by a counsellor The chief, together with some of his men, receives him either in the hut, if the matter must be secret, or on the square, if there is no objection to make it public The chief and his men sit on one side, the visitor on the other, if he wishes to conform strictly to all the laws of etiquette, he will first explain the matter to his own Agent General, who will communicate with the chief's special counsellor, repeating the words of the visitor, sentence by sentence, the counsellor will, in his turn, communicate with the chief, again telling him the whole story, as if he had not heard a word

of it before The affair will thus have passed through three hands and the answer should, in due formality, be sent through the same channels [21]

Execution of policy

If a group is engaged in routine adjustments, i e , if all the members of the group know the kind of action necessary in a situation, behave accordingly, and are able to anticipate each other's acts, they participate *freely*

[LEPCHA] . . re-thatching [of a house] needs doing at least once every seven years . When all the material has been collected the house-owner decides on a day for the re-thatching and informs all his friends and neighbours

For such a piece of work as this helpers arrive all through the day and set about doing whatever job they consider necessary at the moment, without consultation or instruction, and often without much relation to what the other workers are doing Men, women, and children all work together, and the task proceeds in a rather haphazard fashion, to the accompaniment of a constant fire of jokes, most of them obscene When the work is finished all those who have helped are given a feast [22]

[UNITED STATES] When the chores are known in a family, each may pitch in and do his share without having to be directed

However, if the group is not acting routinely, i e , in situations where the members do not know how to act, cannot anticipate each other's behavior, or both, a *director* is usually found who is the one most influential in assigning tasks to the participants, the others are his *subordinates*

[TONGA] All the people of a village contribute toward the building of the chief's house under the direction of a single *tufunga* [skilled artisan]

Communal fishing (*pola*) in Tonga is practiced on a large scale In a seaside community a *toutai* [fisherman], to whom the special name of *pulepola* (ruler of the *pola*) is applied, organizes the fishing He gets a number of men (*kauleo*) to assist him in supplying of materials and constructing the apparatus In a *pola* held near Nukualofa on February 12, 1921, about forty of these men directed the activities of more than a thousand people [23]

[UNITED STATES] "*Foreman* Supervises a group of workmen engaged

[21] H A Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, I, pp 301–02, 407–09

[UNITED STATES] For the customs involved in "parliamentary procedure," *vide* H M Robert, *Rules of Order* [1876] (Chicago, 1915, rev ed)

[22] G Gorer, *Himalayan Village*, pp. 73–74

[23] E W Gifford, *Tongan Society* (B P Bishop Museum, *Bulletins*, 61) (Honolulu, 1929), pp 115–46

chiefly in one craft interprets blueprints, sketches, written or verbal orders, determines procedure of work, assigns duties to craftsmen and inspects their work for quality and quantity, maintains harmony among workers May keep time, production, and other clerical records, employ, train, and discharge workers, assist subordinates during emergencies or as a regular assigned duty . . set-up or inspect equipment preparatory to regular operations, and perform related duties of supervisory or minor administrative nature. Must be skilled in the particular craft in which he functions "[24]

Participation

Though all societies have a policy, they vary in the extent to which their members have a voice in the proceedings For instance, all, or only some, of the members of the group may participate in determining policy A *democracy* is a polity in which all the members of the group participate

[UNITED STATES] "Me and my friends have the —— Social Club We have dances, parties, shows, and outings. Here's how we work Someone makes a motion we should do something If we think it's OK, we vote for it If it's NG, we vote against it. Any member can make a motion, and everyone there votes"

An *oligarchy* is a polity in which only some members of the group are allowed to have a voice in policy determination All the different kinds of social relations which were mentioned in Chapter XIII are used as the bases for oligarchical segments kinship (*aristocracy*), locality (*imperialism*), biological characteristics such as sex (*androcracy*[25]) and age (*gerontocracy*), etc

[24] U S Employment Service, *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, I, p 382

[25] So far as is known, there has never been a gynocracy, the nearest thing to it occurred among the Iroquois

The judicial and executive powers of the Iroquois Confederacy were vested in a body of fifty chiefs Of these nine came from the Mohawk, nine from the Oneida, fourteen from the Onondaga, ten from the Cayuga, and eight from the Seneca These chiefs must be strictly distinguished from the warrior chiefs who were elected whenever occasion required, whose office was not hereditary, and whose powers expired with the termination of the raid or other military undertaking which had brought them into being In the case of the fifty civil chiefs the elective and hereditary principles were curiously combined Every chief was associated with a clan—although not every clan was represented by a chief, but the hereditary right to elect a chief belonged to a smaller unit, the maternal family . . or a body of persons united by the ties of consanguinity Small genealogies collected with this special point in view, show clearly the extent of the elective principle within these small social bodies There seems to have been

[TROBRIANDS] Every village community "belongs to" or is "owned by" one such sub clan, and the eldest male is the headman of the village When the sub clan is of highest rank, its oldest male not only is headman of his

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no age limit to the office of a chief, but an aged chief feeling his power waning, would of his own accord resign, leaving his place free to be filled by a younger man When a man was made chief, he laid aside his individual name and assumed a chief's name, which was his while he continued to be chief and then passed on to his successor, and so on ad infinitum Every chief's name had a definite place in the set of chiefs' names, and at condolence ceremonies, when the names were recited, the fixed order was strictly adhered to The differences of rank probably once associated with these names cannot now be clearly discerned, except in the case of a few names

When a chief died, the women of his tribe and clan held a meeting at which a candidate for the vacant place was decided upon A woman delegate carried the news to the chiefs of the clans which belonged to the "side" of the deceased chief's clan They had the power to veto the selection, in which case another women's meeting was called and another candidate selected Usually, however, the first choice of the women was confirmed by the chiefs of the opposite "side" Thereupon the candidacy was carried to the Confederate Council to be ratified, first by the Confederate phratry of the deceased, then by the opposite phratry This was followed by a public condolence ceremony in the course of which the chief was formally "raised," instructed in the rights and duties of his office, and adorned with the horns of the deer, the symbol of his high station The condolence ceremony is fully described in the Deganawida myth

The participation of the women in the procedure did not end there The woman delegate, the same who had carried the announcement of the candidate to the chiefs, had to keep close watch over the ways and actions of the young chief If he displayed an inclination to deviate from the accepted code of behavior, the woman delegate appeared before him and tried to persuade him to desist from his evil practices If after a time she discovered that her appeal had no effect, she repeated the visit If that also proved of no avail, she was joined by a warrior chief of her clan, and together they made a last attempt to induce the chief to reform If their efforts proved unsuccessful, the woman delegate called a meeting of the women of her clan and publicly denounced the chief The impeachment then passed through the various bodies referred to before, up to the final ratification by the Confederate Council Thereupon the chief was formally deposed, and his place was declared vacant

The prominent part played by women in the election and deposition of chiefs marks her high social status among the Iroquois Of the six ceremonial officials who were hereditary in each clan, three were men and three were women The preparation and conduct of almost all ceremonies were in the hands of these officials Some of the most important ceremonial societies, such as the Dark Dance and The Death Feast societies, were not only run by the women but the latter also constituted the larger part of the membership in these societies Although women had no formally recognized voice at councils, nor ever appeared, so far as known, as appointed speakers at ceremonies, speeches were often made by women in council as well as on ceremonial occasions Some women, a few within the memory of men now living, were reputed as skilful orators and must have wielded strong personal influence Woman was preeminently the owner of property Whereas the husband, in ancient times, could regard as his own only his weapons, tools, and wearing apparel, his wife owned the objects of the household,

own village, but exercises over-rule in a whole district, and is what we have called a chief [26]

. . the village community as a rule consists not of one sub clan but of several . among the several component sub-clans one essentially is recognised as either the elder or else as of higher rank The leader of such a sub clan becomes the headman of the village community, and in the Trobiands every village community has one headman and one headman only

On this headman devolve all the honorific titles, as well as all the ceremonial functions, offices, activities and powers vested in the village community as a whole, more specifically, he would wield any magic of which the sub-clan is possessed on behalf of the whole community, but at times he would also take over the magic of some of the inferior sub-clans [27]

The community is . . divided into three parts The first consists of the chief and his maternal kinsmen, the Tabalu [sub-clan] all of whom claim the village as their own, and consider themselves masters of its soil with all attendant privileges The second consists of the commoners, who are themselves divided into two groups those claiming the rights of citizenship on mythological grounds (these rights are distinctly inferior to those of the chief's sub-clan, and the claimants remain in the village only as the chief's vassals or servants), and strangers in the hereditary service of the chief, who live in the village by that right and title The third part consists of the chief's wives and their offspring [28]

[UNITED STATES] For all practical purposes, Negroes are disfranchised in the South Out of a total Negro adult population of 3,651,256 in the 8 Deep Southern states (excluding Oklahoma) of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, South Carolina, and Arkansas, Bunche estimates that only 80,000 to 90,000 Negroes voted in the general election of 1940 Practically none voted in the primary [29]

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the house itself, and the land The children who, of course, followed the mother's clan, belonged to her The individual names, in each clan, were also regarded as belonging to the women In the arrangement of marriages woman was the determining factor Not, indeed, the bride, but her mother together with the mother of the bridegroom The two women had full power to arrange the match, and the wisdom of their decision was seldom questioned The oldest woman of the clan, or the woman most respected for her wisdom and experience, was a most powerful factor in the affairs of the clan, and none, not even the chief, could with impunity disregard her advice Nor did her influence end there, for she also exercised authority over the children of her clansmen, who (the children) belonged to many clans and widely scattered districts Thus the entire social structure of the Iroquois was permeated by a maze of channels through which keen-witted women guided the affairs of the people —A Goldenweiser, "On Iroquois work, 1912," pp 468–69

[26] B Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, p 30

[27] Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*, I, pp 346–47

[28] Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, p 11

[29] G Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York, 1944), I, p 475, *vide ibid*, Chap 22

[ON LONG ISLAND] many savages dwell . . . who are called Souwenos [Mahican] and Sinnecox [Metoac] . . . The tribes are held in subjection by, and are tributary to, the Pijquans [Mohegan of Connecticut].[30]

"The laws of the United States of America shall be considered to be in force in American Samoa . . .

"The Governor, for the time being, of American Samoa [an American naval officer appointed by the president of the United States] is the head of the government. He is the maker of all laws, and he shall make and control all appointments."[31]

[ARUNTA] . . . the older men . . . are all powerful in the normal condition of the tribe.[32]

We have never been able to discover the existence of anything like set councils or meetings at which the men sit round and regular speeches are made. Whenever a large number of natives are met together to perform ceremonies, there are always the heads of different local groups present. The elder and more important amongst these seem naturally to associate together as an informal but, at the same time, all-powerful council, whose orders are implicitly obeyed by the other men. The fact that any individual is the headman of his local group gives him, in itself, no claim whatever to attendance upon these councils. If, however, he be at all a distinguished man, whose conduct has shown that he is to be trusted, and that he is deeply interested in tribal matters, then some day he will be honoured by one of the older men inviting him to come and consult over matters, after the advisability of doing so has been agreed upon by the members of council. He will probably be invited several times, and will then gradually take his place as a recognised member of the inner council of the tribe, his influence increasing as he gradually grows older and older.

Not only does this council of elder men determine matters concerned with various ceremonies, but in addition it deals with the punishment of the more serious crimes, such as that of "bone giving,"—that is, causing the death of another man by evil magic. Or again, if any native should break the strict marriage laws, these older men will consult together, and will in either case arrange for an *atninga* or avenging party to go out and punish the culprit.[33]

[UNITED STATES] Our country was an andocracy until the 19th amendment to the Constitution was passed in 1920. But even today, women are not given equal opportunities to hold most offices. For instance, here are the results of a public opinion poll taken in 1937:

"Would you vote for a woman for President, if she qualified in every other respect?"

30 I. de Rasiere, *Memorie* [ca. 1628], ed. A. Eekhof, *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, (new ser.) 15 (1918–19), (pp. 245–80) fol. 1a,*tr. J. R. Brodhead (New York, 1849).

31 American Samoa, *Codification of the Regulations and Orders for the Government of American Samoa* (Tutuila, 1937), 3 1, 4.

32 B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Arunta*, I, p. 7.

33 Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), pp. 24–25.

Yes	34%
No	66%[34]

[AKAMBA] The home government is in the hands of a council of the elders, *nzama*, of which only *atumea* are members This corporation is of a purely local character, and there is no authority for the whole country The *mutumea*-grade does not in itself carry with it the right to a seat in the *nzama*, for which a separate special payment is exacted The most important function of the *nzama* is to act as a court, in which all cases are tried and decided It also decides on wars of aggression (plundering raids), *kingole*, lynching, which is practised by the Akamba, may also only be ordered by the *nzama*. Next to its duties as judging authority, its most important function, however, is the care and maintenance of the religion, the offering of sacrifices, &c the *atumea* share this right with the old women . .

To the religious duties of the *nzama* pertains also that of carrying out the ceremony of purification, on the advent of all public misfortunes, such as the outbreak of epidemics, cattle-plagues, &c

These old men and women of the *nzama* and the *ipembo* (place of sacrifice) are the custodians of the tribe's traditions, in the manner and customs pertaining to which they are well versed They see that they are maintained, and they have, on the other hand, authority to prevent the rise of customs which they consider harmful, and can even abolish customs which are already in existence Anyone who is in doubt as to how he ought to proceed in a certain case, according to the custom of the tribe, goes to a *mutumia wa nzama* for information, for which he pays a small fee, such as a goat, or, if he is a rich man, a bull[35]

[UNITED STATES] "Every citizen of this state who is a citizen of the United States twenty one years old or upwards and who shall have resided in this state at least two years, in the county one year, and in the precinct or ward three months and who shall have been duly registered as an elector, and shall have paid . . all poll taxes due from them . . . shall be entitled to vote at any election by the people "[36]

If the participants are relatively few in number, they determine policy and execute it, themselves

[DIERI] . . the old men met at some place apart from the camp[37] and discussed matters of importance, such as arrangements to be made for hunting game, for festive or ceremonial meetings, or indeed any im-

[34] G Gallup and C Robinson, "American Institute of Public Opinion—surveys, 1935–38," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 2 (1938), (pp 373–98) p 382

[35] G Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p 150.

[36] Alabama, *Code*, 17 12

[37] In order to announce a meeting, I have seen the leading man pick up a lighted stick from his camp fire, and looking round at the other men, walk off

portant matter[38] Having made up their minds, one of them would announce the matter at another meeting, at which all the men would be present, sitting or standing round, the younger men remaining at the outside At such a meeting, the younger the man the less he would have to say, indeed, I never knew a young man who had been only lately admitted to the rights of manhood presume to say anything or to take any part in the discussion All that they have to do as part of the assembly is to listen to what the elders have to say

In the Dieri tribe such meetings as these are composed of the heads of totems of local divisions, fighting-men, medicine-men, and, generally speaking, of old men of standing and importance. That is to say, of the men who have been present at the series of ceremonies . . The younger men look forward for years to the time when, having been present at the great Mindari [initiation] ceremony, they will be permitted to appear, and ultimately to speak at the council of men These meetings are so secret that to reveal what takes place at them is punished by death

The proceedings were directed by the principal Headman, and among the matters which it dealt with were procuring death by magic, as for instance, "by the bone," murder, breach of the tribal moral code, offences against tribal customs, revealing the secrets of the tribal councils, or the secrets of the initiation ceremonies to women or to the uninitiated .

The council also made arrangements for holding the great ceremonies, and on ceremonial occasions it reallotted the several pairs of *Pirrauru*s [i e , wife exchange by brothers]

Such a meeting was summoned by some old man, instructed by the Headman If the matter was of importance, he introduced it, and in doing so he adhered to the ancient customs of their fathers If all were agreed to some course, the council separated, if not, then it met at some future time

Everything relating to the council is kept profoundly secret from those who have not the right to be present at it[39]

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to the appointed place —A W Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p 322

[38] After the principal Headman has spoken, the heads of totems address the assembly The manner of speaking is by the repetition of broken sentences, uttered in an excited and at times almost frenzied manner Those who coincide with the speaker repeat his sentences in a loud voice, but no one comments on what he says until it comes his turn to speak.

The council always breaks up peaceably, but quarrels sometimes follow it, although the camp is not allowed to know the real cause of disagreements, for the secrets of the council are always kept as sacredly as those of a masonic lodge The greatest cruelties are threatened against any one who should divulge its secrets, which are many I have never heard the younger men or the women utter a word which could convey the idea that anything had been communicated to them —*Ibid* , pp 322–23.

[39] *Ibid* , pp 320–21

[UNITED STATES] "Thankful we are, up here in the hills, that our town, with its two thousand voters, is still small enough to stage a real New England town meeting. To be sure, all the two thousand can't begin to get into the 'opera house,' but enough are on hand when the Moderator's gavel calls the meeting to order to fill every seat and to crowd all standing room. We are having an important session this year.

"It is an interesting lot of people that fills the little hall: farmers with their boots on (and mud on the boots), tradesmen, gentlemen of leisure, college professors, artisans, Irish and French Canadians, and Italians, maybe a Pole or two, but mostly Anglo-Saxons of the old stock of New England.

"The Moderator, an admirable official who, outside of town meeting, is professor of English in our college, bangs down his gavel promptly at 2 P.M., and the meeting starts off with Article I on the warrant. Up in the front seats are a group of 'leading citizens' who introduce most of the business and argue on the motions. Selectmen, members of the Finance and School Committees, and officials of the college. Our selectmen have a spokesman of force and suavity, and our Finance Committee a representative full of ginger. Debate never lags when either of these gentleman has the floor.

"That brilliant Frenchman who has sketched the American scene in *America Comes of Age* tells us that without the Irish our atmosphere 'might have been too heavy to breathe!' For all the closed windows (it is February and a snowstorm threatens outside), the atmosphere of town meeting in our opera house is never too heavy to breathe. Among our citizens of Irish blood are several who can rock the gallery with laughter. Eloquence comes natural to them, and to day the Moderator has now and then to stop its flow.

" 'Mr. Moderator, I object. Mr. O'Shaughnessy ain't speakin' to the motion.'

" 'Mr. O'Shaughnessy, I request that you confine your remarks to the motion before the house.'

" 'Well, Mr. Moderator' (in as finished and musical a brogue as ever came over the radio), 'mayn't I have time to round out me speech?'

" 'Better square it off, John' retorts the Moderator, and Mr. O'Shaughnessy subsides amid gales of merriment.

"Then there is Yankee wit to match the Hibernian. 'Now, Mr. Moderator, as I was a-sayin', they don't hev to hev any sewer at all up to Doctor Brook. Next winter, when the snow comes agin, them smells won't bother 'em—look, it's rainin' naow.'

"Mr. Mooney of the Doctor Brook section, who happens also to be a town sewer commissioner, vigorously demurs to this line of argument, and a general and somewhat heated discussion ensues, finally terminated by a vote to let the Doctor Brook matter lie over until next year.

"So article after article comes up, with a chance for every citizen present to take a hand. 'To see if the town' will add some two hundred acres to the Town Forest (favorable action is modestly urged by one of the owners of the land). Voted 'No,' for this is economy year. 'To see if the town' will

allow its cemetery commissioners to buy, with the commission's own reserve funds, an attractive property next to Cedar Grove Voted 'Yes,' for this won't add a penny to the taxes Somebody thinks of the New England villager who explained to a visitor that the new cemetery would 'look better when there's more in it,' but this doesn't get to the floor

"Finally, with most of the appropriations out of the way, discussion returns to Article 21, 'to see if the town will raise and appropriate a sum of money to be used for repairs to the high-school building' And here the trouble begins, and lasts until supper time, for the Finance Committee recommends the sum of $2500 while the School Committee asks for $125,000!

"It seems that our old high-school building is deficient in fire escapes, and that its third floor in particular is a dangerous place for the scholars Somebody gets up to state that there isn't nearly enough fire insurance on the high school building anyway, whereat an irate mother jumps up and asks, 'How about fire insurance on the children?'

"Finally, the elaborate plans for alterations are snowed under, and a committee is appointed to see how the really essential work can be accomplished at a minimum cost, and report later on Good practical people, these New Englanders!

"Twilight is gathering when the session has ended, and people file out on the street to pile into their waiting cars Now the tellers will get to work, counting the 1600-odd-ballots that have been cast at the polls on the opera-house ground floor, and by ten o'clock we shall know all about the elections—who has won the contests for Town Clerk, for Selectman, and for the School Committee Telephones will buzz all over town, and tomorrow a new year of town government will be begun " [40]

Larger groups of participants put the matter into the hands of a *government,* a sub-group of representatives who determine and execute policy for them (7)

[SAMOA] The local affairs of each settlement were under their immediate control, and were discussed and decided upon in a public assembly composed of the leading men of each village or district More weighty matters, such as declaring war or making peace, the appointment and installation of chiefs, or indeed any matters of general importance to the whole district, were deliberated upon in a general *fono,* or parliament of the whole district, composed of representatives of all the different settlements and villages of the district Each district had a leading settlement called its *Laumua*

It was the province of the *Laumua* to convene the *fono,* or general assembly of its respective districts, to announce the object for which it had been summoned, to preside over its deliberations, to arrange disputed or knotty points, as well as to sum up the proceedings and dismiss the as-

40 T M. Banks, "Our town meeting," *Atlantic Monthly,* 150 (1932), pp 382–83

sembly, in fact, to sustain the office of chairman These meetings were usually conducted with much formality and decorum, the general *fono* of the district being always held in the open air, in the great malae of the leading settlement, or *Laumua*

The *malae,* or *marae,* as it is sometimes called, is a large open space reserved for public assemblies, around which the representatives sit in little groups, each group having its proper position assigned to it, and also the precedence it took in addressing the meeting, which arrangement was scrupulously adhered to The speakers might be either chiefs, *Tulafale,* or *Faleupolu,* the former occasionally addressing a *fono,* but usually the class called *Tulafale* were the principal speakers Each chief had generally a *Tulafale,* who acted as his mouthpiece, and each settlement had its *Tulafale sili,* who was the leading orator of the district

The deliberations of these councils were often unnecessarily and tediously lengthened by a foolish custom, which was always observed, to which the speakers adhered with much pertinacity There were always a certain number of heads of families in a settlement who alone were permitted to address an assembly in the *malae*, sometimes there were nine, as at Leulumoenga, or seven, as at Fasito'otai, whence the former place was spoken of as the *Faleiva* (nine houses), and the latter the *Falefitu* (seven houses) Much stress was always laid upon the privilege of addressing a public assembly, therefore when the time came for a particular settlement to address the meeting, the whole of the speakers stood up and contended amongst themselves for the honour of speaking on that day Sometimes, and especially if the subject was important, the palm was quickly yielded to the speaker generally acknowledged to be the most effective, but on ordinary occasions they contended long for the honour A quarter of an hour or twenty minutes was a very common time for a speech They managed to speak in rotation, and although they might not be able to exercise the privilege very often, they all liked to assert their right to speak, and to exhibit their *to'oto' launga,* or orator's staff

When all but one sat down, he commenced his address by carefully going over the titles of the various districts and great divisions of the islands, each having a distinctive complimentary title by which it was always known and spoken of, quite apart from those conferred upon the different chiefs, and the omission of any title of a district at enumeration of names of districts at a public meeting was looked upon as an insult, the long time occupied in this complimentary recitation being further lengthened by the speaker deliberately prefixing an apologetic preface to each name of place or chief

As the orator proceeded, his party sat around him and acted as prompters, refreshing his memory, giving him topics on which to touch, or recalling him when going astray It was often very amusing to notice how quietly the orator took all this interruption, and how coolly but dexterously a speaker would retreat from a position or statement he found was obnoxious to his party Sometimes, if he became wearisome, his companions would tell him to sit down and hold his tongue—advice which at times might well be given and acted upon in more civilized assemblies

Many of the speakers were eloquent, and when the subject was an exciting one I have sat for hours listening with pleasure to their addresses. Their style of speaking was often figurative, and as their addresses frequently contained allusions to their old traditions and past national history that were highly interesting and instructive in their mode of speaking, such occasions afforded good opportunities for hearing the Samoan language to advantage

These public assemblies, whether general or district, took place in the open air, and always commenced in the cool of the morning In the early dawn the families of the speakers were astir, and a young man from each took the family orator's staff, and proceeded to the *nofoa fono,* or seat of the family orator, in the *malae,* where, driving the staff upright into the turf, he sat down beside it and waited the arrival of the orator represented by the staff At sunrise the meeting was usually assembled and business commenced.

In A'ana the nine speakers of Leulumoenga were privileged to sit on seats or three-legged stools, which were placed at a little distance in front of their party, whilst the rest of the assembly, high and low, sat cross-legged upon the turf I do not know if this privilege of sitting at such gatherings was common to all Laumua, but even at Leulumoenga it was only asserted upon special occasions

A speaker was seldom interrupted in his address, and all were heard patiently, however unpalatable their addresses might be Sometimes, however, a speaker from another party presented himself to correct a misstatement, or oppose the position taken up by the party addressing the assembly, when a great deal of wrangling took place between the speakers As a rule, each little group of speakers had a few trees to shelter them, which was very needful, since their meetings were continued throughout the day, in spite of a burning sun, but a heavy shower of rain caused the assembly to be abruptly concluded or else adjourned

The villages within the radius of a few miles from the place at which the *fono* was held provided a quantity of food, which was taken by the parties providing it to the head of their family, if in attendance at the *fono,* who directed its distribution, first supplying visitors from a distance Bowls of *ava* were also brought and distributed in like manner Business proceeded whilst the refreshments were handed round, but this was generally arranged so as to be at the time when the representative of some unimportant district had the attention of the meeting, the address on such occasions becoming jocose, and a times even ludicrous, when the speaker recognized it useless to attempt gaining a hearing by any other style of address

It was customary for each speaker, as well as others, attending a *fono* to carry baskets of plaited cocoanut-leaves containing cocoanut-fibre for plaiting cinet, in which employment they busily occupied themselves during the whole proceedings, laying it aside as they rose to speak, and resuming it again immediately on sitting down

The general *fono,* or parliament of a district, was at times convened by the Laumua at the suggestion of one or more settlements, at other times,

in consequence of intercourse it might have had with other Laumua

On summoning the various districts the messengers usually gave information of what was to form the principal topic of discussion, and each district deliberated upon it beforehand, and came prepared accordingly, but it sometimes happened that, in case the leading Laumua was apprehensive of not being able to carry its point, its principal men passed from place to place in a body, and discussed the matter separately with each district, prior to the general *fono;* a custom having somewhat the same effect as the modern caucus

In all the principal divisions of the islands there were some settlements, in addition to the leading district, which possessed greater influence than others In A'ana, the division with which I was most familiar, there were two important settlements that had to be consulted in addition to Leulumoenga, viz Fasito'otai and Fasito'outa These had the privilege of following the opening speech, and their decision was often final, the other places adopting pretty much the tenor of their addresses, but this was not always the case So great was the influence of these places, that it required the presence of the representative of one or the other of them to render valid the proceedings of the assembly, so that in case both absented themselves from the meeting, the *fono* dispersed without entering upon business

The topics discussed at these meetings varied greatly, from matters affecting the wellbeing of the whole community, to those of trifling import Intercourse between the natives and Europeans of late years has greatly perplexed and distressed them With native matters they were familiar, but they are sorely puzzled with European complications There was also, even in the past, a great want of co-operation amongst the several districts, as well as of power to enforce their decisions, which often caused their attempts at legislation to fail

Official intercourse between the settlements or districts convening meetings, with other matters of business, were always conducted by means of conducting defence, was generally if not always confided to one settlement, whose messengers were entrusted with the discharge of these duties In A'ana this duty devolved upon *Nofoali'i*

The deference shown in the general *fono* was great As these meetings were always held in the open air, the public footpath frequently passed through the *malae* where they were held, so that the continual passing and repassing of persons would have occasioned much annoyance, were it not that by universal custom the road passing through the *malae* was always closed when a *fono* was sitting In consequence of this well-understood rule, all persons or travelling parties of whatever rank left the pathway at some distance before reaching the place of meeting, and taking a wide circuit, so as to avoid the assembly, hurried past, as though feeling themselves on forbidden ground So universally observed was this custom, that the omission of it by a party passing through the assembly was considered as an insult, and looked upon as a sort of trampling upon the company assembled, and through them, upon the entire district Formerly, in such a case many armed men would have rushed upon the intruders with clubs and spears, and made them pay dearly for their rashness The usual

attention to etiquette on such occasions was shown when a message had to be sent from one party to another during the sitting, when the messenger sent always passed behind any intervening group [41]

[UNITED STATES] "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America" [42]

Governments in turn are divided into administrations and states, depending upon who customarily applies the sanctions used in producing conformity with group policy If the group as a whole applies the sanctions, the government may be called an *administration* This type of government is found in groups with a homogeneous culture

[CARIBOU ESKIMO] Pukerluk . . . was a kind of chief over the Harvaqtormiut . . . In using the expression chief I do not mean it to be taken in the literal sense, but merely as an expression of the common Eskimo view that a skilful man with will-power and authority unconsciously subordinates his neighbours under him, so that he makes dispositions when important decisions are to be taken [43]

The result of the natural influence of age is that the word of middle aged or elderly men—but only so long as they still have their strength—carries most weight, although less directly, perhaps, than indirectly by force of example Old people who are no longer in possession of all their faculties gradually lose their influence and respect

The question of the influence of age is thus in reality reduced to an essentially psychological question of mental superiority . . . An elderly, skilful hunter with great experience always enjoys great esteem as *primus inter pares* When a number of families are gathered in a camp, there is often an elderly *pater familias* who is tacitly looked upon as ihumataq, i e he who thinks, implying for the others His advice is often taken, but voluntarily, he has no legal authority at all and cannot be called a chief in the ordinary sense [44]

If the government itself applies the sanctions, it is a *state.*

[JABO] Gbe is the army in times of war and has certain policing duties during peace time . . . As a policing body it usually acts upon instructions

[41] J B Stair, *Old Samoa*, pp 81–91

[42] United States, *Constitution*, preamble, in *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States*, ed C C Tansill (Washington, 1927), pp 989–1002, 1066–72

[43] K Rasmussen, *Observations on the Intellectual Culture of the Caribou Eskimos*, tr W E Calvert (*Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition*, 7 2) (Copenhagen, 1930) p 26

[44] K Birket Smith, *The Caribou Eskimos*, I, pp 258–59

from the town council (the assembly of the gentile elders) It collects fines, usually in the form of cows, which it is free to consume With certain types of crime it is empowered to take action and mete out punishment, without directions from the town council[45]

[UNITED STATES] "The Congress shall have power . . .

"To raise and support armies .

"To provide and maintain a navy . .

"To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, supress insurrections, and repel invasions "[46]

States occur when the culture is heterogeneous, and the different segments are sharply opposed over goals which have high social value. In such a situation, the dominant segment is the one which controls the state. It uses the state to establish policies by which it can achieve its own goals, and at the same time tries to prevent the subordinate segments from reaching their opposing goals (8)

[UNITED STATES] The capitalist class . their interest lies chiefly in using politics for their own purposes, and especially in resisting the attacks with which they are threatened, sometimes by the popular movement against monopolists and great corporations, sometimes by men anxious to reduce the present high tariff which the manufacturers declare to be essential to their industries[47]

Consequently, the subordinates' segments are allowed to carry on their own activities as long as they do not seriously threaten the activities of the dominant segment But when the subordinates' activities are opposed to those of the dominant group, the latter uses coercion to suppress the former (9)

[THEMBU] When an individual obstinately refuses to obey the orders of his Chief, the kraal to which he belongs is held responsible for his conduct, and the headman thereof is expected to punish him, the fine going, of course, to the Chief When a kraal, or clan, is rebellious, the custom of "eating up" is resorted to, which consists in collecting secretly an armed party, sufficiently strong, and proceeding in as stealthy a manner as possible to such kraal or clan, and seizing all their cattle, &c If they resist, they are fired upon or assegaied without ceremony, and should any other kraals attempt to assist the rebels, they also would be eaten up

"Eating up" is the only physical force which a Chief has at his command to keep his people in order, and although often abused for political purposes, it is absolutely necessary, as being the only means he has of commanding obedience to the laws

[45] Herzog, *Jabo Proverbs from Liberia*, pp 153–54.
[46] United States, *Constitution*, I 8 I, 12–13, 15
[47] J Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, II, p 304

To maintain his popularity, and cause his people willingly to assist him on such occasions, the booty is always divided among the party engaged on such service, the Chief reserving only a very small portion for himself Hence the system of "eating up" is very popular among the Kafirs, and they are always ready to turn out and assist their Chief in plundering their fellow subjects, without ever thinking of inquiring into the merits of the case [48]

[UNITED STATES] " the Army has sometimes been called upon to suppress disorderly activities in defiance of government by large groups of individuals It has always been successful in this work . Economic breakdown, unless promptly corrected, induces social breakdown In such a crisis the Army is the only organization in the country which is able and ready to maintain the government

"Let me speak frankly! If this country should be threatened with foreign war, economic chaos, or social revolution, the Army has the training, the experience, the organization, and the men to support the government and direct the country in the national interest " [49]

In order to enforce its policies the state uses all the sanctions at its disposal But in the last analysis, its power stems from the use of force (10) Accordingly, the *police* is that part of the state which enforces policy within the group The police is either uninstitutionalized or institutionalized

[BALI] Everybody has to report, armed, immediately upon the signal of alarm (the fast continuous beating of the large *kulkul*), to be ready to extinguish a fire or to stop a man that has gone temporarily insane and has run wild In Den Pasar one afternoon the alarm call was sounded It was the siesta hour, but instantly everybody was up and out, they grabbed sticks, spears, agricultural implements, or whatever was at hand and rushed out, some on bicycles, towards the sound of the *kulkul* Everybody in the *bandjar* turned out and on the road we even met the old judge, our neighbor, who could hardly walk, but who tagged along brandishing a great sword It turned out to be simply a fire that was quickly extinguished with everybody's aid When the excitement was over, we returned home with the crowd, listening to their reminiscences of recent cases of alarm and of men who ran amuck and were killed on the spot [50]

[UNITED STATES] ". . . the people of Montana did not adopt the Vigilante code until a crisis had arrived when the question of supremacy between them and an organized band of robbers and murderers could be decided only by a trial of strength When that time came, the prompt and decisive measures adopted by the Vigilantes brought peace and security

[48] J C Warner, "Notes," pp 73–74, in *A Compendium of Kaffir Laws and Customs*, ed J Maclean (Mount Coke, 1858), pp 57–109

[49] H H Woodring, "The American army stands ready," *Liberty*, 11 (1934), no 1, (pp 7–11) p 10

[50] M Covarrubias, *Island of Bali* (New York, 1937), p 65

to the people If any of the murderous band of marauders remained in the Territory, fear of punishment kept them quiet. Occasionally indeed a man would be murdered in some of the desolate canons while returning to the States, but whenever this occurred the offenders were generally hunted down and summarily executed

"When the executive and judicial officers appointed by the government arrived in the Territory in the Autumn of 1864, they found the mining camps in the enjoyment of a repose which was broken only by the varied recreations which an unorganized society necessarily adopts to pass away the hours unemployed in the mines. The people had perfect confidence in the code of the Vigilantes, and many of them scouted the idea of there being any better law for their protection They had made up their minds to punish all lawbreakers, and there were many who did not hesitate to declare to the newly arrived officers, that while the courts might be called upon in the settlement of civil cases, the people wanted no other laws in dealing with horse-thieves, robbers, and murderers, than the ones they themselves had made This feeling, though not so general as was claimed for it, was quite prevalent at that time among the miners As soon, however, as they found the courts adequate to their necessities, they readily conformed to the laws and their administration after the manner prescribed by the government, and the Vigilante rule gradually disappeared In several extreme cases they anticipated by immediate action the slower processes of law, but this occurred only when the offence was of a very aggravated character " [51]

[A series of robberies occurred in the gold mining region of Montana in 1861–62.]

"Joseph and John Berry were returning to the river with their [pack-] train They had gone but forty miles from Florence, when they were confronted by three men in masks, who, with levelled pistols, commanded them to throw up their hands Seeing that resistance was useless they obeyed, and were relieved of eleven hundred dollars The packers recognized the voices of David English and William Peoples,—and the third one was afterwards ascertained to be Nelson Scott The victims returned with all possible expedition to Lewiston, where the report of their loss excited the most intense indignation

"As soon as the Berrys were assured of the identity of the villains who had robbed them they appealed to the people to assist in their capture. The robbers had stripped them of all their hard earnings, and they had the sympathy of every honest man in the community Nothing more was needed to kindle into a flame of popular excitement the long-pent-up fires of smothered indignation Public sentiment was clamorous for the capture and punishment of the robbers It gathered strength day by day, until it became the all absorbing topic everywhere Men assembled on the street corners, in the stores, in the saloons, and at the outside mining camps to compare views and consult upon measures of relief Meantime, several par-

[51] N P Langford, *Vigilante Days and Ways* (Boston, 1890), II, pp 446–47.

ties whose faith in immediate action was stronger than in consultation, set out in pursuit of the robbers

"From the fact that they had passed south of Lewiston it was believed they had gone down the Columbia Distributing themselves along the different roads and trails in that direction, the pursuers made diligent search for them in every nook and corner which could afford them a hiding-place Their diligence was successful The robbers had separated, but were arrested in detail,—Peoples at Walla Walla, Scott on Dry Creek, near there, and English at Wallula, forty miles distant on the Columbia

"They were taken in irons to Walla Walla Judge Smith ordered their removal to Florence for trial Such was the indignation of the citizens of Lewiston that on their arrival there it was determined they should be tried by the people. All confidence in the law and the courts was lost Accordingly a committee was appointed to investigate the circumstances of the robbery and declare the punishment The prisoners were taken in charge by the committee, and confined in an unfinished building on the bank of the Clearwater, which was strongly guarded To make their work thorough and terrify others of the band who were known to be prowling about the saloons of Lewiston, a number of persons were appointed, with instructions to effect their immediate arrest In anticipation of this course all suspected persons except one [a moron who was made to leave the country] escaped by flight

"The final disposition of the three villains in custody was delayed until the next day A strong guard of well-armed men surrounded their prison Just after midnight . a former friend of Peoples in attempting his rescue, fired upon the guard In return he received a shot in his arm, and was prostrated by a blow from a clubbed musket

"The next morning at an early hour the people gathered around the prison The guards were gone and the door ajar Unable to restrain their curiosity, and fearful that the robbers had been rescued, they pushed the door wide open There, hanging by the neck, stark and cold, they beheld the bodies of the three desperadoes. Justice had been anticipated, and the first Vigilance Committee of the northern mines had commenced its work No one knew or cared who had done it, but all felt that it was right, and the community breathed freer than at any former period of its history

"Intelligence of the execution, with the usual exaggeration, spread far and wide through the mining camps It was received with approval by the sober citizens, but filled the robber horde with consternation "[52]

[ONTONG JAVA] The *malae* [clearing] was limited on the north by a broad path running right across the island from shore to shore At either end stood a building, the *hale-'api* These were the houses of the *polepole,* officers whose duty it was to prevent trespass on the common land and to carry out punishment on any person they discovered doing so These *polepole* were appointed by the *maakua* [headmen-priests] and, in later days, by the king There were about fifty of them, and they took it in turns to

52 *Ibid.*, I, pp 34–10, *vide ibid.*, II, Chaps 5–6, 10–13, 15

keep a lookout. The *koko'a* (literally, door), almost always a member of the joint family of one or other of the major *maakua*, acted as their head. Permission had to be obtained from him before any person was allowed to go into the bush beyond the village. The women, for instance, were only permitted to cultivate their gardens on the days which he appointed. This was to prevent any woman from taking taro from a garden other than her own.

When a person was found on the common land without good excuse he was brought before the *koko'a*. Criminals were punished for a first offence by having their heads shaved, but a second offence led to something more serious, either exposure naked in the sun without food or water for some time, or more frequently, death.[53]

Headship

A general survey like this is not the place for a detailed analysis of such a complicated institution as a government. Therefore the subject will be dismissed with a few remarks on the social effects of the head of a government, a role which most nearly typifies the institution as a whole.

(*a*) The head is the customary leader and director of the group. Like social differentiation in general, of which this is but a special case, the designation of a leader tends to regulate the apportioning of dominant and subordinate roles and thus to minimize opposition within the group.

[ONTONG JAVA] Within the family the function of leadership falls to the father, and the mother and children, at all events in theory, have to obey him.

The joint family includes as a rule all those who trace their descent through males from a common ancestor who generally lived about six generations ago. The native name for the joint family is *mangava kangaka*, a body of individuals related through males. The members of this group own in common landed property on which coconuts are grown. They form a well defined unit, especially when misfortune overtakes one of their number, and they also unite from time to time to carry out religious ceremonies. The leader of the joint family, or headman as I shall call him, is the eldest member of the group. He directs the gathering of coconuts and organises many of the ceremonies. It is also his duty, in conjunction with the grandparents, to hand on to the young people the traditions of their race. In return they owe him very special obedience.

The kinship system, being of the classificatory type, supplies terms for every member of the joint family.[54]

[53] H. I. Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia* (London, 1934), pp. 210–11.
[UNITED STATES] For a description of our police, *vide* B. Smith, *Police Systems of the United States*, New York, 1910.

[54] Hogbin, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–10.

[ILA] The word applied to a chief's relation to his people is *kulela* in the extracts given above we translate it 'to rule," but it has this only as a secondary meaning *Kulela* is primarily to nurse, to cherish, it is the word applied to a woman caring for her child The chief is the father of the community, they are his children, and what he does is to *lela* them This involves maintaining their interests against neighbouring communities, settling their disputes in council with the headmen, helping to pay their debts, etc It is not, we think, an enviable position to rule an independent people like the Ba-ila community, especially in these days when so much of the chief's power is inevitably sapped through the advent of European administration Shaloba hit the nail on the head when he said in an epigram *"Bwami mbuzhike"* ("Chiefdom is serfdom") Yet the dignity of being the head of a fine community, of having a band of drummers to wait upon one, to be eulogised in flattering terms on great occasions, of being looked up to as the father and arbitrator—these make the position worth having Among his duties and privileges may be mentioned the following He allocates new grazing grounds when obtainable. (He cannot touch the old grounds) It is for him to admit or to veto the admittance of strangers as members of the community He can, in certain circumstances, demand a tax to be paid It is for him to settle the dates for *wila-ing* and *bola ing*, it is his privilege to partake first of the first-fruits It is his duty to take the initiative, in conjunction with the diviner, in ridding the community of warlocks and witches In time of war he is the commander-in-chief of the army.[55]

[UNITED STATES] "The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America " [56]

The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States [57]

"He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient " [58]

(*b*) The head is a symbol of the unity of the group, and like any other such symbol he strengthens group solidarity

[ANUAK] A headman gives a village a sense of unity and provides leadership and encourages co-operation He symbolises the solidarity of the village and its political exclusiveness [59]

55 E W Smith and A M Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, pp 307–308

56 United States, *Constitution*, 2 1 1

57 *Ibid*, 2 2 1

58 *Ibid*, 2 3

59 E E Evans-Pritchard, *The Political System of the Anuak of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (London School of Economics, *Monographs on Social Anthropology*, 4) (London, 1940), p 38

[WESTERN EUROPE] "The [British] nation is divided into parties, but the crown is of no party Its apparent separation from business is that which removes it both from enmities and from desecration, which preserves its mystery, which enables it to combine the affection of conflicting parties—to be a visible symbol of unity to those still so imperfectly educated as to need a symbol " [60]

"The personality of the Queen [Victoria] was a real consolidating agency in the British Empire. While Downing Street was lecturing the Colonies, and while the colonists were still raw with the old sense of suspicion and distrust, there was a growing pride in the throne and an increasing attachment to the reigning family The sense of a profound interest, and a kind of proprietorship, in the Courts at Osborne, Windsor, and Balmoral, quickened by occasional visits of princes to India and the Colonies, did much to weld the widely-scattered realms together The 'bond of Empire' was not the Imperial Parliament, which the legislatures of the self-governing Colonies regarded with jealousy, nor the Imperial Cabinet, which they look upon as only one of the many committees that administer the several self-governing portions of the British dominions but the Throne, as represented by a venerated Sovereign . . The King is the head of the Empire, and there is no other There is no disposition on the part of the Colonies to strengthen their relations with the English Cabinet and Parliament The tendency is the other way . the fact remains that, for administrative and political purposes, the Commonwealth of Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, are all but independent nations, linked to one another, and to the other members of the Empire, by the personal union of the Crown " [61]

Since the head symbolizes the group, when solidarity is strong it often follows as a corollary that the group and its property belong to the head

[TIV] "The land is his [i.e , the chief's] " [62]

(*c*) When the head is dominant on the grounds of prestige, authority, and coercion, all simultaneously, he often takes on supernatural traits. (11) In this case, in addition to being the head, he is also a shaman, i.e , the intermediary between man and the supernatural

[ONTONG JAVA] The position of headman in the joint families of the islands of Keila, Kepac, Kiloma, Kemalu, Akaha, Oko, and Keuolei carried

[60] W Bagehot, *The English Constitution* [1861], p 191, in *Works and Life*, ed E I. Barrington (London, 1915), V, pp 116–366

[61] S J M Low, *The Governance of England* (London, 1914, rev ed), pp 282–84

[62] Akiga, *Story*, p 378

with it the office of priest; that is to say, the headman of these groups were also *maakua* [priests] [63]

[JEWS] " . . . the Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader [*ethnarches*] and high-priest [*archiereus*] for ever . . . that he should be a captain [*strategos*] over them, to set them over their works, and over the country, and over the arms, and over the strongholds, and that he should take charge of the sanctuary " [64]

Or he himself may be considered to be a human incarnation

Jukun kings are manifestations of the gods, or live in such close communion with deity that there is no distinction between kings and deities [65]

It is taboo for a king to pick up anything from the ground If a Jukun king were to fall off his horse, he would, in former times, have been promptly put to death Being a god it may never be said of him that he is ill, and if serious illness overtook him he was quietly strangled, it being said that it would cause confusion among the people if the groans of the king in illness were overheard . . .

. . . he is regarded as having a personal influence over the works of nature and that his primary function is to secure for the people a successful harvest This is certainly his main duty He is not, and apparently never was, expected to be a leader of victorious armies, but he is expected to secure in his time a regular succession of rich harvests, and by his ability to do so is adjudged to be a true son of god . . .

But to secure a good harvest there must be a bountiful, but not an undue, supply of rain at the proper times, and the ripening crops must be protected from excessive winds The king of the Jukun is, therefore, in virtue of his deity, able to control the rains and winds A succession of droughts or bad harvests is ascribed to his negligence or to the waning of his strength, and he is accordingly secretly strangled [66]

[WESTERN EUROPE] The English king as an example of a human incarnation has already been given in Chapter VII

In either case, the head not only produces the effects discussed under shamans and human incarnations in Chapter VII, but also acts as a social control by surrounding the polity with a supernatural sanction (12)

[WABENA] They are primarily an agricultural people and are governed now, as in days gone by, by a Paramount Chief, or Mtema, assisted by an aristocracy. The Chief, is, however, not merely a secular ruler The principal feature of the tribal religion is ancestor-worship, and the Chief as the living descendant of the most powerful of the spirits, i e , the former

[63] Hogbin, *op cit*, p 167

[64] *I Maccabees*, 14 41–43 (2nd cent B C), in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, tr ed. R H Charles (Oxford, 1913)

[65] C K. Meek, *A Sudanese Kingdom* (London, 1931), p 153

[66] *Ibid*, pp 127, 129–30.

holders of his royal office, is not only the temporal but also the religious head of the tribe, binding religion and law into a firmly united whole[67]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "The most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God himself, founded in the prime laws of nature, and clearly established by express texts both of the Old and New Testaments .

"For any person or persons to set up, maintain, or avow . . any independent coactive power . . is to undermine their great royal office, and cunningly to overthrow that most sacred ordinance which God himself hath established, and so is treasonable against God as well as king

"For subjects to bear arms against their kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, is at least to resist the powers which are ordained of God, and though they do not invade, but only resist, St. Paul tells them plainly they shall receive to themselves damnation "[68]

Intergroup relations

Though we may be preoccupied with the social phenomena occurring within groups, we must also consider, no matter how briefly, the relations between groups, and between sovereign groups in particular A group is *sovereign* when it determines and enforces all policies affecting its members, without being subordinate to any outside group

It was pointed out in Chapter II that groups, or even societies, are usually not isolated, but rather interact with one another. And, as in any other case, for social interaction to be effective the participants have to conform to a common body of customs. Hence, even when interaction takes place between societies with different cultures, they tend to develop a set of common customs to cover their interaction ("international law")

[WESTERN VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA] . . if one tribe intends to attack another, due notice is always honourably given. Ambuscades are proceedings adopted by civilized warriors . .

The fine old chief of the Spring Creek tribe, Weeratt Kuyuut—"Eel spear," occasionally called Morpor, after his tribe and country, and believed to have been upwards of eighty years of age—was both a messenger and a teacher. As a messenger he generally travelled by himself [instead of with the customary companion] In his younger days he was a great warrior, and in more mature years was considered such an honourable, impartial man, that he was selected on all occasions as a referee in the settlement of

[67] A. T and G. M Culwick, "Religious and economic sanctions in a Bantu tribe," p 183

[68] "Constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, treated upon by the archbishops of Canterbury and York [1610]," I (pp 389–91), in *Synodalia,* ed E. Cardwell (Oxford, 1842), I, pp 380–415.

disputes When a great battle was to be fought, he was sent for by the contending chiefs, who placed him in a safe position to see fair play In reward for his services he returned home laden with presents of opossum rugs, weapons, and ornaments [69]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "International law governs relations between independent States The rules of law binding upon States therefore emanate from their own free will as expressed in conventions or by usages generally accepted as expressing principles of law and established in order to regulate the relations between these co-existing independent communities or with a view to the achievement of common aims" [70]

Most of this social interaction happens between the members of the various groups in their private capacity, but it sometimes occurs through the person of agents designated by each group

[DIERI] In all tribes there are certain men who are, so to say, free of one or more of the adjacent tribes This arises out of tribal intermarriage, and, indeed, marriages are sometimes arranged for what may be termed "state reasons," that is, in order that there may be means of sending ceremonial communications by some one who can enter and traverse a perhaps unfriendly country, with safety to himself and with security for the delivery of his message In some cases these ceremonial messengers, as will be seen later on, are women But the bearing of merely friendly messages within the tribe is usually by a relative of the sender . .

If the message is to call together a meeting of the elder men of the tribe, the messenger is some noted old man, nominated by the *Pinnaru* (Headman) who sent the message The same would be the case when neighbouring tribes are invited to attend the ceremonies of initiation But in any other matter which might be attended by danger, or where treachery is feared, it is not men but women who are sent

The most important messages sent by the Dieri to neighbouring tribes are those relating to disputes between them For such purposes women are chosen, and if possible such women as belong to the tribe to which the embassy, if it may be so called, is sent Women are chosen in such a case for two reasons first, because they are going to a tribe in which they have near relations, and second, because it would be less likely that they would be treacherously made away with than men

Forty years ago these women were usually the wives of Headmen of the Murdus (totems), and occasionally one of the wives of the principal Headman was among them

The women are accompanied by their *Pirraurus* [cicisbei] . . on such occasions it is thoroughly understood that the women are to use every in-

[69] J Dawson, *Australian Aborigines* (Melbourne, 1881), pp. 74–75

[70] The Hague, Permanent Court of International Justice, *World Court Reports*, ed M O Hudson (Washington, 1934–), II, p 35. For a summary of modern international law, *vide* G H Hackworth, *Digest of International Law* (U S Department of State, *Publications*, 1506), (Washington, 1940–41)

fluence in their power to obtain a successful issue for their mission, and are therefore free of their favours . [though] in these cases the class rules are obeyed

If the mission is successful, there is a time of licence between its members and the tribe, or part of a tribe, to which it has been sent .

The members of such a mission are treated as distinguished guests Food is provided for them, and on their return home, after about a week's stay, they are loaded with presents If the mission is unsuccessful, messages of dreadful threatening are sent back by them

The mode of announcing a mission, whether by male or female messengers, is by telling it to the *Pinnaru* of the camp, when alone, as soon as the former arrive Nothing is then said to any one, but when all the people are in the camp about the time of going to rest, the *Pinnaru* announces the visit There is then an excited discussion on it, if it be a matter of moment or general interest, for an hour or two, to be again resumed at daybreak, and so on, night and morning, for a day or two, until some definite determination is arrived at,

The arguments of the old men who speak are noted by the messengers, and on their return they repeat as nearly as they are able the popular sentiments of the tribe

Mr Gason has described to me how he was present on several occasions on the return of a mission which had been entrusted to women The Head man and the principal old men received them kindly, and congratulated them on their safe return, but appeared anxious, and clutched their spears in an excited manner No one but the Headman spoke to the women immediately on their return, but when all the men were seated, they were questioned as to the result of their mission The result was at once told to all the people in the camp, who rejoiced if it were favourable, but who became fearfully excited and seemed to lose all control over themselves if it had failed, rushing to and fro, yelling, throwing sand into the air, biting themselves, and brandishing their weapons in the wildest manner imaginable.

In cases where such a mission had been successful, women of the other tribe usually accompanied it back, to testify its approval by their tribe Agreements so made are probably observed as faithfully as are many treaties more formally made by civilised people [71]

[UNITED STATES] "He [i e, the president] shall . nominate and by and with the advice of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls " [72]

Since intergroup interaction is simply a special case of general social interaction it may be harmonious or opposed A *league*, or combination of sovereign groups, is a typical example of intergroup harmony.

[71] Howitt, *op cit*, pp 678, 681–83
[72] United States, *Constitution*, 2 2 2

[IROQUOIS] [The following is supposed to be Dekanahwideh's speech by which, according to tradition, the League of the Iroquois was instituted.]

". . . as clans are already established amongst the people, the several clans [are to] form a relationship as brothers and cousins . . .

"[A representative from each clan is to be one of] the Lords of the Five nations . . . [which form the] Confederate Council . . .

". . . the Lords who shall be appointed . . . to fill vacancies caused by death or removals shall be appointed from the same families and Clans from which the first Lords were created, and from which families the hereditary title of Lordships shall descend . . .

"De-ka-nah-wi-deh . . . said, I now transfer and set over to the women the Lordship titles vested in them, and they shall in the future have the power to appoint the successors from time to time to fill vacancies caused by death or removals from whatever cause . . .

"De-ka-nah-wi-deh said, I shall now . . . charge each of you Lords, that your skin must be of the thickness of seven spreads of the hands (from end of thumb to the end of great finger) so that no matter how sharp a cutting instrument may be used it will not penetrate through the thickness of your skin. The meaning of the great thickness of your skins is patience and forbearance, that no matter what nature of question or business may come before you, no matter how sharp or aggravating it may be it will not penetrate your skins, but you will forbear with great patience and good will in all your deliberations and never disgrace yourselves by becoming angry. You Lords shall always be guided in all your councils and deliberations by the good tidings of Peace and Power." [73]

"De-ka-nah-wi-deh said, Now you Lords of the several Confederate Nations shall now divide yourselves and sit on the opposite sides of the Council fire as follows:—You and your brother Colleagues shall sit on one side of the Council fire (this was said to the Mohawks and the Senecas) and your sons the Oneidas and Cayugas shall sit directly opposite of the Council fire, and then you will begin to work and carry out the principles of the great peace. . . . Then De-ka-nah-wi-deh said, You Tha-do-dah-ho [i.e., the Onondaga] shall be the Fire-Keepers, and your duty shall be to open the Confederate Council with praise and thanksgiving to the Great Spirit and close the same. Then he (De-ka-nah-wi-deh) said, When the Council is opened Hah-yonh-wa-tha and his Colleagues [i.e., the Mohawk] shall be the first to consider and give their opinion upon all subjects which come before the Council for consideration, and when they have arrived at a decision, then they shall transfer the matter to their brethren the Senecas for their consideration, and when they (the Senecas) shall have arrived at a decision on the matter, then they shall refer it back to Hah-yonh-wa-tha and his Colleagues. Then Hah-yonh-wa-tha will announce the decision to the opposite side of the Council fire. Then Oh-dah-tshe-deh and his Colleagues [i.e., the Oneida] will consider the matter in question and when they have

[73] D. S. Scott, ed., "Traditional history of the Confederacy of the Six Nations," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, (ser. 3) 5 (1911), Sec. 2, (pp. 195–246), pp. 220, 222–23, 229–30.

arrived at a decision they will refer the matter to their brethren the Cayugas for their consideration and after they have arrived at a decision they will refer the matter back to Oh dah-tshe deh and his Colleagues. Then Oh-dah tshe deh will announce their decision to the opposite side of the Council fire Then Hah-yonh-wa-tha will refer the matter to Tha-do-dah-ho and his Colleagues for their careful consideration and opinion of the matter in question, and if Tha-do dah-ho and his Colleagues find that the matter has not been well considered or decided then they shall refer the matter back again to the two sides of the Council fire and they shall point out where in their estimation the decision was faulty, and the question not fully considered, and then the two sides of the Council will take up the question again and reconsider the matter, and after the two sides of the Council have fully reconsidered the question, then Hah-yonh-wa-tha will again refer it to Tha-do dah-ho and his Colleagues, then they will again consider the matter and if they see that the decision of the two sides of the Council is correct Then Tha-do dah-ho and his Colleagues will confirm the decision.

"Then De ka-nah-wi-deh further said, If the brethren of the Mohawks and the Senecas are divided in their opinion and cannot agree on any matter which they may have for their consideration, then Hah-yonh-wa-tha shall announce the two decisions to the opposite side of the Council fire Then Oh-dah-tshe-deh and his brother Colleagues after they have considered the matter and if they also are divided in their decision but the divided factions each agree with the decision announced from the opposite side of the Council, then Oh-dah-tshe-deh shall announce their two decisions to the other side of the Council fire, then Hah-yonh-wa-tha shall refer the matter to Tha-do-dah-ho and his Colleagues who are the Fire Keepers Then they will fully consider the matter and whichever decision they consider correct they will confirm Then De-ka-nah-wi-deh said, If it should so happen that the Lords of the Mohawks and the Lords of the Senecas disagree on any matter and also on the opposite side of the Council fire, the Lords of the Oneidas and the Lords of the Cayugas disagree amongst themselves and did not agree with either of the two decisions of the opposite side of the Council fire, but they themselves give two decisions which are diverse from each other, then Hah-yonh wa-tha shall refer the four decisions to Tha-do-dah-ho and his Colleagues who shall consider and give their decision in the matter and their decision shall be final .

"(*A*) If a Lord is guilty of unwarrantably opposing the object of decisions of the Council and in that way showing disrespect for his brother Lords by urging that his own erroneous will in these matters be carried out, he shall be approached and admonished by the Chief Matron of his family and Clan to desist from such evil practices and urged to come back and act in harmony with his brother Lords

"(*B*) If the Lord refuses to comply with the request of the Chief Matron of his family and Clan and still persists in his evil practices of unwarrantably opposing his brother Lords, then a Warrior of his family and Clan will also approach him and admonish him to desist from pursuing his evil course.

"(C) If the Lord still refuses to listen and obey, then the Chief Matron and Warrior shall go together to the Chief Warrior and they inform him that they have admonished their Lord and he refused to obey Then the Chief Warrior will arise and go there to the Lord and will say to him, Your nephew and niece have admonished you to desist from your evil course, and you have refused to obey Then the Chief Warrior will say, I will now admonish you for the last time and if you continue to resist to accede to and obey this request, then your duties as Lord of our family and Clan will cease, and I shall take the deer's horns from off your head, and with a broad-edged stone axe I shall cut the tree down, (meaning that he shall be deposed from his position as Lord or Chief of the Confederacy) Then the Chief Warrior shall hand back the deer's horns (the emblem of power) of the deposed Lord to the Chief Matron of his family or Clan " [74]

"We the peoples of the United Nations . do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations

"There are established as the principal organs of the United Nations a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat " [75]

Warfare, i e, physical conflict between groups, is the conventional instance of intergroup opposition There are three kinds of war (*a*) that restricted to champions, (*b*) between armies, and (*c*) involving the whole membership of the groups [76]

[WESTERN VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA] Quarrels between tribes are sometimes settled by single combat between the chiefs, and the result is accepted as final At other times disputes are decided by combat between equal numbers of warriors, painted with red clay and dressed in war costume, but real fighting seldom takes place, unless the women rouse the anger of the men and urge them to come to blows Even then it rarely results in a general fight, but comes to single combats between warriors of each side, who step into the arena, taunt one another, exchange blows with the liangle, and wrestle together. The first wound ends the combat. This is often followed by an encounter between the women, who begin by scolding, and rouse each other to fury, tearing each other's hair, and striking one another with their yam-sticks or muurong poles [77]

[HEBREWS] "Now the Philistines gathered together their armies to battle . And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together And the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side and there was a valley between them.

[74] *Ibid*, pp 224–25, 231–32

[75] United Nations Conference on International Organization, San Francisco, 1945, *Charter of the United Nations* [etc] (U S Department of State, *Publications*, 2368) (San Francisco, 1945), preamble, 3 7 I

[76] Perhaps the best example of this is the "total war" of World War II

[77] Dawson, *op cit*, p 77

"And there went out a champion out of the camp of the Philistines, named Goliath. And he stood and cried unto the armies of Israel, and said unto them, Why are ye come out to set your battle in array? am not I a Philistine, and ye servants to Saul? choose you a man for you, and let him come down to me If he be able to fight with me, and to kill me, then will we be your servants but if I prevail against him, and kill him, then shall ye be our servants, and serve us And the Philistine said, I defy the armies of Israel this day, give me a man, that we may fight together .

"And David said to Saul, Let no man's heart fail because of him, thy servant will go and fight with this Philistine David prevailed over the Philistine And when the Philistines saw their champion was dead, they fled And the men of Israel and of Judah arose, and shouted, and pursued the Philistines And the wounded of the Philistines fell down by the way . And the children of Israel returned from chasing after the Philistines, and they spoiled their tents " [78]

[THONGA] In the Zihlahla country, when the chief wanted to muster his forces, he did so by means of the *shipalapala,* the trumpet A swift messenger . ran from village to village, blowing this instrument, when he was tired he passed it on to some other good runner, who carried the summons further afield, he ran and ran until he was exhausted, when he handed the trumpet to a third, and so on until the whole country had been reached

At the sound of the well-known call of the shipalapala, the warriors shout "to arms!" They at once put on their war costumes and repair to the capital .

Should an hostile yimpi have invaded the territory, every one can give the alarm . . shouting "it has entered!" (viz, the hostile army has invaded our territory) All the women flee away and the men run to the capital

Dressed out like wild animals, the warriors hasten with all speed to the chief's village, where the regiments muster The army [*yimpi*] is divided into a certain number of *battalions, mabotshu,* or *meboko,* all men of about the same age forming a *botshu* The *botshu* itself is made up of several companies, *mitlawa* or *mabandla,* and can therefore vary very much in numbers

In the army of Matjolo there were nine battalions commencing with that composed of youths from sixteen to twenty years old, up to that of "crown men" and the grey-head who were still capable of handling an assagai, for every able-bodied man is a soldier and makes it a point of honour to join the army when it is mobilised Each regiment has its own war-cry, in which it imitates the animal whose name it bears

When all have reached the capital the first procedure is the "formation of the circle" . *biya mukhumbi,* to fence the circle This is accomplished in the Zihlahla army by a special summons which I might call "the order to fall in" . .

[78] *Old Testament, I Samuel,* 17 (Later source = 7 cent B C ?)

The mukhumbi is not however a perfect circle It is rather like a *horse-shoe,* as there remains an *opening* which gives access into it On either side of this *door* the regiment of the young men takes up position . At the opposite end, facing the entrance, is the *chest of the army* where the chief stands surrounded by the men of riper age, the strongest of whom act as a bodyguard Between the chest and the opening, on both sides, the middle-aged warriors occupy the wings, the elder ones nearer the chest, the younger ones nearer the entrance

As regards the numerical strength of the mukhumbi, one of my informants who belonged to the Ndumakazulu regiment—young men from 19 to 25 years old—told me that he estimated the war strength of his regiment at about 500 men the entire Zihlahla circle might be put at 2000 strong

I have often seen the Nkuna mukhumbi assembled . They were between five and six hundred in all But this clan is very much scattered and many warriors were not present

Before going into battle, certain rites have to be accomplished In order to stimulate a war-like courage and to imbue the warrior's minds with a certainty of victory, it is necessary to proceed to the performance of the war-songs . of the war dances and to administer the medicine which will render the soldiers invulnerable . *starting of the army* is also made according to prescribed rites

If the field of battle is far away, if there is a long march to be made, special *marching songs* are sung on the road

As regards the *order of the march,* the battalions of the young men, stationed on either side of the entrance, go first they form the advanced guard, the post of greatest danger The scouts go in front, each company has its leader to whom these scouts bring reports It is the duty of the young men to surround the position to be carried and to make the assault The two sides of the circle then follow, and lastly the chest of the army, forming the rear guard The chief thus brings up the rear, protected by the battalions of veterans But generally the chief does not go to battle, he remains at home .

According to Mankhelu, the mukhumbi may be again formed when arriving in the proximity of the hostile army The battalions will be sent one after the other by the great ndjuna who will watch the progress of the fight If he sees his men giving way, he "pours" (tshelela) new companies to help those who are fighting until they rush the position (gwabula) and put the enemy to flight Then the pursuit begins The dust flies up to heaven! The vanquishers follow their enemies until they reach their villages As a rule, *they kill every one,* women, children, old men and tired warriors who have been unable to run away They take the oxen and burn the huts However, exceptions are made in some instances Generally speaking, however, the only lives spared are those of the younger women and girls of whom they can hope to make some profit, either by taking them as wives or selling them to others for matrimonial purposes These prisoners are called "heads"

When a yimpi has been defeated in battle, but is not pursued by the

enemy, it returns silently and disperses before reaching the capital, each warrior going back ashamed to his village Mourning takes place in the village of the deceased But much lamenting is not allowed

When the yimpi is victorious, the return is marked by important songs called *hubu* . The regiments follow each other, each singing his own *hubu*, and they at once build the mukhumbi when they reach the village of the chief They dance, dance their doughty deeds Suddenly silence is required, the counsellors narrate to the chief how the fighting has proceeded and tell him the names of those who have killed enemies . After which the heroes "gila" [war dance] to their heart's content . . . They are proud! They are applauded! They are the great men of the day . the saviours of the chief! [79]

Historical References

(1) "A society of any extent cannot be without a government The members must have laws to determine their differences, and they must have rules to put these laws in execution"—H Home, Lord Kames, *Essays on Several Subjects concerning British Antiquities* [1747] (Edinburgh, 1763, 3rd ed), p 194

(2) G. Simmel, *Soziologie*, p 134

(3) "For it is to be observed that *admiration, esteem*, and *concurrence in opinion*, are quite distinct from "Deference," and not necessarily accompanied by it If any one makes what appears to us to be a very just remark, or if we acquiesce in what he proposes on account of the reasons he alleges —this is not Deference And if this has happened many times, and we thence form a high opinion of his ability, this again neither implies nor even necessarily produces Deference, though in reason, such *ought* to be the result .

"Admiration, esteem, &c are more the result of a judgment of the *understanding*, (though often of an erroneous one,) "Deference" is apt to depend on *feelings*,—often, on whimsies and unaccountable feelings It is often yielded to a vigorous *claim*,—to an authoritative and over-bearing demeanor"—R. Whately, *Elements of Rhetoric* [1828] (New York, 1869, new ed), I 3 2 (p. 147)

(4) "To be admired and respected is to have an ascendant among men. The talents which most directly procure that ascendant, are those which operate on mankind, penetrate their views, prevent their wishes, or frustrate their designs The superior capacity leads with a superior energy, where every individual would go, and shews the hesitating and irresolute a clear passage to the attainment of their ends"—A Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, p. 51.

(5) "Personal *Affection*, again, in many minds, generates Deference. They form a habit of first, *wishing*, secondly, *hoping*, and thirdly, *believing*

[79] H A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, I, pp 430–31, 443–46, 449–50

[WESTERN EUROPE] For the role of armies in World War I, *vide* B H. L Hart, *A History of the World War* (Boston, 1935)

a person to be in the right, whom they would be *sorry* to think mistaken In a state of morbid depression of spirits, the same cause leads to the opposite effect To a person in that state, whatever he would be 'sorry to think' appears probable, and consequently there is a Presumption in his mind *against* the opinions, measures, &c of those he is most attached to That the degree of Deference felt for any one's Authority ought to depend not on our feelings, but on our judgment, it is almost superfluous to remark, but it is important to remember that there is a danger on *both* sides,—of an unreasonable Presumption either on the side of our wishes, or *against* them "—Whately, *op cit*, I 3 2 (p 148)

(6) "It is obvious that Deference ought to be and usually is, felt in reference to particular points One has a deference for his physician, in questions of medicine, and for his bailiff, in questions of farming "—*Ibid*, I 3 2 (pp 148–9).

(7) ". . in a democracy, the people meet and exercise the government in person, in a republic, they assemble and administer it by their representatives and agents A democracy, consequently, will be confined to a small spot A republic may be extended over a large region "—J Madison, in *The Federalist* [1787–88], ed E M Earle (New York, n d), 14 (p 80)

(8) "By a faction, I understand a number of citizens whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community

" From the protection of different and unequal faculties of acquiring property, the possession of different degrees and kinds of property immediately results, and from the influence of these on the sentiments and views of the respective proprietors, ensues a division of the society into different interests and parties

" A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points, as well of speculation as of practice, an attachment to different leaders ambitiously contending for pre-eminence and power, or to persons of other descriptions whose fortunes have been interesting to the human passions, have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to cooperate for their common good So strong is this propensity of mankind to fall into mutual animosities, that where no substantial occasion presents itself, the most frivolous and fanciful distinctions have been sufficient to kindle their unfriendly passions and excite their most violent conflicts But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views

" what are many of the most important acts of legislation, but so many judicial determinations, not indeed concerning the rights of single persons, but concerning the rights of large bodies of citizens? And what are the different classes of legislators but advocates and parties to the causes which they determine? Is a law proposed concerning private debts? It is a question to which the creditors are parties on one side and the debtors on the other Justice ought to hold the balance between them Yet the parties are, and must be, themselves the judges, and the most numerous party, or, in other words, the most powerful faction must be expected to prevail. Shall domestic manufactures be encouraged, and in what degree, by restrictions on foreign manufactures? are questions which would be differently decided by the landed and the manufacturing classes, and probably by neither with a sole regard to justice and the public good The apportionment of taxes on the various descriptions of property is an act which seems to require the most exact impartiality, yet there is, perhaps, no legislative act in which greater opportunity and temptation are given to a predominant party to trample on the rules of justice Every shilling with which they overburden the inferior number, is a shilling saved to their own pockets "—*Ibid* , 10 (pp 54–57)

(9) "Therefore when I consider and weigh in my mind all these commonwealths, which nowadays anywhere do flourish, so God help me, I can perceive nothing but a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and title of the commonwealth They invent and devise all means and crafts, first how to keep safely, without fear of losing, that they have unjustly gathered together, and next how to hire and abuse the work and labour of the poor for as little money as may be These devices, when the rich men have decreed to be kept and observed for the commonwealth's sake, that is to say, for the wealth also of the poor people, then they be made laws "—T More, *Utopia* [1516], ed J H Lupton (Oxford, 1895), pp 303–04

(10) "Wherever the balance of government lys, there naturally is the militia of the same, and against him or them wherein the militia is naturally lodg'd, there can be no negative vote "—J Harrington (1611–1677), "The art of lawgiving," 1 1, in *The Oceana and Other Works* (London, 1771), pp 359–438

(11) " . . many peoples have regarded their rulers, whether chiefs or kings, with superstitious awe as beings of a higher order and endowed with mightier powers than common folk "—J G Frazer, *Psyche's Task* (London, 1909), pp 15–16

(12) "For the sake of making themselves secure, kings who seized the throne in ancient times used to try to spread the idea that they were descended from the immortal gods, thinking that if their subjects and the rest of mankind did not look on them as equals, but believed them to be gods, they would willingly submit to their rule, and obey their commands "—B Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus,* 17 (p 204), in *Opera,* III, pp. 1–267, tr R H M. Elwes (London, 1883)

XV

SOCIAL CONTROL: EDUCATION AND REINFORCEMENTS

You will recall that in Chapter III I tried to show that a society adjusts by means of its customs, and that adjustment through social differentiation is possible only if the members of the society tend to behave according to the same body of customs Therefore, if a society is to persist, it must have some way of getting its members to follow its customs The *social controls* found in a culture, then, are the body of customs by which the behavior of the participants is regulated so that they conform to the culture

There are three kinds of customary social controls education, reinforcements, and sanctions Education teaches the members how to behave according to the customs of the group, reinforcements support customs, and sanctions reward or punish acts according to whether they do or do not conform to custom.

EDUCATION

Education is the customary means of imparting the culture of a group It has two main effects First, it is the agency by which the group teaches its members how to adjust We saw in Chapter I that man has relatively few inherited behavior patterns, so that he learns most of his adjustive behavior And since most of what man learns, he learns from others, the educational process is the agency through which he acquires the greater part of his adjustive behavior

[JABO] "As we teach a child, so he learns" [1]

[CHINA] "The jade uncut will not form a vessel for use; and if men do not learn, they do not know the way in which they should go" [2]

[1] G Herzog, *Jabo Proverbs from Liberia,* p 169

[2] *Li Chi,* 16 2

Second, it is the means by which the customs of a group are perpetuated

[CHINA] " . . . if one understands education, there should be no changes, and so people would know the business of the people and there would be no divergent customs " [3]

[UNITED STATES] "What would happen if the teachers in our schools and colleges, our theological seminaries and law schools, should make it their business to emphasize the temporary and provisional character of the instruction that they offer, and urge the students to transcend it as fast as a progressive world permitted? The humorous nature of such a suggestion shows how far we are still from any general realization and acceptance of the great lesson of history " [4]

In the educational process the individual is taught to behave in conformity to group custom and is discouraged from behavior which violates such custom Therefore education transmits the culture through successive generations

[ASHANTI] "When your child dances badly, tell him, saying, 'Your dancing is not good,' and do not say to him '(Little) soul, just dance as you want to' " [5]

The Lepchas are very explicit about their aims in the education of their children Children fall into two categories—*ko chet*, or good, and *ta-ne*, or naughty These terms are only applied to children and are clearly defined "A good child (*ko-chet*) will help its parents in the fields and in the house, will tell the truth and own up if it is charged with wrong-doing, will listen carefully to its elders and learn what they teach him, will help old people and will be peaceable A bad child (*tane*) will tell lies and quarrel and insult people; if it is reproved it will draw its knife in anger and won't own up, it will take other people's property and not do its proper share of the work "

A child is not placed into one of these two categories early, for they are final and not temporary qualifications The character of a young child is considered malleable, and the early years are used to evoke the *ko-chet* qualities and destroy the *tane* ones, a child is only called *tane* when it appears that education has failed There is considerable variation of opinion as to when judgment can be finally made, some consider that a child's character is fixed at the age of eight, others that it will not completely manifest itself till the child is married, the general consensus of opinion is, however, that a child will fall into one of the two categories by the age of ten Whatever age is chosen, it is believed that at that time, the child's

[3] *Shang tzŭ*, tr J. J L Duyvendak (*Probsthain's Oriental Series*, 17) (London, 1928), 4 17.4a–b [late addition, 2nd cent B C (?)]

[4] J H Robinson, *The New History* (New York, 1912), p 266

[5] R. S Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 314

character, previously vague and undetermined, is finally fixed and will not later be modified

A child which may, if great care is not taken, later become *tane* is indicated in its earlier childhood by several characteristic traits, if it hacks at the house and door when it is given its knife, if it cries because it is scolded or because something is taken away from it which might be harmful or which does not belong to it, if it uses abusive language, these are all signs that the parents must be especially watchful It is the parents' duty to eradicate such inborn naughtiness. A child's companions are also considered to be of great importance "Good companions will make a good child, bad companions a naughty one" It is believed that excessive spoiling and indulgence by both parents may warp a child's character, but not irremediably

If a child is not good by about the age of ten there is very little hope for it The experiment may be tried of sending it away to be reared by strangers, but this is seldom successful This course was tried with a boy from Lungdeum and also with Katel's eldest son, but both boys ran away and wandered all over the place, Katel's son finally dying young in foreign parts The only person in Lingthem who was really *tane*—a quarreller and a thief—was Sangkyar, who is a cretinous defective [6]

[UNITED STATES] "It is almost a self-evident fact that the future citizens of this country get their ideas and ideals of citizenship, of government and of morals mainly from the schoolroom, so far as any sources outside of their own homes are concerned The most effective place to fight Bolshevism and all other brands of loose and poisonous economic thinking is in the schoolroom" [7]

Education can be classified into informal and formal Now, most of an individual's education in any society is informal consider how little of the socially acquired behavior you perform during the day was learned in school

The degree of formality found in education depends upon the nature of the customs being learned If the individual is to acquire customs which (*a*) have only moderate social value and (*b*) are relatively simple and easily acquired, the education is informal.

[NEW IRELAND] Education here is for the most part a subtle process From infancy, children are bystanders in the adult world Wherever the adults are gathered, there also are the children, watching them as they perform their tasks, assisting in them within their strength, and listening to the conversations, on which there are no bars because of the presence of children . .

One aspect of the child's education is not so subtle Definite instruction is given in the telling of folk-tales and myths Sometimes the children may

[6] G Gorer, *Himalayan Village*, pp 306–07

[7] F Crissey, "Our country schools," *Saturday Evening Post*, 193 (1920–21), no 42, (pp 54, 59, 62), p 59

learn them casually as they sit around the campfires at night with the adults, but to assure the children's real knowledge of this folk literature, there is a period lasting three or four weeks during which the adult males and females tell the children tales at night around the fire A feast marks the completion of this period for the relation of folk-tales The tales are very much in the nature of Aesop's Fables, in that many of them point a moral Etiquette, taboos, customs, are all illustrated in these narratives, as is also the punishment for those who break taboos and customs [8]

Formal education exists when the customs being learned (*a*) have high social value (in which case the ceremonial form of the educational process symbolizes that value) and/or (*b*) are complex and acquired with difficulty

[THONGA] It [the initiation ceremony] has been compared sometimes to a school and it is true that there is some intellectual learning in it, though very scanty and insignificant Every morning the candidates are brought together to the place of the formulae . There is a tree in the midst of this square A special instructor, whose father has already exercised this function, climbs on the tree and begins to teach the boys, He says

Little boys, do you hear me I say

Then come the words of the secret formulae which are a great taboo and which they must learn by heart, sentence after sentence [9]

[UNITED STATES] "The process of becoming a full-fledged member of —— [a college sorority] was a long drawn out process It began when our pledge ribbons, which had been pinned on us when we first accepted the invitation to join, were replaced by pledge pins . .

"In the following months . we were required to learn the Greek alphabet (capital letters only), the names of founders and national officers, and the list of chapters by district and college, as well as the history of the sorority Written examinations were given on all of this material

"During this period we learned all of the sorority's songs except those reserved for the ritual of initiation. Weekly pledge meetings were held at which the assignments for our study of sorority history were made, the quizzes on this material were given, [etc] .

"The final week before initiation . . those who . . had passed the exams on sorority history were then ready for the final initiation ceremony . . . At this ceremony there was considerable singing [at which the pledges heard the ceremonial songs for the first time Later] . two girls at a time were instructed in the secrets of the sorority Finally as the climax was reached the symbolism of the [sorority] crest was explained"

Formal education, in turn, is either tutorial or institutionalized in the form of schools (institutions for teaching novices) and learned

[8] H Powdermaker, *Life in Lesu*, 92–93 For analogous data on the United States, *vide* J West (pseud), *Plainville, U S A* (New York, 1945), pp 178–94

[9] H A Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, I, p 85

societies (institutions for the exchange of knowledge between experts)

[CREEK] The doctors or priests—at least a great majority of them—belonged to a class of learned men . who had received their training in certain schools of higher learning, if we may so denominate them From one to four young men . would go into the town and engage some old Indian who was known to have passed through the course and was prepared to teach them Then all repaired together to a stream of water, usually a densely wooded creek bottom where they were not likely to be observed, Then the novice drank great quantities of medicine at intervals of an hour or more, so arranging it that by noon he would have taken it four separate times At noon the instructor began to tell the novice either by words or songs some of the most elementary things he had to learn After talking for some time he went away When the sun was just above the western horizon he came back and gave more instruction and left the man in the woods again

The first thing that would be taught was how to treat gunshot wounds There were three ways of treating these (1) For flesh wounds, (2) for bowel wounds, (3) for head wounds The instructor would tell what to do and what songs to sing in order to give virtue to the medicine they made for the wounds Then the instructor said, "You sing this Sing it as I have sung it to you" Sometimes these are merely recited formulas When the novice had repeated as best he could what the instructor had told him the instructor criticized, and corrected him where he had made mistakes Then he instructed him again and said, "Now go over it as I have" He did not stop because his pupil had repeated it correctly once but made him go over it often later, because unless it was gone over in just such a manner it would not be effective when used After this he would teach the novice the proper treatment for any disease that the latter might desire to learn about This instruction was continued for four successive days Then the novice was stopped because the teacher thought it better for him to think those things over and repeat them to himself for a while before learning more After a month or two, during which the novice went back to the town, he could return to the woods and take another course There were only slight variations between the methods of instruction of different teachers Few ever took a complete course After the fifth or sixth 4-day period one could ask the teacher to put him through the 8-day session, and after that he could ask the teacher to put him through the 12-day session, which was the last There were very few teachers because very few had passed through the 12-day course. This instruction seems to have required fasting and isolation from noise because nothing was written and everything must be imprinted on the mind Noises would disturb the process [10]

[10] J. R Swanton, "Religious beliefs and medical practices of the Creek Indians," *Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 42 (1924–25) (pp 473–672) pp 617–18

[WESTERN EUROPE] "1488, I acknowledge and record, this 1st day of April, that I, Lodovico di Lionardo di Buonarroti have engaged Michelagnolo my son to Domenico and David di Tommaso di Currado, for the three years next to come, under the following conditions That the said Michelagnolo shall remain with the above-named during all the said time, to the end that they may teach him to paint and to exercise their vocation, and that the above-named shall have full command over him, paying him in the course of these three years twenty-four florins, as wages, in the first six namely, in the second eight, and in the third ten, being in all ninety-six lira" [11]

[MAORI] "There was no one universal system of teaching in the Whare-wananga ['House of learning'] Each tribe had its own priests, its own college, and its own methods From tribe to tribe this was so, the teaching was diverted from the true teaching by the self-conceit of the priests which allowed of departure from their own doctrines to those of other Whare-wananga My word to you is Hold steadfastly to our teaching leave out of consideration that of other tribes Let their descendants adhere to their teaching, and you to ours, so that if you err, it was we your relatives who declared it unto you and you are not responsible, and if you are in the right, it is we who shall leave to you this valuable property and should have the credit thereof The omissions in our discourse, you will be able to adjust, whether it be of the foundations of knowledge or that which proceeds from it The omissions in my teaching, or innovations, the variations, the interruptions, or divergence from the main argument or true story, Paratene Te Okawhaie and Nepia Pohuhu will be able to supply Their teaching is the same as mine—one of them can adjust this My wish was, if Te Ura had consented, there should have been only one house of teaching for all of us together, in that case there would have been no trouble, for one of us would have laid down the main line of teaching and discourse thereon, whilst two would have listened in case of any divergence, and one of them would supplement it, or in case of the 'solution of continuity' the other would cause the discourse to flow again, and to become reaffixed to the root of the subject, or supply and omissions It was thus in the Whare-wananga—not less than three teachers took part, not counting the many other *tohungas* (or priests) present In this way all went properly The *tauira* (or pupils) are not here considered, for unto them was poured out the properties (teaching) in the basket-of-knowledge Their business was to listen, and to firmly fix in their hearts, in their very roots and origins, all they are taught, with also the strong desire to retain it all

"The Whare-wananga is for use by those young men who are considered by their tribe to be suitable for learning, who are intelligent and alert, and display perseverance in learning what is taught them It is those alone who are allowed to enter the Whare-wananga They have to undergo a preliminary teaching amongst their own tribe before entering The house of

[11] G Vasari, "Michelagnolo Buonarroti," pp 138–39, in *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori* [1550], ed G Milanesi (Florence, 1906), VII, pp 135–404, tr. J Foster, New York, 1896

teaching is for such cases, and for all tribes—not for a single tribe or for one or two only

"Now, in constructing the Whare-wananga let the site be outside the palisaded *pa,* and away from the village, or the food-cultivations, or the bird-preserves, or canoe-landing places, or distant from paths where men pass This was done because the Whare-wananga was a *whare-tapu*—a sacred house—and the sacredness extended to the *ahurewa,* or altar, the *marae,* or court, and the latrines, together with all those who took part in teaching and learning—all were extremely *tapu* In case the dedication *karakias* (prayers, incantations, etc) only covered as far as the *paepaeawha,* it would not render the house sufficiently *tapu,* a house trodden by the feet of ordinary men in such case would not have sufficient *mana* (prestige, power, etc) Nothing that took place within the house during the teaching might be disclosed—it was sacred The whole of the *marae* is *tapu,* as well as all belonging to a properly constituted Whare-wananga " [12]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "The business of the [Royal] Society in their ordinary Meetings shall be, to order, take account, consider, and discourse of philosophical experiments and observations, to read, hear, and discourse upon letters, reports, and other papers, containing philosophical matters, as also to view, and discourse upon, rarities of nature and art and thereupon to consider, what may be deduced from them, or any of them, and how far they, or any of them, may be improved for use of discovery " [13]

REINFORCEMENTS

As a result of the interaction between the customs forming a culture, action according to one custom often involves other customs. In such cases, conforming to one custom not only confirms that particular custom but also abets those with which it harmoniously interacts This process is *reinforcement* Therefore, in so far as the customs of a culture are interdependent, performing any of such customs will affect the others, and throughout this work many cases of this phenomenon have been pointed out However, there are some customs which are particularly important in this respect, and we will now examine them.

Time perspective

Time perspective is a group's conception of its present in rela-

[12] S P Smith, *The Lore of the Whare-wananga* (Polynesian Society, *Memoirs,* 3–4) (New Plymouth, 1913–15), I, pp 84–86

[UNITED STATES] For a description of schools in our own society, *vide* W Waller, *The Sociology of Teaching,* New York, 1932

[13] Royal Society of London, "The original statutes enacted in 1663," 4 5, in *The Record of the Royal Society of London* (London, 1940, 4th ed), pp 287–301

tion to its past and future The group's customary retrospect of its past constitutes its history, its customary prospect of its future actions, its expectations In connection with this topic it is important to recall that in their perception of situations a people's frame of reference depends to a large extent on their experiences in the past and anticipations of the future (1)

Time perspective is a one-dimensional continuum, and the length of a group's temporal continuum is related to its conception of its role in the universe For example, to take our own culture as an illustration, modern man is cosmically important if he was made in God's image 6 days after the creation of the universe, 6,000 years ago, he is a cosmic triviality if he is the temporary form of a genus which happened to evolve about 1,000,000 years ago on one of the smaller planets of a third rate star in a universe that is about 2,000,-000,000 years old.

[WESTERN EUROPE] "In the beginning God created Heaven and Earth Which beginning of time, according to our Chronologie, fell upon the entrance of the night preceding the twenty third day of *Octob* in the year of the Julian Calendar, 710 [i e, 4004 B C]

"And upon the sixth day (*Octob 28 which is our Friday*) man was made and created after the image of God"[14]

"... the age of the earth [and the universe as a whole] has been bracketed between one and a half and three and a half billions of years."[15]

Time perspective also embodies a group's conception of its role in relation to other groups in the society; or in the case of a society, in relation to other societies

The clan of the Kwakiutl is so organized that a certain limited number of families are recognized The ancestor of each of these families has a tradition of his own aside from the general clan tradition, and, owing to the possession of the tradition, which almost always concerns the acquisition of a manitou, he has certain crests and privileges of his own This tradition and the crests and privileges connected with it descended, together with the name of the ancestor, upon his direct descendants in the male line, or, as indicated above, through marriage of his daughter, upon his son-in law, and through him upon his grandchildren But there is only one man at a time who personates the ancestor and who, consequently, has

[14] J Ussher, *Annales veteris testamenti* [1650–54], I, pp 13–14, in *Works*, ed C R Elrington and J H Todd (Dublin, 1847–64), VIII–X, tr Author (London, 1658)

[15] S Chandrasekhar, "Galactic evidences for the time-scale of the universe," *Science*, 99 (1944), (pp 133–36) p 136.

his rank and privileges The individuals personating the ancestors form the nobility of the tribe The number of noblemen is therefore fixed They are not equal in rank, but range in the manner in which their ancestors were supposed to range At all festivals they sit in the order of their rank, which is therefore called the "seat" of the person The legend says that the order of seats were given by the deity at a festival of the tribes, at the time when animals were still able to speak The noblest clan, and among them the noblest name, is called the "eagle" (kuek) of the tribe[16]

. . each clan claims a certain rank and certain privileges which are based on the descent and adventure of its ancestors[17]

There is hardly an American to be met with who does not claim some remote kindred with the first founders of the colonies, and as for the scions of the noble families of England, America seemed to me to be covered with them[18]

[UNITED STATES] . the intense faith which the Americans have in the soundness of their institutions, and in the future of their country Foreign critics have said that they think themselves the special objects of the care of Divine Providence . There is among pious persons a deep conviction—one may often hear it expressed on platforms and from pulpits with evident sincerity—that God has specially chosen the nation to work out a higher type of civilization than any other State has yet attained, and that this great work will surely be brought to a happy issue by the protecting hand that has so long guided it And, even when the feeling does not take a theological expression, the belief in what is called the "Mission of the Republic" for all humanity is scarcely less ardent[19]

Besides, time perspective strengthens the solidarity of the group and reinforces its customs Being a continuum, it gives people a sense of the persistence and unity of their group and its customs

[WEST GREENLAND ESKIMO] The nation being so widely spread, its traditions, and especially the religious element in them, formed the only connecting-link between the scattered tribes[20]

[WESTERN EUROPE] Groups of pre-capitalist origin, in which the communal element prevails, may be held together by traditions or by common sentiments alone In such a group, theoretical reflection is of entirely secondary importance On the other hand, in groups which are not welded together primarily by such organic bonds of community life, but which merely occupy similar positions in the social-economic systems, rigorous theorizing is a prerequisite of cohesion. Viewed sociologically this extreme

16 Boas, "The social organization and the secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," pp 338–39

17 *Ibid*, p 334

18 A De Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amerique,* III, Pt 3, Chap 3 (p 281)

19 *Ibid*, II, pp 353–54

20 H J Rink, *Eskimoiske eventyr og sagn,* suppl, p 204

need for theory is the expression of a class society in which persons must be held together not by local proximity but by similar circumstances of life in an extensive social sphere Sentimental ties are effective only within a limited spatial area, while a theoretical *Weltanschauung* has a unifying power over great distances Hence a rationalized conception of history serves as a socially unifying factor for groups dispersed in space, and at the same time furnishes continuity to generations which continuously grow up into similar social conditions In the formation of classes, a similar position in the social order and a unifying theory are of primary importance Emotional ties which subsequently spring up are only a reflection of the already existing situation and are always more or less regulated by theory [21]

Being one dimensional, it gives direction to the group's actions, thus giving meaning and purpose to the group's existence and deeds (2)

" the idea of civilization in the United States This idea of civilization, in a composite formulation, embraces a conception of history as a struggle of human beings in the world for individual and social perfection—for the good, the true, the beautiful—against ignorance, disease, the harshness of physical nature, the forces of barbarism in individuals and in society It assigns to history in the United States, so conceived, unique features in origins, substance, and development " [22]

So far we have considered time perspective as a whole Now let us break it down into its components, history and expectation

I History

A. Precedence

1 In narrating ways in which people have acted in the past, history suggests suitable ways of acting in the present It is thus a transmitter of culture (3)

[WEST GREENLAND ESKIMO] . these utterances of culture are for the most part embodied in the traditional tales

Generally, all sorts of mythical traditions are looked upon chiefly as materials to aid in the search for historical facts But with regard to a stage of culture like that of the Greenland Eskimo before their conversion to Christianity, the traditions in reality may be said to comprise the whole national store of intellectual or moral property—viz, religion, science, and poetry at once, these manifestations of culture being but very imperfectly represented separately in a more specialised form

In the first place, the traditions are to be considered as including a

[21] K Mannheim, *Ideologie und Utopie (Schriften zur Philosophie und Soziologie,* 3) (Bonn, 1929), pp 93–94, tr L. Wirth and E Shils (London, 1936)

[22] C A and M R Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1927–42), IV, p 672

system of religion and morals as well as of laws and rules for social life Such knowledge as they convey is unconsciously imbibed by the native from his earliest childhood through listening to the story-tellers, exactly as a child learns to speak And when the Greenlander nowadays is in doubt about any question regarding the superstitions or customs of his ancestors, he will try to find an answer by looking for some sample out of his tales, ancient or modern, the latter also containing elementary parts of ancient origin kept up in this manner by succeeding generations The information used for our introductory remarks has also been chiefly derived from this source [23]

[KWAKIUTL] "We have traditions which teach us our laws" [24]

"I was walking along in Fort Rupert I begged Hamiskinis to tell me about what he would do when he wished the northwest wind to come He spoke at once, and said, 'Listen, that I may teach you!' Thus he said 'One time, when I was going south to Victoria, we arrived at Oseq, and the southeast wind began to blow strong The wind lasted all day and all night Then I arose in the morning, and I saw that the southeast wind was still blowing I started our camp-fire, and as soon as the fire blazed up, I went down to the beach, for the tide of the sea was half out Then I searched for small crabs underneath the stones, and I found four crabs I carried the four and went up the beach Then I took cedar-bark and split it into strips I took four strips and tied them to the right claws of the crabs As soon as I had tied the cedar-bark to the four crabs, I took poles and drove them into the ground Not really upright were the poles, which were two fathoms (long), but it was thus,' said Hamiskinis (imitating on the ground with cedar-sticks what he said, while he placed them down on the ground) The poles leaned over, and to the ends he hung the four crabs 'Then I watched them, and as soon as I saw that the shells began to be red, I took them down, and I untied the cedar-bark from the claws I put them down, and I searched for four large clam-shells As soon as I found them, I took one of the crabs and put it into (a clam-shell) Then I took the cedar-bark with which they had been hung up, and tied it around, so that the shell should not open Then I did so also the next one, and I did so to the four shells As soon as I had finished tying the four clam-shells, I went and carried them into the woods I searched for a hole in the bottom of a tree, and when I found a hole in the bottom of a hemlock-tree, I put three shells into it Then I spoke to the last one, and said, 'Warn your friends to call strongly the northwest wind and the east wind, else you will not go back to the beach, if you do not get what has been planned for you and your friends' Thus I said when I put it down in the hole on the ground Then I left them, went back, and bathed in the sea As soon as I had finished, I sat down on the beach, that the wind might dry me Thus he said 'As soon as I began to be dry, I dressed, and I warmed myself by the camp-fire Now I waited for the northwest wind to blow at noon' Thus he said

"I questioned Hamiskinis again, and I said to him, 'Who indeed, was

[23] Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, pp 5, 86–87
[24] Boas, *op cit*, p 592

the first to wish that this should be done to the crabs for calling the northwest wind?' Thus I said to him.

"He replied at once, and said: 'You know about all the Myth people,—all the different quadrupeds, and all the different birds, and also all the different crabs: they were all like men, and also the trees and all the plants. Then war was made against the southeast wind by the Myth people. That was the place where Great-Inventor questioned his younger brothers, and said: 'O younger brothers! who, indeed, controls the weather among you?' Thus he said. 'Immediately a short man spoke, and said, 'O Myth people! when you wish for the northwest wind in our world,'—thus said the Crab, for that was the name of the short man,—'then take four of the crabs that look just like me, and take four long pieces of cedar-bark, and tie the ends of the cedar-bark to the right claws, and hang them right over your fire, and as soon as their backs begin to be red, take them down, untie the cedar-bark from the claws, and search for four large clam-shells, and put the crabs into them, and tie them with the cedar-bark that was tied to the claws of the crabs. Then when each crab is in one shell, and after you have tied them, go into the woods behind your houses, and search for a hole in the bottom of a tree, and as soon as you find a hole in a tree, put three shells into it, and then again take one shell and pray to it, and say: 'Now warn your friends to call strongly the northwest wind and the east wind, else you will not go back to the beach, if you do not get what has been planned for you and your friends.' Thus you shall say to us, and you shall put the one into the hole. Then leave them, and the northwest wind will come at once.' Thus he said. Therefore it is known by the later (generations of) people." [25]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "In Paris, Julien's position with regard to Madame de Rênal would very soon have been simplified, but in Paris love is the child of the novels. The young tutor and his timid mistress would have found in three or four novels, and even in the lyrics of the Gymnase a clear statement of their situation. The novel would have outlined for them the part to be played, shewn them the model to copy, and this model, sooner or later, albeit without the slightest pleasure, and perhaps with reluctance, vanity would have compelled Julien to follow." [26]

2. Since custom is the standard of correctness and incorrectness, actions being correct when they conform to custom and incorrect if they do not, to show that actions have a precedent often provides a presumption that being traditional, they are customary, and being customary, correct. (4)

[25] Boas, "Ethnology of the Kwakiutl," *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 35 (1913–14), (pp. 43–1481) pp. 620–23.

[26] M. H. Beyle (Stendhal), *Le rouge et le noir* [1831], Chap. 7 (I, p. 67), in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. Arbelet *et al.* (Paris, 1913–), VI, tr. C. K. Scott-Moncrieff (New York, 1926).

[KWAKIUTL] "Indeed, indeed, for this was told to our ancestors for we add on nothing new to what we were advised to do when we try to get a wife. Now I notice everything that we are doing coming up this point. There were no new ways added on and nothing was forgotten. Now thank you, chiefs, you have done well." [27]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "It must be that that's the right thing since it was so ordained of old." [28]

B. Rationalization: history reinforces custom by giving good reasons for these ways of acting.

1. Authorization: in so far as the one who acted in the described way had high status, his example tends to make him a leader and so influences the behavior of those who learn the tradition.

[ZULU] "They circumcised because Unkulunkulu said, 'Let men circumcise, that they may not be boys.' And Unkulunkulu also circumcised, for he commanded us to circumcise." [29]

[UNITED STATES] "The meaning of Washington in American history is discipline. The message of Washington's life to the American people is discipline. The need of American character is discipline.

"Washington did not give patriotism to the American colonies. The people had that as abundantly as he. He did not give them courage. That quality was and is in the American blood. He did not even give them resource. There were intellects more productive than his. But Washington gave balance and direction to elemental forces. He was the genius of order. He was poise personified. He was the spirit of discipline. He was the first Great Conservative. . . . Conservatism does not mean adherence to existing order merely because it is existing order. Conservatism means the adaptation of means to ends naturally and without violence. Reason is the touchstone of conservatism.

"And so it is that we must foster the element of conservatism in American character as we would fan the spark of life itself, for it is that vital spark. Let the American people write over the fireside of every American home those words of inspired direction: *Prove all things—hold fast to that which is good.* Time is the greater reasoner. Patience is the eternal method of accuracy and truth. Time and Patience, Patience and Time—these are the ancient counselors who never err. These are the sages to consult when perplexing situations seem insolvable. . . . so in your relations to the state and your attitude toward all questions that present themselves to you

[27] Boas, *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Kwakiutl* (Columbia U., *Contributions to Anthropology*, 3) (New York, 1925), p. 275.

[28] A. N. Ostrovsky (1823–1886), *Vyednost ne porok*, p. 65, in *Sochineniya*, ed. M. I. Pisareva (St. Petersburg, 1905), II, pp. 1–82.

[29] H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* [1870] (Folk-Lore Society, *Publications*, 15) (London, 1885), p. 58.

as one of a self-governing people, remember Washington and strive to be like him—reserved, considering, considerate and calm " [30]

2 Validation history narrates the consequences of alternative ways of acting, and shows that the group's customs have worked in the past.

[ILA] Many of them [i e, tales] have a special name given to them, i e, *Kashimi* All the other tales were made, and are told, for amusement, with no didactic purpose, but these have a definite aim They end with the words *Inzho bamushima,* which means, "And so they make a byword of him, put him on record as an example not to be followed" A nagging woman, an ungrateful, cruel son, a querulous wife, a man who hurts himself, a naughty child, silly women who entrust their children to old hags, fools who do not understand—all are put on record as solemn or humorous warnings to the younger generation

There was once a woman named Mukamunkomba and she was a scold, always finding fault with everybody In particular she would never allow people to talk, but always stopped them She was always the same, railing and nagging Now in those old days she was nursing two of her daughter's children they were young and were always disputing with each other, as is the way of children The old woman so surpassed herself in nagging those children, her own grandchildren, that her mouth split And so they have put her on record as a warning, and when they hear any one nagging they say "Beware, you will split at the mouth as old Mukamunkomba did with her railing If you have to find fault with any one, do it once only; don't keep on at it" [31]

[UNITED STATES] "When I was in elementary school my teachers told us that honest Abe Lincoln had been born in a log cabin, studied by fire-light and walked miles for books to read, worked as a grocery clerk and walked many more miles to return a few cents to an overcharged customer That's why he became president And so, if we studied hard, worked hard, and were honest, we too could become president"

C Socialization of the environment· history socializes the environment when the incidents are localized

1. The landscape becomes part of the society, as it were In so far as history is localized, the group establishes social relations with the environment, and the members of the group adjust to it by means of their usual forms of social interaction.

[30] A J Beveridge, *The Meaning of the Times* (Indianapolis, 1908), pp 153, 156–58

[31] E W Smith and A M Dale, *The Ila Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia,* II, pp 313, 412

[TIBET] "In Kham the foremost of mountains is the great Kakrpo in the far south Any Tibetan who catches a glimpse of it even in the far distance prostrates himself in reverence, for it is a mansion of Sakya-Tubpa, the Lord Buddha " [32]

[UNITED STATES]

"The Robin's my criterion of tune
Because I grow where robins do—
But were I Cuckoo born
I'd swear by him,
The ode familiar rules the morn
The Buttercup's my whim for bloom
Because we're orchard-sprung—
But were I Britain born
I'd daisies spurn—
None but the Nut October fits,
Because through dropping it
The seasons flit, I'm taught
Without the snow's tableau
Winter were lie to me—
Because I see New Englandly.
The Queen discerns like me—
Provincially." [33]

2 The locality become symbols of important social events and reinforce the customs connected with them.

[WARRAMUNGA] . we went off, in company with a little party of older natives Every prominent feature of any kind was associated with some tradition of their past A range some five miles away from Tennant Creek arose to mark the path traversed by the great ancestor of the Pittongu (bat) totem Several miles further on a solitary upstanding column of rock represented an opossum man who rested here, looked about the country, and left spirit children behind him, a low range of remarkably white quartzite hills indicated a large number of white ant eggs thrown here in the Wingara [the formative period of the world] by the Munga-munga [yam totem] women as they passed across the country A solitary flat-topped hill arose to mark the spot where the Wongana (crow) ancestor paused for some time, trying to pierce his nose, and on the second night we camped by the side of a water-hole where the same crow lived for some time in the Wingara, and where now there are plenty of crow spirit children All the time, as we travelled along, the old men were talking amongst themselves about the natural features associated in tradition with these and other totemic ancestors of the tribe, and pointing them out to us [34]

[UNITED STATES] 'This national shrine [of Valley Forge] needs no description, the events enacted here require no recounting to the American

[32] R L King, *We Tibetans* (London, 1926), p 66

[33] E Dickinson, *Poems*, p 307

[34] B Spencer and F J Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p 249

people The very name, Valley Forge, swells within us a pride of nationality These peaceful fields hold a glory peculiarly their own The sufferings of Washington's Army in that dreadful winter of privation have made this place famous among all men

"It was not the glory of battle for which these fields are remembered No great battle was fought here It is a shrine to the things of the spirit and of the soul

"It was the transcendent fortitude and steadfastness of these men who in adversity and in suffering through the darkest hour of our history held faithful to an ideal Here men endured that a nation might live .

"This peculiar significance of Valley Forge in our American annals should strike us all with especial force in this particular moment of our national life The American people are going through another Valley Forge at this time The whole Nation is beset with difficulties incident to a world-wide depression Their far-reaching effects have fallen heavily upon many who were in no wise concerned with their causes Many have lost the savings of a lifetime, many are unemployed, all know the misgivings of doubt and grave concern for the future

" Numerous are the temptations under the distress of the day to turn aside from our true national purposes and from wise national policies and fundamental ideals of the men who builded our Republic

"For the energies of private initiative, of independence, and a high degree of individual freedom of our American system we are offered an alluring substitute in the specious claim that everybody collectively owes each of us individually a living rather than an opportunity to earn a living, and the equally specious claim that hired representatives of a hundred million people can do better than the people themselves, in thinking and planning their daily life .

"Sirens still sing the song of the easy way for the moment of difficulty, but the common sense of the common man, the inherited tradition of an independent and self-reliant race, the historical memory of Americans who glory in Valley Forge even as they glory in Yorktown—all these tell us the truth for which our ancestors fought and suffered, the truth which echoes upward from this soil of blood and tears, that the way to the Nation's greatness is the path of self-reliance, independence, and steadfastness in times of trial and stress " [35]

II Expectation

A Direction expectation orients the group's action and makes it effective It gives the group a common goal to strive for, and their cooperation to achieve that goal increases the solidarity of the group (5)

[UNITED STATES] "I look for the Resurrection of the dead And the Life of the world to come " [36]

[35] H Hoover, *Address at Valley Forge Park* (Washington, 1931), pp 1–4
[36] *Nicene Creed*

B Guidance expectation helps the group to interpret its present situation and action in terms of their influence in achieving the anticipated goal, in other words, how people behave depends upon the consequences they anticipate from the various alternatives

[WESTERN EUROPE] " the general strike is indeed what I have said the *myth* in which Socialism is wholly comprised, i e , a body of images capable of evoking instinctively all the sentiments which correspond to the different manifestations of the war undertaken by Socialism against modern society Strikes have engendered in the proletariat the noblest, deepest, and most moving sentiments that they possess, the general strike groups them all in a co ordinated picture, and, by bringing them together, gives to each one of them its maximum of intensity, appealing to their painful memories of particular conflicts, it colours with an intense life all the details of the composition presented to consciousness We thus obtain that intuition of Socialism which language cannot give us with perfect clearness —and we obtain it as a whole, perceived instantaneously " [37]

To sum up, time perspective acts as a social control as well as a means by which the group adjusts to its present situation. (6)

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Since, in the observation of the present time, we celebrate both the Advents of Christ, we must distinguish what, at this season, we have to believe as past, what we have to expect as future, to the end that the expectation of future things may, by fear, restrain you from sin and belief in that which is past, if you are not lukewarm in charity, may conform you in that which is good " [38]

[UNITED STATES] "Hitherto the radical has appealed to the future, but now he can confidently rest his case on past achievement and current success He can point to what has been done, he can cite what is being done, he can perceive as never before what remains to be done, and, lastly, he begins to see, as never before, how it will get done " [39]

Indeed, this latter point is sometimes carried so far that the time perspective is used to ameliorate group maladjustment, for dissatisfied people can get some gratification from living on memories of their past glories or hopes of future successes

"The Jew cannot control the economic and political milieu which shapes his destiny . . . But in his inner life he can be the arbiter The

37 G Sorel, *Réflexions sur la violence* [1908] (Paris, 1912, 3rd ed), p. 182, tr. T E Hulme (New York, 1914)

38 Ivo of Chartres (1010?–1116), *Sermones*, 7 (col 567 a), in *Opera omnia (Patrologia Latina*, 161–62) (Paris, 1854–55), II, cols 505–610, tr J M Neale (London, 1856).

39 Robinson, *op cit*, p 262

richness of his past, the contributions that his people have made in religion, in literature, in ethics, in art, in law, in science—this gratifying knowledge can give him a sense of pride that he belongs in a remarkable caravan of achievement

"Jews, above all, have no right to fly in the face of their own history by succumbing to the vapours of despondency There have been other periods when the whole nation has been trapped between the Red Sea and the Egyptians Only the names of the persecutors and the detractors have been different Yesterday they were called Pharaoh and Antiochus, Titus and Hadrian, Torquemada and Capistrano All of them imagined that the stiff-necked Jews had been finally erased But most of them are remembered today only because history texts carry the record of their failure The Jew with perspective knows this, and he remembers the unwearied fortitude of Shylock, whose ringing words have given the title to this volume·

> Still have I borne it with a patient shrug,
> For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe.

" . there is historic satisfaction in the realization that a minority group, which has never given up its cultural and religious uniqueness, its ethical protestantism, has survived, and that in its survival it has served, not only itself, but the cause of civilization This realization is a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night It strengthens the faith that the Hitlers and the Mussolinis, the Cuzas and the Codreanus, the Mosleys and the Coughlins, are merely men of the moment who have pitted themselves against an enduring people " [40]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now And not only they, but ourselves also, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body For we are saved by hope but hope that is seen is not hope for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it " [41]

As a result, the time perspective reinforces customs that produce maladjustment, and prevents the group from breaking up

[UNITED STATES] They are a hopeful people Whether or no they are right in calling themselves a new people, they certainly seem to feel in their veins the bounding pulse of youth They see a long vista of years stretching out before them, in which they will have time enough to cure all their faults, to overcome all the obstacles that block their path They look at their enormous territory with its still only half-explored sources of wealth, they reckon up the growth of their population and their products, they contrast the comfort and intelligence of their labouring classes with

[40] A L Sachar, *Sufferance is the Badge* (New York, 1939), pp 576, 579-80
[41] Paul of Tarsus, *Epistolae*, "Romans," 8 22-25

the condition of the masses in the Old World They remember the dangers that so long threatened the Union from the slave power, and the rebellion it raised, and see peace and harmony now restored, the South more prosperous and contented than at any previous epoch, perfect good feeling between all sections of the country It is natural for them to believe in their star And this sanguine temper makes them tolerant of evils which they regard as transitory, removable as soon as time can be found to root them up [42]

It thus supports both the group and its culture, for from the point of view of the time perspective the present difficulties are unimportant and temporary. By an appeal to history (the solace of past successes), the present becomes an "emergency"—an "abnormal" time, when things return to normal again the customs will work as well as they did in the past—the "good old days"

[UNITED STATES] " . the [*Ladies' Home*] *Journal* reader and her family have it in their power to keep factories running, to keep labor employed, to keep money in circulation To trample depression underfoot right now

"Our country is sound

"There is nothing to fear—except fear .

"When the public again expresses confidence in its banks by leaving normal deposits on deposit instead of withdrawing the money and hiding it under a mattress—

"Then bank failures will largely cease

"When investors recognize the basic soundness of the nation's industries, and stop hammering at the present and yammering about the future—

"Then security values will cease to fall

"When the buying public starts buying again, instead of wearing old clothes, driving old cars, living with old furnishings, getting along with antiquated equipment, cutting down on food supplies, and in general waiting for still lower prices and for so-called 'better times'—

"Then . . normalcy will have returned

"It's up to you, Madame" [43]

By an appeal to expectation (fantasies of wish fulfillment), the times will change and become different from what they have been up to now, and then the customs will work

[WESTERN EUROPE] "In expectation of a better, I can with patience embrace this life" [44]

[42] J Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, II, pp 286–87

[43] "It's up to the women an editorial," *Ladies' Home Journal*, 49 (1932), no. 1, p. 3

[44] T Browne, *Religio medici*, 1 38

Since the time perspective is a means by which a group adjusts to a present situation, the history and expectations of the group depend upon the situation in which it finds itself As the situations vary, the time perspective changes (7)

[WESTERN EUROPE] [In the preface to the work in which he presented his novel conception of history as stemming from the daily life of the people, Niebuhr wrote·] "The end of the last [i e , the 18th] century was the opening of a new era for Germany And the time was one when we witnessed many unheard of and incredible things when our attention was attracted to many forgotten and decayed institutions by the sound of their downfall " [45]

Let me put it another way In constructing its time perspective, the group selects from the welter of past actualities and future possibilities only those which are significant But what is significant depends upon what is thought of as being important at the time, and this in turn is based upon the problems to which the group is adjusting to at that time Therefore, a group's time perspective is a function of the situations to which it is adjusting (8)

[ZULU] "It is said the black men came out first from the place whence all nations proceeded, but they did not come out with many things, but only with a few cattle and a little corn, and assagais, and picks for digging with the arms, and some other things which they have, fire to kindle, that they might not eat raw food, but that which is cooked, and potters' earth is a thing which they know, to wit, if we temper earth, and make it a vessel, and leave it that it may dry, and when it is dry, burn it with fire, that it may be red, we know that although water be now poured into it, it will no longer fall to pieces, for it has now become strong, and wisdom which suffices to help ourselves when we are hungery, and to understand the time of digging, that it may not pass and we die of famine, through not knowing suitable and unsuitable times Our little knowledge just sufficed for helping ourselves, we had no great knowledge

"So we came out possessed of what sufficed us, we thinking that we possessed all things, that we were wise, that there was nothing which we did not know We lived boasting that we possessed all things

"But now when the white men have come with wagons, oxen are yoked, they being clothed in fine linen, being very wise, and doing things which for our parts we thought could not be done by man, about which we did not think in the least, that they could help us We did not know that the ox was useful for many purposes, we used to say, the purpose of the cow is, that it should have calves, and we eat milk, and of the ox that we should kill it and eat flesh, and that was all We knew no other purpose of cattle

[45] B G Niebuhr, *Romische Geschichte* [1811–12], ed M Isler (Berlin, 1873–74), I, pp xxvii–xxviii, tr J C Hare and C Thirlwall (Cambridge, 1828–42)

When one is killed we prepare its skin, and make women's clothes, and blankets, and that is the whole purpose of the ox We wondered when we saw oxen yoked into a wagon, which had goods in it, and go through the country, and go to a distance, there being nothing that is not in the wagon, and when the oxen are loosened, there comes out all the property of those men, we said, 'Those are come who go about with a house' By house we meant the wagon

"That, then, made us wonder exceedingly We saw that, in fact, we black men came out without a single thing, we came out naked, we left every thing behind, because we came out first But as for the white men, we saw that they scraped out the last bit of wisdom, for there is every thing, which is too much for us, they know, they know all things which we do not know, we saw that we came out in a hurry, but they waited for all things, that they might not leave any behind So in truth they came out with them Therefore we honour them, saying, 'It is they who came out possessed of all things from the great Spirit, it is they who came out possessed of all goodness, we came out possessed with the folly of utter ignorance' Now it is as if they were becoming our fathers, for they come to us possessed of all things Now they tell us all things, which we too might have known had we waited, it is because we did not wait that we are now children in comparison of them

"Therefore, as to their victory over us, they were not victorious by armies, they were victorious by sitting still—they sitting still and we too sitting still, we were overcome by their works, which make us wonder, and say, 'These men who can do such things, it is not proper that we should think of contending with them,' as, if because their works conquer us, they would conquer us also by weapons" [46]

[UNITED STATES] " those things that we recall in our own past vary continually with our moods and preoccupations We adjust our recollection to our needs and aspirations, and ask from it light on the particular problems that face us History, too, is in this sense not fixed and immutable, but ever changing Each age has a perfect right to select from the annals of mankind those facts that seem to have a particular bearing on the matters it has at heart" [47]

Now, you will recall that in Chapter IX I argued that a choice of subject matter for a work of art depended upon significance, and that this in turn was a reflection of the social values of the group, so that a representational work of art acts as a social control by reinforcing the social values of the group But we have just seen that the elements which go into the time perspective are also chosen on the basis of their significance in terms of social values Therefore, by the same token, the time perspective reinforces the values of the group

[46] Callaway, *op cit*, pp 76–80
[47] Robinson, *op cit*, pp 134–35

Finally, time perspectives are usually divided into secular and sacred I have nothing more to say about secular time perspectives in particular, but there are a few points to be kept in mind concerning sacred time perspectives, i e., *myths* Besides giving a dogma in narrative form, as we saw in Chapter VII, myth also provides a supernatural authorization and sanction for custom (9)

[MAORI] "Rihari Tohi, exclaimed, 'O Sir! How did the things you are teaching become known? Perhaps they are only things that you Tohungas (priests) think?' Te Matorohanga replied,

"I have told you that the *wananga* (or knowledge) was brought down by Tane-nui-a-rangi (Great Tane-of-heaven) from Te Toi o-nga-rangi (the highest of the heavens), from the place named Rauroha—the great *pa* (en closure, a fort) of the Whatu-kuras, Marei-kuras, and the innumerable hosts of the Rangi-tu-haha (the twelve heavens), from the temple Rangi-atea where were suspended the *wananga* of each world, of each heaven, of each 'place' of the heavens and the worlds Tane-nui-a-rangi begged of Io the delivery to him of the *wananga* of Rangi nui and Papa-tua-nuku (the Sky-father and Earth-mother) This was assented to by Io-the-father, and this knowledge was then brought from Rauroha in heaven to Whare-kura on earth, and there deposited Enough! This that I am teaching you is that same *wananga* (learning), abstracted from the three 'baskets' (divisions of knowledge) What would be the good of the teaching if these things were not contained therein, the *wananga* would not be a valuable property—there would be no value in such a wananga " [48]

"Be very careful in reciting these valuable teachings that your ancestors have collected during the past generations right away from the period of Rangi (the Sky-father) and Papa (the Earth-mother) down to the present day Notwithstanding, that the teachings from the Whare-wananga are now mere shreds, because they are no longer combined, some still remain whilst others are lost, some parts diverge from the originals and to some additions have been made This is in consequence of the decadence of the power, authority and prestige of the conduct of the various rituals, of the abrogation of the *tapu*, of the unbelief in the gods, until, at the present time, there is none of the ancient *mana*, or power left—all things have changed The *tapu* has ended, the true teaching has been lost, as well as the *karakia* (invocations, etc), the meanings of which are now comparatively unknown Because the *tapu* was all important—the first of all things, without it none of the powers of the gods were available, and without the aid of the gods all things are without authority and ineffectual, the mind of man is now in a state of confusion (literally, like a whirlwind), as are all his deeds, the land is the same The Whare-wananga, the *karakias*, the *tuahus* (altars), the *pures* (or sanctification) of man of different kinds, baptism of men with water, are all abandoned So also are the powers to attract fish and birds, or to influence the growth of food-plants At the present time, differ

[48] Smith, *op cit*, I, pp 107–08

ent *karakias*, different methods, different *tapus*, even a different language prevails Hence it is that the present teaching differs from that of the old priests, such as has been explained above, and hence also it is that I impress on you the former aspect of these things, that you may be clear as to the descent of the *mana atua* (the god-like powers) even from Io (the Supreme God), and from the Whatu-kuras, mareikuras, and the Apas of each separate heaven, down to the Patu-pai-arehe and Tuiehu " [49]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "It is psychologically interesting to know that it does one good to *believe* there is a God, but that is not at all what the believer believes, what he actually believes is, that there *is* a God The problem of religion requires that there is some being to which we must be bound, and the problem of Revelation requires that there is some divinely made statement to which we must bow . the Son has said who the Father is. That, at last, is a Revelation worthy of the name not our own revelation of God to ourselves, but the Revelation of God Himself to us " [50]

Proverb

A *proverb* is a customary saying It reduces a particular situation to a formula, it is a principle applied in a specific case in order to categorize it and to show the customary way of acting toward that category (10)

The Jabo word for proverb is *dalekpa*. The same word is used for the parable, usually a short animal-story rounded out with a proverb which serves as the moral Thus the word applies to a proverb, or to a parable, or to both as a unit The literal meaning of *dalekpa* is rather suggestive It is derived from the obsolete form *dadekpa* which means, "old matters take" "Matters" refer here to "affairs, occurrences" In the Jabo conception, then, "to take old matters" apparently means to take an old situation and apply it to the present This is presumably the chief function of a proverb to cope with a situation as it arises, by regarding it in the light of something that has occurred before The parable which in native theory ought to accompany every proverb, but which may often be forgotten, sketches that original situation The proverb is taken to be the concentrated gist of the story, formulated by one of the actors or spectators That quoting a proverb divests a situation of its specific aspects is suggested also by certain idiomatic expressions which use "proverbs" to mean "generalities" One can say in Jabo, for instance, "he quotes stingy proverbs," meaning, "he supports his stinginess with generalities," if the person in question evades a request by excusing himself with stock phrases

As in other parts of Africa, proverbs play an important part in the legal discussions of the Jabo The chief aim of the legal machinery, after the facts of the case have been established, is to classify it It may be adjudged

[49] *Ibid*, I, pp 104–05

[50] E H Gilson, *Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1938), pp 96–99

on the basis of an existing law, or of precedents not yet formulated as a law In either circumstance, as with us, the case is not judged by itself, in order to be dealt with it must cease to be a particular occurrence In this light it is significant that this process of generalizing the particular case employs the body of formulae which performs that very function—the proverbs No doubt some legal cases involve crimes which are taken very seriously, or where the evidence is clear beyond the possibility of muddling the outcome, and where even the least informed members of the community have no difficulty in grasping the legal implications In such a case there is not so much leeway for legal discussion, the court is forced to issue a decision which is anticipated by everyone. But usually the spokesmen of the two sides have ample opportunity for argument, and proverbs and parables are no mean part of their armoury All of which appears to be fundamentally similar to old Asiatic and European practice

The more proverbs a man has at his command and the better he knows how to apply them, the better lawyer or spokesman he is considered to be A proverb misquoted or applied badly may spoil the entire case Since almost any act has legalistic aspects, there is hardly a discussion of any consequence (whether or not actually in court) in which proverbs are not employed [51]

The value of a proverb as a social control, then, lies in the fact that it provides a familiar guide for solving problems, for, by and large, everyone in the group knows its proverbs and recognizes them as summaries of group tradition

[ILA] In his dealings with the Ba-ila few things help a European more than a knowledge of their proverbs To be familiar with them gives one a good deal of insight into their character and ways of looking at things, for they express the likes and dislikes of the people in certain directions in quite an unmistakable fashion And, moreover, these proverbs are taken largely as a rule of life They are truly "the wisdom of many"—maxims of discreet conduct that have stood the test of ages, they are equally "the wit of one," showing a remarkably shrewd insight into motives, and expressed in a short, concise manner that reflects great credit upon their authors, whoever they may be Some of them bear their meaning on the surface and we see at once what their equivalents are in our own language Of others the meaning is not apparent, but when once explained their appropriateness to the occasion is immediately patent A knowledge of the proverbs is, then, invaluable to any who wish to appreciate the character of the Ba-ila and especially to those who have direct dealings with them Many an angry dispute has been silenced, many an inhospitable chief has been rebuked into generosity, many a forward beggar has been reduced to shame, and many a long, diffuse argument has been clinched by the apt quotation of one of these proverbs

Among the social virtues most appreciated is hospitality, and we are

51 Herzog, *op cit*, pp 1–2

not surprised to find it inculcated in various proverbs *Mwenzu talangwa ankumu, mulange mwifu* ("A visitor is to be regarded not as to his face but as to his stomach") *Matako a mwenzu makadikwa* ("The rump of a visitor is made to sit upon")

many an Ila proverb laughs quietly at men who puff themselves up and despise others *Kwina mwami owakadila mumpande* ("There is no chief who eats out of an impande shell") The shell may show his wealth, but when it is a matter of eating the chief must do as ordinary people do—eat out of a dish Nature confounds social distinctions That is a way of reminding an arrogant man that he is only human after all A person who in his conceit is always running others down will be reminded that *Chizhilo chibe chishinka musena* ("Any old pole will stop up a hole in the fence") everybody is useful to the community in some way or other Or he will be told *Wabakembetema wasandukila masamo nina* ("An axe-shaft is made out of an ordinary piece of wood") That cuts two ways an ordinary person can be made of great use, but, on the other hand, he is not essential, like an axe-shaft, he is of use only in connection with others (meaning the axe-head) and can easily be replaced Or again, the conceited person will be told to remember that *Musongo wakalukanka, takachidyile, mudimbushi owakweze munshi wakachidya* ("A wise man ran on without eating it, a fool coming behind ate it")—meaning that the wise in their own conceits often miss the good things in life An over-bearing stranger may be told, *Muchende tafumpuka matanga obili* ("A bull doesn't enjoy fame in two herds") [52]

Rationalization

In the section on custom in Chapter III we saw that adequate customs persist because they provide the group with ways of adjusting which are routinized and are the basis for the coordination necessary to effective group action

Now let us look at it from the point of view of the individual participant He is reared in a group which channelizes his behavior The helpless infant's random and unorganized acts are molded by the directed and organized behavior of its adult milieu, and through the process of social interaction the child learns their customs. (11) Reasoning plays a small part in this process, and by the time the child does begin, if ever, to be able to question the validity of the customs of its group, these customs are already ingrained (12)

Thus, both the group in general and the individual in particular tend to accept its customs unquestioningly and to conform to them routinely Hence it is not surprising that as long as customs are more

[52] Smith and Dale, *op cit*, II, pp 311–14 For the United States, *vide* W G. Smith, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1935)

or less adequate, people do not usually know fully what is involved in any one custom, and are unaware of the conflict between customs All in all, culture is not very rational

[IGLULIK ESKIMO] "You always want these supernatural things to make sense, but we do not bother about that We are content not to understand " [53]

[UNITED STATES] "I believe in God, but I do not know what God is " [54]

[THONGA] Some tell you that the departed go to a great village *under the earth*, a village where everything is white (or pure) But it seems, in contemplating the funeral rites, that the deceased, on the contrary, remains *in his grave* Is not his grave his house ? Does he not sit on his square, where his mats have been unrolled? A third idea, more or less intermediate between the other two, is that the gods reside *in the sacred woods* [55]

[UNITED STATES] Many people hold the following beliefs simultaneously

1 A dead person remains in his grave until the resurrection
2 The person's soul immediately goes to Heaven or Hell
3 The soul wanders in the vicinity of the grave, and so they are afraid to go near a cemetery at night
4 The soul may reside in the place where the person lived while alive, therefore they are afraid of haunted houses

It follows that in an isolated society with a homogeneous culture, adequate customs seem to be the natural ways to act, and the customs are simply taken for granted [56] (13)

[IGLULIK ESKIMO] [When asked about life, death, gods, etc .]

"In our ordinary everyday life we do not think much about all these things, and it is only now you ask that so many thoughts arise in my head of long-known things, old thoughts, but as it were becoming altogether new when one has to put them into words " [57]

I once went out to Aua's hunting quarters on the ice outside Lyon Inlet to spend some time with the men For several evenings we had discussed rules of life and taboo customs without getting beyond a long and circumstantial statement of all that was permitted and all that was forbidden. Everyone knew precisely what had to be done in any given situation, but whenever I put in my query "Why?" they could give no answer

[53] K Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimo*, p 69

[54] U S Congress, House, Committee on the District of Columbia, *Fortune Telling* (Washington, 1926), p 86

[55] Junod, *op cit*, II, p 350

[56] Here we are only concerned with customary, i e, group, responses to custom Of course in most societies there are deviants who develop their own critical responses to custom

[57] Rasmussen, *op cit*, p 61

They regarded it, and very rightly, as unreasonable that I should require not only an account, but also a justification, of their religious principles . Aua had as usual been the spokesman, and as he was still unable to answer my questions, he rose to his feet, and as if seized by a sudden impulse, invited me to go outside with him

It had been an unusually rough day, and as we had plenty of meat after the successful hunting of the past few days, I had asked my host to stay at home so that we could get some work done together The brief daylight had given place to the half-light of the afternoon, but as the moon was up, one could still see some distance Ragged white clouds raced across the sky, and when a gust of wind came tearing over the ground, our eyes and mouths were filled with snow Aua looked me full in the face, and pointing out over the ice, where the snow was being lashed about in waves by the wind, he said

"In order to hunt well and live happily, man must have calm weather Why this constant succession of blizzards and all this needless hardship for men seeking food for themselves and those they care for? Why? Why?"

We had come out just at the time when the men were returning from their watching at the blowholes on the ice, they came in little groups, bowed forward, toiling against the wind, which actually forced them now and again to stop, so fierce were the gusts Not one of them had a seal in tow; their whole day of painful effort and endurance had been in vain

I could give no answer to Aua's "Why?" but shook my head in silence He then led me into Kublo's house, which was close beside our own The small blubber lamp burned with but the faintest flame, giving out no heat whatever, a couple of children crouched, shivering, under a skin rug on the bench

Aua looked at me again, and said "Why should it be cold and comfortless in here? Kublo has been out hunting all day, and if he had got a seal, as he deserved, his wife would now be sitting laughing beside her lamp, letting it burn full, without fear of having no blubber left for tomorrow The place would be warm and bright and cheerful, the children would come out from under their rugs and enjoy life Why should it not be so? Why?"

I made no answer, and he led me out of the house, in to a little snow hut where his sister Natseq lived all by herself because she was ill She looked thin and worn, and was not even interested in our coming For several days she had suffered from a malignant cough that seemed to come from far down in the lungs, and it looked as if she had not long to live

A third time Aua looked at me and said "Why must people be ill and suffer pain? We are all afraid of illness Here is this old sister of mine, as far as anyone can see, she has done no evil, she has lived through a long life and given birth to healthy children, and now she must suffer before her days end Why? Why?"

This ended his demonstration, and we returned to our house, to resume, with the others, the interrupted discussion

"You see" said Aua "You are equally unable to give any reason when

we ask you why life is as it is And so it must be All our customs come from life and turn towards life, we explain nothing, we believe nothing, but in what I have just shown you lies our answer to all you ask

"We fear the weather spirit of the earth, that we must fight against to wrest our food from land and sea We fear Sila

'We fear dearth and hunger in the cold snow huts

"We fear Takanakapsaluk, the great woman down at the bottom of the sea, that rules over all the beasts of the sea

"We fear the sickness that we meet with daily all around us, not death, but the suffering We fear the evil spirits of life, those of the air, of the sea and the earth, that can help wicked shamans to harm their fellow men

"We fear the souls of dead human beings and of the animals we have killed

"Therefore it is that our fathers have inherited from their fathers all the old rules of life which are based on the experience and wisdom of generations We do not know how, we cannot say why, but we keep those rules in order that we may live untroubled And so ignorant are we in spite of all our shamans, that we fear everything unfamiliar We fear what we see about us, and we fear all the invisible things that are likewise about us, all that we have heard of in our forefathers' stories and myths Therefore we have our customs, which are not the same as those of the white men, the white men who live in another land and have need of other ways " [58]

[UNITED STATES] "In my schoolboy days I had no aversion to slavery I was not aware that there was anything wrong about it No one arraigned it in my hearing, the local papers said nothing against it, the local pulpit taught us that God approved it, that it was a holy thing, and that the doubter need only look in the Bible if he wished to settle his mind—and then the texts were read aloud to us to make the matter sure, if the slaves themselves had an aversion to slavery, they were wise and said nothing " [59]

Indeed, a critical analysis may not even be tolerated, for to examine is to doubt (14)

A letter in my possession was written to a friend of mine by a Turkish Cadi, in reply to some inquiries as to the commerce, population, and remains of antiquity of an ancient city, in which dwelt the head of the law. These are its words —

"My illustrious Friend, and Joy of my Liver!

"The thing you ask of me is both difficult and useless Although I have passed all my days in this place, I have neither counted the houses nor have I inquired into the number of the inhabitants, and as to what one person loads on his mules and the other stows away in the bottom of his ship, that is no business of mine But, above all, as to the previous history of this city, God only knows the amount of dirt and confusion that the infidels may have eaten before the coming of the sword of Islam It were unprofitable for us to inquire into it

[58] *Ibid*, pp 51–56

[59] S Clemens, *Autobiography*, I, p 101, in *Writings*, XXXVI–XXXVII

"Oh, my soul! oh, my lamb! seek not after the things which concern thee not. Thou camest unto us, and we welcomed thee: go in peace.

"Of a truth, thou hast spoken many words, and there is no harm done, for the speaker is one and the listener is another. After the fashion of thy people thou hast wandered from one place to another until thou art happy and content in none. We (praise be to God) were born here, and never desire to quit it. Is it possible then that the idea of a general intercourse between mankind should make any impression on our understandings? God forbid!

"Listen, oh my son! There is no wisdom equal unto the belief in God! He created the world, and shall we liken ourselves unto him in seeking to penetrate the mysteries of his creation? Shall we say, behold this star spinneth round that star, and this other star with a tail goeth and cometh in so many years! Let it go! He from whose hand it came will guide and direct it.

"But thou wilt say unto me, Stand aside, oh man, for I am more learned than thou art, and have seen more things. If thou thinkest that thou art in this respect better than I am, thou art welcome. I praise God that I seek that which I require not. Thou art learned in the things I care not for, and as for that which thou hast seen, I defile it. Will much knowledge create thee a double belly, or wilt thou seek Paradise with thine eyes?

"Oh, my friend! If thou wilt be happy, say, There is no God but God! Do no evil, and thus wilt thou fear neither man nor death, for surely thine hour will come!

"The meek in spirit (El Fakir),
"IMAUM ALI ZADE." [60]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Away with arguments, where faith is required, now let dialectic hold her peace, even in the midst of her schools." [61]

It takes a problem situation to make a group pay attention to, and think about, its customs.

[JABO] "If one comes to a fork of the road in a strange country, he stops to think." [62]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "The first time I ever thought for myself, instead of feeling, or imagining, was when I was a bomber at the Battle of the Somme. Before then I had divided humanity into chaste and unchaste, beautiful and ugly, clever and stupid, and so forth. The biggest murder until that time in the history of war suddenly made me see that all these qualities were nothing but clothes, and I arrived with one sickening jump at the fundamental of all philosophy: that there are just two sorts of every one . . . those who would dig you out if you were buried alive, and the others.

[60] A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (New York, 1853), pp. 663-64.

[61] Ambrose (340?-397), *De fide*, 2.13.84, in *Opera omnia* (*Patrologia Latina*, 14-17) (Paris, 1845), 16, cols. 519-726.

[62] Herzog, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

The givers and the takers, the fountains and the wells, and be sure you keep near the smaller class "[63]

There are two conditions under which this occurs. One is when the customs lead to maladjustment For instance, to take a case from our own culture, it was only about 1900, after the Newtonian cosmology and Maxwellian electrodynamics broke down under the weight of a whole mass of divergent data, that it occurred to anyone to examine the assumptions on which classical physics was based

"It is known that Maxwell's electrodynamics when applied to moving bodies, leads to asymmetries which do not appear to be inherent in the phenomena

"Examples of this sort, together with the unsuccessful attempts to discover any motion of the earth relatively to the 'light medium,' suggest that the phenomena of electrodynamics as well as mechanics possess no properties corresponding to the idea of absolute rest "[64]

The second condition occurs when the group is confronted by opposing customs because of cultural heterogeneity or culture contact

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I shall not say anything about Philosophy, but that, seeing that it has been cultivated for many centuries by the best minds that have ever lived, and that nevertheless no single thing is to be found in it which is not subject of dispute, and in consequence which is not dubious, I had not enough presumption to hope to fare better there than other men had done And also, considering how many conflicting opinions there may be regarding the self same matter, all supported by learned people, while there can never be more than one which is true, I esteemed as well-nigh false all that only went as far as being probable

"In seeing many things which, although they seem to us very extravagant and ridiculous, were yet commonly received and approved by other great nations, I learned to believe nothing too certainly of which I had only been convinced by example and custom "[65]

You can see from this that when the customs lead to maladjustment the group is forced to examine its customs in order to work out some adequate means of adjustment And when the group is confronted by powerful alternative customs, it must examine its

[63] W Bolitho, *Camera Obscura* (New York, 1930), pp 85–86 Copyright, 1930, by Simon & Schuster, Inc

[64] A Einstein, "Zur Elektrodynamik bewegter Korper," *Annalen der Physik*, (ser 4) 17 (1905), (pp 891–921) p 891, tr W. Perrett and G B Jeffery (London, 1923)

[65] R Descartes, *Discours de la méthode* [1637] 1 (pp 8, 10), in *Oeuvres*, ed C. Adam and P Tannery (Paris, 1897–1910), VI, pp 1–78, tr E S Haldane and G R T Ross (Cambridge, 1911–12)

customs in order to oppose the proposed alternatives If these conditions do not occur, no defense of custom is needed (15) If they do take place, the only customs examined tend to be those directly relevant to the problem situation, and even then the upshot of the questioning is usually a defense of traditional custom, (16) because this is the only way to benefit from the effects of such customs discussed in Chapter III

[MAORI] We may witness in these ancient myths the effort of primitive man to get behind the veil of nature and adduce therefrom a sufficient cause for all phenomena, and an endeavour also to deduce from them an authority and a precedent for many of their (lately) existing customs In this manner they have produced a system of philosophy that to their minds furnished a sufficient explanation of all things, the why and the wherefore thereof, and their origin But although the above is generally true, an exception must be made as to one of their customs—that of the *tapu*—for neither in these traditions, nor any others from any part of Polynesia, is any explanation of its origin given [66]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "The business of a moral philosophy is to account for and to justify our moral sentiments, or in other words, to show how we come to have our notions of duty, and to supply us with a reason for acting upon them " [67]

This is where rationalization comes in *Rationalization*, as someone has said, is giving a good reason instead of the real reason It defends an action by attributing it to motives which have the highest value under the circumstances (17) Putting it another way, rationalization takes an action opposed to other actions (either because it does not satisfy a motive or conflicts with other behavior) and tries to find some way of harmonizing them so that the activity will not be interfered with by the opposition (18)

The simplest kind of a rationalization is a *justification* Here the action is defended on the ground that it conforms to a custom with relatively high value, even though the action may violate some other customs of lower social value (19) It follows that justifications tend to be based upon those parts of culture which have highest social value For instance, in our own society we prefer naturalistic justifications by which actions are defended on the ground that they are in accordance with the laws of nature and therefore either cannot or must not be opposed

[66] Smith, *op cit*, I, p xiv

[67] W E H Lecky, *History of European Morals* [1869] (New York, n d, 3rd ed), I, p 2

[WESTERN EUROPE] "No species of imposture is so captivating, so well suited to the present time, and consequently so likely to meet with temporary success, as that which assumes the garb, and mimics the phraseology, of science"[68]

[UNITED STATES] A favorite justification for the *status quo* is, "You can't change human nature"

[UNITED STATES] "The price which society pays for the law of competition, like the price it pays for cheap comforts and luxuries, is also great, but the advantages of this law are also greater still than its cost—for it is to this law that we owe our wonderful material development, which brings improved conditions in its train But, whether the law be benign or not, we must say of it, as we say of the change in the conditions of men to which we have referred It is here, we cannot evade it, no substitutes for it have been found, and while the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival of the fittest in every department We accept and welcome, therefore, as conditions to which we must accommodate ourselves, great inequality of environment, the concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of a few, and the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential to the future progress of the race Having accepted these, it follows that there must be great scope for the exercise of special ability in the merchant and in the manufacturer who has to conduct affairs upon a great scale

"One who studies this subject will soon be brought face to face with the conclusion that upon the sacredness of property civilization itself depends—the right of the laborer to his hundred dollars in the savings-bank, and equally the legal right of the millionaire to his millions Every man must be allowed 'to sit under his own vine and fig-tree, with none to make afraid,' if human society is to advance, or even to remain so far advanced as it is To those who propose to substitute Communism for this intense Individualism, the answer therefore is The race has tried that All progress from that barbarous day to the present time has resulted from its displacement Not evil, but good, has come to the race from the accumulation of wealth by those who have had the ability and energy to produce it . . .

"We start, then, with a condition of affairs under which the best interests of the race are promoted, but which inevitably gives wealth to the few . . .

" . . lives of poverty and struggle are advantageous"[69]

Supernatural justifications are common in every culture; these defend custom on the ground that such a course of action is the desire of spirits

[AINU] " . . . the wife should not pronounce her husband's name, for

[68] G C Lewis, *An Essay on the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion* (London, 1849), p 55

[69] A Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth*, pp 3–7, 50

the bare fact of mentioning it aloud is equal to killing him, for it surely takes away his life Women should, therefore, be very careful in this matter

"This teaching came down from the divine Aioina, and is to be strictly obeyed. If, therefore, any woman dishonours her husband by mentioning his name, let her know that it is not only disrespectful to him, but that it also dishonours the gods, and is blasphemy Let all take heed to this command " [70]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "We are always making God our accomplice, that so we may legalize our own iniquities Every successful massacre is consecrated by a Te Deum, and the clergy have never been wanting in benedictions for any victorious enormity " [71]

But justifications are only effective as long as the opposing groups argue from the same customary premises, i e , if, perceptually speaking, the various groups have similar world views but differ in their interpretations of a few phenomena It is another matter when the opposing groups argue from different frames of reference Then they cannot base their appeal on the customary premises of their own group because such postulates will not be granted by the other group

[HINDU] "The foregoing reason is not, we say, valid inasmuch as it requires proof like the very subject in dispute " [72]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "How can you, logically, expect me to accept as proof all that which in itself stands in need of proof?" [73]

The only kind of argument that is effective here is one directed toward whatever all the groups have in common, and the ultimate appeal is to reason, i e , an argument based upon the nature of the processes of inference performed by the human nervous system itself

[WESTERN EUROPE] "By some kind of inner and hidden activity of mine, I am able to analyze and synthesize the things that ought to be learned, and this faculty of mine is called reason " [74]

". . reason was then reminded to search out and consider the very power by which it produced art, for by definition, division, and synthesis, it not only had made it orderly and syntactical, but had also guarded it against every subtle encroachment of error How therefore, would it pass

[70] Batchelor, *The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore*, pp 252–53.

[71] H F Amiel (1821–1881), *Fragments d'un journal intime* (Geneva, 1887, 5th ed), I, p 241, tr M A Ward (New York, 1928)

[72] Gotama Aksapada (*ca* 1st cent B C ?), *Nyayasutra*, 3 2 3, tr G Jha, *Indian Thought*, 4 (1912)–11 (1920)

[73] D A F Sade (1740–1814), *Dialogue entre un prêtre et un moribond*, ed M. Heine (Paris, 1926), p 48, tr S Putnam (Chicago, 1927)

[74] Augustine, *De ordine*, 2 18 48.

on to other discoveries, unless it first classified, noted, and arranged its own resources—its tools and machines, so to speak—and bring into being that discipline of disciplines which they call *dialectics*? This science teaches both how to teach and how to learn. In it, reason itself exhibits itself, and reveals its own nature, its desires, its powers." [75]

Therefore, *logic* (the explicit enunciation of the principles of valid reasoning) develops in a heterogeneous culture with opposing world views

[GREECE] The early Greek philosophers were preoccupied with cosmology In the course of his investigations, one of these philosophers, Parmenides, examined the implications of the alternative assumptions of the existence of being and non-being, and discovered that the latter is inconsistent with itself, while the former, if carried to its logical conclusions, brings one to conceptions which are opposed to common sense [76] These

[75] *Ibid*, 2 13 38

[76] "Come now, I will tell thee—and do thou hearken to my saying and carry it away—the only two ways of search that can be thought of The first, namely, that *It is* [i e., there is being], and that it is impossible for it not to be, is the way of belief, for truth is its companion The other, namely, that *It is not* [i e, there is non-being], and that it must needs not be,—that, I tell thee, is a path that none can learn of at all For thou canst not know what is not—that is impossible—nor utter it [Therefore there is no non-being]"—Parmenides (5th cent B C), fr 2, in *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, ed H Diels, rev W Kranz, Berlin, 1934–37, 5th ed; tr J Burnet (London, 1930, 4th ed)

"For it is the same thing that can be thought and that can be "—Parmenides, fr 2

"One path only is left for us to speak of, namely, that *It is* In this path are very many tokens that what is is uncreated and indestructible, for it is complete, immovable, and without end Nor was it ever, nor will it be, for now *it is*, all at once, a continuous one For what kind of origin for it wilt thou look for In what way and from what source could it have drawn its increase? [ ] I shall not let thee say nor think that it came from what is not, for it can neither be thought nor uttered that anything is not And, if it came from nothing, what need could have made it arise later rather than sooner? Therefore must it either be altogether or be not at all Nor will the force of truth suffer aught to arise besides itself from that which is not Wherefore, Justice doth not loose her fetters and let anything come into being or pass away, but holds it fast Our judgment thereon depends on this *'Is it* or *is it not?'* Surely it is adjudged, as it needs must be, that we are to set aside the one way as unthinkable and nameless (for it is no true way), and that the other path is real and true How, then, can what *is* be going to be in the future? Or how could it come into being? If it came into being, it is not, nor is it if it is going to be in the future Thus is becoming extinguished and passing away not to be heard of

"Nor is it divisible, since it is all alike, and there is no more of it in one place than in another, to hinder it from holding together, nor less of it, but everything is full of what is Wherefore it is wholly continuous, for what is, is in contact with what is

"Moreover, it is immovable in the bonds of mighty chains, without beginning

arguments were reinforced by the paradoxes of Zeno [77] A state of affairs soon developed in which common sense broke down completely.[78] At this point Plato began to analyze some of the difficulties that seemed to be based upon the nature of the argumentation which had been used,[79] and in the next generation Aristotle systematized the canons of logic in his *Organon* [80]

[WESTERN EUROPE] Mathematics and logic were assumed to be built on

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and without end, since coming into being and passing away have been driven afar, and true belief has cast them away It is the same, and it rests in the self-same place, abiding in itself And thus it remaineth constant in its place, for hard necessity keeps it in the bonds of the limit that hold it fast on every side Wherefore it is not permitted to what is to be infinite, for it is in need of nothing, while, if it were infinite, it would stand in need of everything"—Parmenides, fr 8

[Thus, by examining the implications of the alternative assumptions of the existence of being and non-being, Parmenides showed that the latter premise is inconsistent with itself, while the former, if carried through consistently, brings one to conclusions which are opposed to the ordinary conceptions of the nature of being In this situation he chooses rational consistency at the expense of common sense]

"Welcome, O youth, that comest to my abode on the car that bears thee tended by immortal charioteers! It is no ill chance, but right and justice that has sent thee forth to travel on this way Far, indeed, does it lie from the beaten track of men! Meet it is that thou shouldst learn all things, as well the unshaken heart of well rounded truth, as the opinions of mortals in which is no true belief at all Yet none the less shalt thou learn these things also,—how passing right through all things one should judge the things that seem to be

"But do thou restrain thy thought from this way of inquiry, nor let habit by its much experience force thee to cast upon this way a wandering eye or sounding ear or tongue, but judge by argument [*logos*] the much disputed proof uttered by me"—Parmenides, fr 1

"I hold thee back from this first way of inquiry, and from this other also, upon which mortals knowing naught wander two-faced, for helplessness guides the wandering thought in their breasts, so that they are borne along stupefied like men deaf and blind"—Parmenides, fr 6

77 " . in a race the quickest runner can never overtake the slowest [who has a head start], since the pursuer must first reach the point whence the pursued started, so that the slower must always hold the lead"—Zeno (5th cent B C), A 26, in Diels, *op cit*, *vide ibid.*, A 12

78 See the remains of the Sophists, in Diels, *op cit*, II, pp 252–416 For example

"Gorgias . tries to establish successively three main points—firstly, that nothing exists, secondly, that even if anything exists it is inapprehensible by man, thirdly, that even if anything is apprehensible, yet of a surety it is inexpressible and incommunicable to one's neighbour"—Gorgias (485?–380? B C), fr. 3, in Diels, *op cit*

"That which exists is unknowable if it does not happen to appear, that which appears is insignificant if it does not happen to exist"—Gorgias, fr 26

79 Plato (427?–347 B C), *Opera*, ed J. Burnet (Oxford, 1905–13)

80 Aristotle (384–322 B C), *Organon*, in *Opera*, ed I Bekker *et al* (Berlin, 1831–70), I, pp 1–184

unshakeable foundations But these assumptions broke down in the nineteenth century Two important developments took place in mathematics Non-Euclidean geometries were constructed upon postulates different from those of the classical system,[81] showing that the Euclidean axioms need not be taken for granted Also, the growth of number theory involved refining such concepts as irrational numbers,[82] continuous and discrete quantities,[83] and finite and transfinite numbers,[84] which made mathematicians realise how unsophisticated the common-sense notions of number were At the same time, the development of a mathematical treatment of logic[85] gave rise to a series of paradoxical theorems which showed that something was wrong with the assumptions of logic It was out of these difficulties that modern symbolic logic developed[86]

To the extent that a group critically examines the foundations of some set of its customs, it has a *philosophy*. By this means an attempt is made to find reasonable premises from which some course of action can be rationally inferred. (20)

[WESTERN EUROPE] In the early Middle Ages it was taken for granted that the *New Testament* embodied divinely revealed truths For instance, John the Scot, the first important philosopher in Western Europe, accepted the *New Testament* as the most valid of all data[87] and did not question the existence of God[88] However, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

[81] J Bolyai, "Scientiam spatii absolute veram exhibens" [1833], in W Bolyai, *Tentamen,* ed G Konig *et al* (Budapest, 1897–1904, 2nd ed), II, pp 359–94, N Lobatschewsky, "Geometrie imaginaire," *Journal fur Mathematik,* 17 (1837), pp 295–320, B Riemann, "Über die Hypothesen, welche der Geometrie zu Grunde liegen" [1854], *Gesammelte mathematische Werke,* ed H Weber (Leipzig, 1892, 2nd ed), pp 272–87

[82] J W R. Dedekind (1831–1916), *Gesammelte mathematische Werke,* ed R Fricke *et al* (Berlin, 1930–32), III, pp 315–91

[83] K T. Weierstrass (1815–1897), *Mathematische Werke,* ed G Hettner *et al* (Berlin, 1894–1927)

[84] G Cantor (1845–1918), *Gesammelte Abhandlungen,* ed E Zermelo (Berlin, 1932).

[85] G Boole, *An Investigation of the Laws of Thought* (London, 1854)

[86] " the system is specially framed to solve the paradoxes which, in recent years, have troubled students of symbolic logic and the theory of aggregates

"In this connection it may be remembered that the investigations of Weierstrass and others of the same school have shown that, even in the common topics of mathematical thought, much more detail is necessary than previous generations of mathematicians had anticipated "—A N Whitehead and B Russell, *Principia mathematica* [1910–13] (Cambridge, 1925–27, 2nd ed), I, pp 1, 3

[87] "Indeed the authority of the sacred Scripture is to be followed in all things, since truth is held in it, as in certain secret seats "—Joannes Scotus, *De divisione naturae* [*ca* 870], 1 64 (col 509a), in *Opera,* ed H J Floss (*Patrologia Latina,* 122) (Paris, 1853), cols 439–1022, tr C Schwartz (Annapolis, 1940) *Cf ibid* , 3 17, 32, 45, 5 27, 35–36, 38, *De praedestinatione,* 11 3

[88] *Ibid* , 1 init –7 (cols 441–46)

the Latin translations from the Greek and Islamic philosophers confronted the Europeans with philosophies more sophisticated than their own, which not only refused to accept the Christian dogmas, but also denied one of the basic assumptions of Western European culture—that the *Old* and *New Testaments* had been divinely revealed.[89] Some European philosophers then abandoned many traditional beliefs,[90] but most tried to salvage what they could. Among the latter was Thomas Aquinas, who made a dichotomy between knowledge through faith and knowledge through reason,[91] though he refused to believe that they really conflict. He argued that the latter could be demonstrated to the "heathen," but he confessed that the former rested entirely upon the *ex cathedra* pronouncements of the Roman church.[92] He then proceeded to attempt a purely rational proof for such important assumptions as those dealing with the fundamental properties of God.[93] Afterwards, Duns Scotus made a careful study of these arguments, and found that many of them to be based upon faith rather than reason.[94] Finally, William of Ockham concluded that none of the traditional properties of God—including his existence—could be proved rationally.[95] Thus

89 ". . . some . . . like the Mohammedans and pagans, do not agree with us as to the authority of any Scripture whereby they may be convinced, in the same way as we are able to dispute with the Jews by means of the Old Testament, and with heretics by means of the New: whereas the former accept neither. Wherefore it is necessary to have recourse to natural reason, to which all are compelled to assent."—Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles*, I. 2, in *Opera omnia*, Leonine ed., XIII-XV, tr. L. Shapcote (London, 1924–29).

90 [A group of philosophers were accused of holding the following opinions.]
"That God was not able to make the first matter, except by means of a celestial body.
"That man ought not to be content with authority to have certitude about any question whatever.
"That the sermons of the theologians are founded on fables.
"That nothing more is known because of knowing theology.
"That the wise of the world are exclusively philosophers.
"That there are fables and falsities in Christian law, as in others.
"That the Christian law impedes greater learning."—"Opiniones ducentae undeviginti Sigeri de Brabantia, Boetii de Dacia aliorumque, a Stephano episcopo Parisiensi de consilio doctorum sacrae scripturae condemnatae [1277]," *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and E. L. M. Chatelain (Paris, 1889–97), no. 473, opins. 38, 150, 152–54, 171–75.

91 "Now in those things which we hold about God there is truth in two ways. For certain things that are true about God wholly surpass the capability of human reason, for instance that God is three in one: while there are certain things to which even natural reason can attain, for instance that God is."—Thomas Aquinas, *op. cit.*, I. 3, *vide Summa theologica*, I. 12. 4, 11–13, I. 32. 1.

92 *Ibid.*, 2. 2. 5. 3.

93 *Ibid.*, I. 2–26.

94 J. Duns Scotus (1265?–1308?), *De primo rerum omnium principio*, 4, in *Opera omnia*, ed. Franciscan Fathers (Paris, 1891–95), IV, pp. 719–99.

95 ". . . no creature contains a proper and simple concept of God essentially nor virtually."—William of Ockham (d. *ca.* 1349), *Quotlibeta septem* (Strassburg, 1491), 4. 18, *vide ibid.*, 1. 10, 4. 3, *Centiloquium*, 1, ed. P. Boehner, *Franciscan Studies*, 22 (1941)–23 (1941).

all European philosophy based upon divine revelation was brought to an impasse And so Descartes began anew from what he hoped was a universally rationally premise "I think, therefore I am"[96, 97]

[96] "There are those who having reason or modesty enough to judge that they are less capable of distinguishing truth from falsehood than some others from whom instruction might be obtained, are right in contenting themselves with following the opinions of these others rather than in searching better ones for themselves.

"For myself I should doubtless have been of these last if I had never had more than a single master, or had I never known the diversities which have from all time existed between the opinions of men of the greatest learning But I had been taught, even in my College days, that there is nothing imaginable so strange or so little credible that it has not been maintained by one philosopher or other, and I further recognised in the course of my travels that all those whose sentiments are very contrary to ours are yet not necessarily barbarians or savages, but may be possessed of reason in as great or even a greater degree than ourselves I also considered how very different the self-same man, identical in mind and spirit, may become, according as he is brought up from childhood amongst the French or Germans, or has passed his whole life amongst Chinese or cannibals I likewise noticed how even in the fashions of one's clothing the same thing that pleased us ten years ago, and which will perhaps please us once again before ten years are passed, seems at the present time extravagant and ridiculous, I thus concluded that it is much more custom and example that persuade us than any certain knowledge"—Descartes, *op cit*, 2 (pp 15–16)

"As regards all the opinions which up to this time I had embraced, I thought I could not do better than endeavour once for all to sweep them completely away, so that they might later on be replaced, either by others which were better, or by the same, when I had made them conform to the uniformity of a rational scheme"—*Ibid*, 2 (pp 13–14)

"I thought that it was necessary for me to reject as absolutely false everything as to which I could imagine the least ground of doubt, in order to see if afterwards there remained anything in my belief that was entirely certain

But immediately afterwards I noticed that whilst I thus wished to think all things false, it was absolutely essential that the 'I' who thought this should be somewhat, remarking that this truth *'I think, therefore I am'* was so certain and so assured that all the most extravagant suppositions brought forward by the sceptics were incapable of shaking it, I came to the conclusion that I could receive it without scruple as the first principle of the Philosophy for which I was seeking—*Ibid*, 4 (pp 31–32)

[97] Here I have deliberately restricted myself to a consideration of developments within the limits of technical philosophy itself From a broader point of view, these changes in Western European philosophy seem to be simply a reflection of the increasing naturalism and individualism brought on by the rise of commercial capitalism

Historical References

(1) ". . . human society, that society which we call a people, is not a simple juxtaposition of isolated and fugitive existence . . . But the social life of each man is not concentrated in the material space which is its theatre, nor in the passing moment, it extends itself to all the relations which he has contracted upon different points of the land, and not only to those relations which he has contracted, but also to those which he might contract, or can even conceive the possibility of contracting, it embraces not only the present, but the future, man lives in a thousand spots which he does not inhabit, in a thousand moments which, as yet, are not, and if this development of his life is cut off from him, if he is forced to confine himself to the narrow limits of his material and actual existence, to isolate himself in space and time, social life is mutilated, and society is no more." —F P G Guizot, *Cours d'histoire moderne* [1829–32] (Paris, 1840, 2nd–3rd eds), II, pp 238–39, tr W Hazlitt (London, 1856)

(2) "In the stories and songs which one generation transmits to another, posterity recognises the voices of their ancestors, and while they listen to their woes and share their emotions, they feel that they are members of an aggregate which gives support and significance to their individual life "—E Grosse, *Die Anfange der Kunst,* p 264

(3) "Hast thou ever meditated on that word, Tradition how we inherit not Life only, but all the garniture and form of Life, and work, and speak, and even think and feel, as our Fathers, and primeval grandfathers, from the beginning, have given it us?"—T. Carlyle, *Sartor resartus* [1831], p 196, in *Works,* I

(4) "Ignorance . . . disposeth a man to make custom and example the rule of his actions, in such manner, as to think that unjust which it hath been the custom to punish, and that just, of the impunity and approbation whereof they can produce an example "—T Hobbes, *Leviathan,* I 11 (p 91)

(5) "Experience shows that the framing of a future, in some indeterminate time, may, when it is done in a certain way, be very effective, and have very few inconveniences, this happens when the anticipations of the future take the form of those myths, which enclose with them all the strongest inclinations of a people, of a party, or of a class, inclinations which recur to the mind with the insistence of instincts in all the circumstances of life, and which give an aspect of complete reality to the hopes of immediate action by which, more easily than by any other method, men can reform their desires, passions, and mental acivity . . . even supposing the revolutionaires to have been wholly and entirely deluded in setting up this imaginary picture of the general strike, this picture may yet have been, in the course of the preparation for the Revolution, a great element of strength, if it has embraced all the aspirations of Socialism, and if it has given to the whole body of Revolutionary thought a precision and a rigidity which no other method of thought could have given "—G Sorel, *Réflexions*

sur la violence [1908] (Paris, 1912, 3rd ed), pp 177, 180, tr T E Hulme (New York, 1914)

(6) " . the myths are not descriptions of things, but expressions of a determination to act

"The myth must be judged as a means of acting on the present"—*Ibid*, pp 46, 180

(7) " history takes its character from the period of its composition" —C F Volney, *Leçons d'histoire* [1795], p 28, in *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1825–26, 2nd ed), VII, pp 1–135

(8) "At the present day no doubt remains that world history must be rewritten from time to time However, such a necessity does not perchance arise from the fact that many new facts have been discovered, but because new points of view occur, because the participants in a progressive age are led to standpoints from which the past may be regarded and judged in a new way"—J W von Goethe, *Materialien zur Geschichte der Farbenlehre*, pp 140–41, *Samtlichen Werke, XXII*

(9) "In truth, there never was any remarkable lawgiver amongst any people who did not resort to divine authority, as otherwise his laws would not have been accepted by the people; for there are many good laws, the importance of which is known to the sagacious lawgiver, but the reasons for which are not sufficiently evident to enable him to persuade others to submit to them, and therefore do wise men, for the purpose of removing this difficulty, resort to divine authority"—N Machiavelli, *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* [1519], I 11, in *Opera*, ed A Panella (Milan, 1938–39), II, pp 97–470, tr C E Detmold (Boston, 1882)

(10) "It seems, I think, to be practically understood, that a proverb is merely a *compendious expression* of some principle, which will usually be, in different cases, and with or without certain modifications, true or false, applicable, or inapplicable When then a Proverb is introduced, the speaker usually employs it as a *Major-premise*, and is understood to imply, as a *Minor*, that the principle thus referred to is *applicable* in the existing case And what is gained by the employment of the Proverb, is, that his judgment, and his reason for it, are conveyed—through the use of a *well-known* form of expression, clearly, and at the same time in an incomparably *shorter space*, than if he had had to explain his meaning in expressions framed for the occasion And the brevity thus obtained is often still further increased by suppressing the full statement even of the very Proverb itself, if a very common one, and merely *alluding* to it in a word or two

"Proverbs accordingly are somewhat analogous to those Medical Formulas which, being in frequent use, are kept ready-made-up in the chemists' shops, and which often save the framing of a distinct Prescription"—R Whately, *Elements of Rhetoric*, append A (pp. 448–49)

(11) G C Robertson, "How we come by our knowledge [1877]," *Philosophical Remains*, ed A Bain and T Whittaker (London, 1894), pp 63–74

(12) J Locke, *Essay*, 1.2 22–26

(13) " . the principal effect of the force of custom is to seize and grip us so firmly, that we are scarce able to escape from its grasp, and to regain possession of ourselves sufficiently to discuss and reason out its commands In truth, since we imbibe them with our mother's milk, and the world

shows the same face to our infant eyes, we seem to be born to follow this same path, and the common ideas that we find current around us, and infused into our souls with the seed of our fathers, appear to be general and natural Whence it comes that what is off the hinges of custom we believe to be off the hinges of reason God knows how unreasonably for the most part!"—M de Montaigne, *Essais*, I, Pt I, pp 159–60

(14) "When an age is found occupied in proving its creed, this is but a token that the age has ceased to have a proper belief in it"—M Pattison, "Tendencies of religious thought in England, 1688–1750 [1860]," p 53, in *Essays*, ed H Nettleship (Oxford, 1889), II, pp 42–118

(15) "There is a Presumption in favor of every existing institution . . No one is called on (though he may find it advisable) to defend an existing institution, till some argument is adduced against it"—Whately, *op cit*, 1.3 2 (p 141)

(16) ". philosophers decide, according to their custom, that the existing state of things is the perfection of human reason"—F M C Fourier, *Theorie des quatres mouvements* [1808], p 221, in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1841–48, 3rd ed.), I

(17) "The hearts deceitfulnes in hiding that evill which she proposeth to doe, or is in doing, is to make faire even of the quite contrary And therefore in her witty wickednes, she inventeth some colourable pretence to shadow her malice and mischief"—D Dyke, *The Mystery of Selfe-Deceiving* [1615], ed I Dyke (London, 1630), pp 12–13

(18) "Rationalization is not a mere stating of his reasons by the agent It is finding of new reasons, or the introduction of new mediating judgments These have the effect of linking interests in new ways, or of introducing integration where it did not exist before These acts of mediation may deal with the idea, predicate or end of the given interest, or with the interest itself In any case, they bring interests into new relations through common objects, or through making one the object of another Rationalization *is the introduction of such acts of mediation for the sake of the integration* which it effects Its purpose is to attract to any interest or to its object, the favor and support of other interests It may therefore be termed 'justification' or 'apologetic reasoning' . The root of this thing is not to be discovered in 'an overwhelming need to believe that we are acting rationally,' or in any other queer human idiosyncrasy The function of apologetic reasoning is to enable a man or a nation or mankind, despite the wide variety of opinions and interests that must divide them, to find some common ground for harmonious and united action"—R B Perry, *General Theory of Value* (New York, 1926), pp 386, 399

(19) "All the moving and persuasive Vindications of Actions, which may, from some *partial* evil Tendency, appear *evil*, are taken from this, that they were necessary to some *greater Good* which counter-balanc'd the Evil"—F Hutcheson, "An inquiry concerning the original of our ideas of virtue or moral good," 3 3, in *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (London, 1725), pp 99–276

(20) "Metaphysics is the finding of bad reasons for what we believe upon instinct, but to find these reasons is no less an instinct"—F H Bradley, *Appearance and Reality* [1893] (Oxford, 1930, 9th impr), p xii

SOCIAL CONTROL: SANCTIONS

In Chapter III I tried to point out why people follow custom. And in the last chapter we have seen how people learn customs and by what means these customs are reinforced by the culture Therefore, generally speaking, people tend to conform to traditional custom simply because it does not occur to them to act otherwise (1)

[CHINA] "Lambs' fur and leopard's cuffs [symbolic of a high official],
You use us with unkindness
Might we not find another chief?
But we stay because of your forefathers.

Lamb's fur and leopard's cuffs,
You use us with cruel unkindness.
Might we not find another chief?
But we stay from our regard to you" [1]

But if such conformity results in an appreciable degree of maladjustment, they will tend to violate custom in order to adjust

My wife and I were making a long canoe journey in the swamp country of southern New Guinea

By seven the night was opaquely black and we were in the midst of a driving, violent thunderstorm Lightning flashes and plain intuition kept us from snagging and overturning A crocodile obligingly provided the correct romantic note by swimming alongside for a bit, its shape outlined sharply in the blackness by wreathing phosphorus It was all thoroughly nasty.

It was necessary to bail rain water from the canoe simply to keep afloat Every turn and branch of the stream that we hazarded seemed to lead merely farther into rain-drenched, wind-swept nothingness .

It was one o'clock, after six awful hours of it, before, far off through the

[1] *Shih Ching* [9th-6th cents B.C], ed J. Legge (*Chinese Classics*, 4) (Hong Kong, 1871), 1 10 7.

rain and dark, we saw a tiny point of light, and our howls were faintly answered Arrival, to put it mildly, was spectacular The dying embers we had seen were just inside the entrance of a giant New Guinea men's-house The inhabitants poured out to greet us with lighted palm-frond torches .

With infinite cordiality the villagers (their tradition is to gather heads and they sometimes still eat human meat, but both according to strict and formal rules) swarmed down into the thigh deep mud to our assistance As we floundered they seized the saturated ruins of our baggage and staggered with it to the long-house My wife, first of her color and sex that many maybe had ever seen, oddly enough, was helped with special courtliness.

So fouled with muck and rain, we went in where it was dry There was a brief, whispered consultation The long-house, like most in that area, was semi-sacred, a repository of human skulls and the temple of monster wicker-work dragon-gods—tabu absolutely to all women And here, begging lodging, was a woman. With immediate sensibleness they decided the circumstances were exceptional—so never mind Gratefully we sprawled with the rest on the grimy floor [2]

Consequently, every culture provides incentives for conformity—rewards and punishments which, when effective, counterbalance the satisfactions which can be derived from violations Hence, when people have unsatisfied motives which would otherwise produce violations of custom, these incentives lead them to conform in spite of the resulting maladjustment, and in so far as the incentives are the goals of dominant motives, they are the strongest controls of action which exist.

[UNITED STATES]

"I had not minded walls
Were Universe one rock,
And far I heard his silver call
The other side the block.

I'd tunnel until my groove
Pushed sudden through to his,
Then my face take recompense—
The looking in his eyes

But 'tis a single hair,
A filament, a law—
A cobweb wove in adamant,
A battlement of straw—

A limit like the veil
Unto the lady's face,
But every mesh a citadel
And dragons in the crease!" [3]

[2] J W Vandercook, "The misunderstood savage," *Harpers*, 170 (1935), (pp 446–55) pp 447–48

[3] E Dickinson, *Poems*, p 361

Social factors in violation

Violation, you will recall, is non-conformity to custom And at this point we will find it useful to distinguish between a *transgression,* performed by an individual who habitually conforms to custom but violates it sporadically under exceptional conditions, and a *deviation* habitually enacted by a persistent non-conformist (2)

The number and seriousness of the violations found in a group depend upon three conditions—whether (*a*) the group is primary or secondary, (*b*) the culture is adequate or inadequate, and (*c*) the culture is homogeneous or heterogeneous

(*a*) In a primary group there tend to be few non-conformists

[MARQUESAS] In the darkest nights they slept securely, with all their worldly wealth around them, in houses the doors of which were never fastened The disquieting ideas of theft or assassination never disturbed them Each islander reposed beneath his own palmetto thatching, or sat under his own bread-fruit tree, with none to molest or alarm him There was not a padlock in the valley, nor anything that answered the purpose of one still there was no community of goods This long spear, so elegantly carved and highly polished, belongs to Warmoonoo—it is far handsomer than the one which old Marheyo so greatly prizes—it is the most valuable article belonging to its owner And yet I have seen it leaning against a cocoa-nut tree in the grove, and there it was found when sought for Here is a sperm-whale tooth, graven all over with cunning devices—it is the property of Kalluna It is the most precious of the damsel's ornaments. In her estimation, its price is far above rubies, and yet there hangs the dental jewel, by its cord or braided bark, in the girl's house, which is far back in the valley, the door is left open, and all the inmates have gone off to bathe in the stream [4]

The members share experiences vicariously (through identification and sympathy) as well as actually. Now, to the extent that non-conformity in social interaction involves a violation of rights and duties, it injures the others. Therefore, in the primary group, where social interaction is based upon a sharing of experiences, there is a minimum of violation because the individual does not want to hurt the others

[CHINA] "When everyone regards his younger brother, son, and minister as himself, whereto can he direct any disaffection? Therefore there will not be any unfilial feeling or disaffection Will there be any thieves and robbers? When everyone regards other families as his own family, who will steal?

[4] H Melville, *Typee,* p 270

When everyone regards other persons as his own persons, who will rob? Therefore there will not be any thieves or robbers."[5]

[UNITED STATES] All formal methods of control [at Amana] are in the hands of the elders. In case of a violation of the mores, the parents are held responsible jointly with the children and suffer a reduction in religious status. If a young person leaves the community, the mother is compelled to go to church with the young girls for six months, while the father undergoes a similar punishment. This system of joint accountability to the community promotes a close, sympathetic relationship between parents and children, and exercises an added restraint upon the young people.

Thus a girl, debating whether or not to have her hair bobbed two years ago, "I would not have my hair cut for anything, because the elders are going to have a big meeting, and the girls who have had their hair cut will be kept out of church along with their parents. My father is an elder. I would not want to do that to him." And later, "But it is no sin to have your hair cut."[6]

Besides, this sharing of experiences means that all know what everyone else is doing, so that it is easy to apply sanctions.

[ASHANTI] "A stranger may have big big eyes, but he does not see into what is going on among the people he is among, whereas the town's man, with little little eyes, *he* knows all the town's affairs."[7]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "The instinct of provincial newsmongers sometimes approaches the miraculous, and of course there is some reason for it. It is founded on the closest and most interested study of one another, pursued through many years. Every provincial lives, as it were, under a glass case. There is no possibility of concealing anything from your excellent fellow citizens. They know you by heart, they know even what you don't know about yourself."[8]

". . . in these little villages everything is talked about and everything is carped at."[9]

In a secondary group, on the other hand, the situation is different. (3) Here the members tend to put their individual interests first and to be detached and indifferent, so that the individual does not care whether he injures the others.

[5] *Mo-tzŭ* [4th–3rd cents. B.C.], tr. Y. P. Mei (*Probsthain's Oriental Series*, 19) (London, 1929), p. 80.

[6] G. E. Chaffee, "Control in an integrated social group," *Social Forces*, 8 (1929–30), (pp. 91–95) p. 94.

[7] R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, 528.

[8] F. Dostoevsky, "Uncle's dream," p. 67, in *Novels*, tr. C. Garnett (London, 1912–20), XI, pp. 18–141.

[9] M. de Cervantes Saavedra, *Don Quixote de la Mancha* [1605–15], 2.12 (I, p. 160), in *Obras completas*, ed. R. Schevill *et al.* Madrid, 1914– , tr. J. Ormsby (New York, 1926).

[UNITED STATES] "Since the collection and tabulation of police statistics on a national scale first began over 10 years ago, the monthly reports received at the F[ederal] B[ureau of] I[nvestigation] during each year have generally shown more crimes per unit of population in the large cities than in the smaller places." [10]

The extreme case is that of the psychopath who, not having been reared in a primary group, is incompletely socialized.

The psychiatrists of old have spoken of this as "moral insanity," or "moral idiocy," meaning by that that an individual peculiarly lacked moral fiber in the same sense as the mental defective is lacking in intelligence. In this these psychiatrists were in the main right. But the lack of so-called "moral fiber," however conspicuous, is not its only feature. What stands out so conspicuously and in the center of the picture is the utter and complete selfishness of these individuals.

Crude gratification of instincts and indulgence in appetites in the most primitive sense is the predominant theme in their lives. They look upon their environment as only a means to satisfy their needs and the value of such an environment is judged entirely by the degree that it satisfies their needs. In any situation of give and take, they are always to be found at the receiving end; if and when they do give, it is as little as they possibly can and then universally under duress and pressure, never willingly. As a group they are willful, stubborn, obstinate and resistant to any attempt made to improve them. They live so much for themselves that they are wholly unable to "feel" for and with others. They have no feeling or regard for others.

In contrast to the normal individual, the neurotic, the psychotic, and even the mental defective, the psychopaths do not and seemingly cannot develop those binding emotions and tender attachments which lie at the very basis of human evolution and our whole social structure. The reactions of love, sympathy, kindness, gratitude and other generous impulses are completely foreign to them. They are as incapable of repression as they are of sublimation. They seem never faced with emotional conflicts which is the lot and burden of mankind; their emotions are all on the surface. They have no appreciation of the meaning of responsibility of any sort, whether it be in the family or in interpersonal and social relations. They are ready liars and cheaters, for they have as little appreciation of a lie as they have regard for the truth. [11]

And by contrast with the primary group, the members of a secondary group know little about one another; this anonymity makes it possible to get away with murder, both literally and figuratively.

[10] U. S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports*, 11 (1940), p. 160.

[11] B. Karpman, "The principles and aims of criminal psychopathology," *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*, 1 (1939–40), (pp. 187–218) pp. 203–04.

[ROME] " going to Eudemus I expressed surprise at the ill-will shown by the distinguished doctors of Rome He said that what had happened to me was quite what might have been expected . And then he enumerated these various causes in the following terms —'Do not suppose that good men become wicked in this city, but those who are already wicked find here opportunity for business and make much more money than in provincial towns When they see many like themselves who have become rich, they imitate their diverse practices, and so from various causes they attain to an extreme of rascality And I will tell you some of these causes, as I have had a long experience It is not nature alone, nor is it that the wickedness of those naturally wicked is increased by the opportunity for material gain There is also a corresponding training in the ways of wickedness People see wickedness daily practised by others like themselves, and so they proceed to imitate them

" 'On the other hand, people in small towns, unlike those here, are not led astray by opportunities for great gain, as they are easily recognized by their fellow-citizens, and even if they do commit some minor fault, they have no practice in the theory Here at Rome, however, the mere fact that their successive wrongdoings are not known to everybody serves to increase their natural depravity They attack those who from lack of experience do not know them, especially when these are unable, owing to their simplicity of mind, to retaliate in the way in which these attack each other if they have the slightest wrong done them—and just as the brigands in our country help each other when outsiders wrong them, and spare their own people, similarly those who make their conspiracies here amongst us differ from brigands only in that they carry out their misdeeds in the town and not among the mountains ' " [12]

[UNITED STATES] In measure, the person is no longer subject to the control and supervision of the local community and may disregard the opinions of his neighbors because he finds the standards and approval of his behavior in different groups unrelated to the place of residence [13]

In the early days of occupancy of the area, public opinion was a factor in enforcing the prevailing standards of conduct on the part of the residents Neighbors disregarding the accepted code, were made to feel the weight of social disapproval by remonstrance and direct appeals for conformity with it Today there are occasional similar efforts but relationships tend to be more impersonal and there is a consequent greater reliance on the established authorities [14]

(*b*) In an adequate culture the participants tend to conform to custom, for they can adjust by its means This is not true of inadequate cultures It follows as a corollary of the definition of such a culture that the only way in which adjustment becomes possible is

[12] Galen, *De praenotione*, 4 (pp 620–22), in *Opera omnia*, ed Kuhn, XIV, pp. 599–673, tr A J Brock (London, 1929)

[13] McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood*, p 110

[14] *Ibid*, p 101.

to behave in a non-customary way (4) As a result, deviants spring from inadequate cultures These deviants are of two kinds, insurgents and psychotics. An *insurgent* is a social deviant, i e, he advocates a change in custom by which he thinks the group will be better adjusted

[UNITED STATES] "No man, who reflects seriously on Society as it is, throughout the whole of Christendom, and who feels that his own lot is bound up with that of his countrymen or with that of his race, can be contented to see things remaining as they are Nowhere does Society come up to our conceptions of what it should be Over the whole Actual there hovers the bright Ideal of something better, and happier, inviting us by new and stronger efforts to realize a higher social state

"The more we produce the more destitute we are Hunger rages most where granaries are full And bare backs are the most numerous where shirts in largest quantities lie piled up in warehouses This is a necessary effect of our modern industrial system

"Now this strange anomaly, an anomaly of which I find no instance till since the Reformation, of men and women able and willing to work, and yet not finding work to do, or work whereby they may obtain the means of keeping soul and body together, tells us in terms none of us can misinterpret, that something is wrong in our modern industrial arrangements, and very distinctly, also, that a reform of some kind is most assuredly desirable, whether practicable or not" [15]

A *psychotic* is an unsocial deviant, i e, his habitual non-conformity is a private solution of his own maladjustments [16] (5)

(*c*) In a homogeneous culture a relatively high degree of conformity is found for many reasons First, as we saw in Chapter XV, if a group is isolated and has a homogeneous culture, the members tend to look upon their customs as the "natural" way to act.

[UNITED STATES] " . that's the way it's always been done" [17]

Second is expectation Effective social interaction is based upon mutual adjustment of the participants to the behavior that each one anticipates from the others, and socialized human beings tend to modify their behavior to fulfill the expectations of others.[18] Consequently, in order to have his men act in a determined way all that Nelson had to say was, "England expects that every man will do his

[15] O A Brownson, *Social Reform* (Boston, 1844), pp. 4, 8–9

[16] [UNITED STATES] For a case study, *vide* R M Lindner, *Rebel Without a Cause*, New York, 1944

[17] J West, *Plainville, U S A*, p 224.

[18] *Vide* Allport's experiments on conformity given in Chapter XIV

duty."[19] Third is mirroring. The socialized human being tends to reflect the behavior of the people with whom he interacts.

The experiment upon which I wish to report is an attempt to make precise measurements of the nature and extent of one type of imitation, namely, unconscious or unintentional imitation. By this I mean the unintentional modification in the performance of a specific act due to the presence of a model of that act at the time when it is being executed. . . .

The specific problem in view was this: To what extent, if at all, is a person's normal handwriting modified by a model of script seen in the process of writing?

All persons seem to manifest this type of imitation. Those whose writing showed no change in the inclination did show a change in the size of the letters. The experiment thus emphasizes the subtle way of learning through unconscious imitation.[20]

Fourth is self-control. In Chapter IV we saw that the members of society learn to assume certain roles and to perform the sets of behavior involved in each of these roles. Under normal conditions, these become reflected in the individual's conception of what his roles are and how he should conduct (6) himself in each of these roles.

[TIKOPIA] The day after the pinning of the thatch [on a house] . . . saw the actual rethatching of the house. The chief arrived early on the scene, but his people were late. . . . On another occasion at the ritual of yam planting at Kafika the Ariki Kafika arrived at the cultivation at the agreed time before sunrise, but nearly all his party were so late that most of the planting was over before they came. . . .

The fact that the chief in such cases is frequently first on the scene of operations indicates how his sense of responsibility is apt to be keener than that of his people.[21]

[UNITED STATES] During World War II I saw many civil service employees in Washington overwork themselves because of their sense of social responsibility and feeling of obligation to the nation.

The situation is quite different in heterogeneous cultures. First, the individual sees alternative customs being performed, so that none seems "natural."

[WESTERN EUROPE] "There is nothing in which the world varies so much

[19] H. Nelson, *Dispatches and Letters*, ed. N. H. Nicolas (London, 1845–46), VII, pp. 149–50 [1805].

[20] D. Starch, "Unconscious imitation in handwriting," *Psychological Review*, 18 (1911), (pp. 223–28) pp. 223, 228.

[21] R. W. Firth, *Primitive Polynesian Economy*, p. 196.

as in its customs and laws Many a thing is abominable here that is commended elsewhere " [22]

"There are countries where the people are accustomed to turn their backs on those they salute, and never look at the man they intend to honour In one nation, when the king spits, the most favoured of the ladies of the court stretches out her hand, and in another the most eminent about him stoop to collect his ordure in a linen cloth " [23]

"Many of our laws and customs are barbarous and monstrous " [24]

"A French gentleman with a reputation for witty sayings used always to blow his nose into his fingers, a thing very inimical to our custom, in justifying himself for so doing, he asked me what privilege that unclean excrement enjoyed that we should go and provide a dainty piece of linen to receive it, and, what is more, that we should wrap it up and keep it carefully about us, he maintained that that should sicken and horrify us more than to see it thrown away, wherever it may be, like all the other evacuations It seemed to me that he spoke not altogether without reason, custom had prevented my perceiving the oddity of that proceeding, which we should think so hideous when told of another country " [25]

"To sum up, in my opinion there is nothing that custom does not or cannot do " [26]

"Having once had occasion to justify one of our observances, and one that was accepted with absolute authority in the far outlying districts surrounding us, and not content, as most men are, to find it established merely by force of laws and examples, but searching still further into its origin, I found that it was built on so weak a foundation, that I, who had to encourage it in others, was all but disgusted He who would rid himself of this violent prejudice of custom will find that many things are accepted with undoubted resolve, which have no support but in the hoary beard and wrinkles of the usage which attends them " [27]

Second, the expectations vary from one group to another, indeed, a group can develop a sub-culture so different from that of the rest of the society that a habitual conformist in the former group becomes a deviant to the others. (7)

[HINDU] [The following statements were made by Thugs, a now extinct robber and murderer caste]

Nasir That *Davey* [a spirit] instituted Thuggee, and supported it as long as we attended to her omens, and observed the rules framed by the wisdom of our ancestors, nothing in the world can ever make us doubt [28]

Feringeea Our great progenitors Seeam and Asa . . became initiated

[22] Montaigne, *Essais,* III, p. 368.
[23] *Ibid*, I, p 153
[24] *Ibid*, IV, p. 82
[25] *Ibid*, I, pp 153–54.
[26] *Ibid*, I, p 159
[27] *Ibid*, I, pp 161–62
[28] W H Sleeman, *Ramaseeana* (Calcutta, 1836), I p 187

in the mysteries of Thuggee, and from that time it has descended without interruption in the family Every male as he became of age, became a Thug [29]

A Thug leader, of most polished manners and great eloquence, being asked one day in my presence by a native gentleman, whether he never felt compunction in murdering innocent people, replied with a smile, "Does any man feel compunction in following his trade; and are not all our trades assigned us by providence?" The native gentleman said, "How many people have you in the course of your life killed with your own hands at a rough guess?" "I have killed none!" "Have you not been just describing to me a number of murders?" "Yes, but do you suppose I could have committed them Is any man killed from man's killing? Is it not the hand of God that kills him? and are we not mere instruments in the hand of God?" [30]

Q[uestioner] Are you never afraid of the spirits of the persons you murder?

Nasir Never, they cannot trouble us

Q Why? Do they not trouble other men when they commit murder

Nasir Of course they do The man who commits a murder is always haunted by spirits He has sometimes fifty at a time upon him, and they drive him mad.

Q And how do they not trouble you?

Nasir Are not the people we kill killed by the orders of *Davey*?

Kuleean Yes, it is by the blessing of Davey that we escape that evil

Dorgha Do not all whom we kill go to Paradise, and why should their spirits stay to trouble us? .

Q And there is no instance of a Thug being troubled by a spirit?

All None No Thug was ever so troubled [31]

Q Then do you never feel any dread of punishment hereafter?

Sahib Never, we never murder unless the omens are favorable, and we consider favorable omens as the mandates of the deity

Q What deity?

Sahib *Bhowanee*

Q But *Bhowanee*, you say, has no influence upon the welfare, or otherwise, of your soul hereafter?

Sahib None, we believe, but she influences our fates in this world, and what she orders in this world, we believe, that God will not punish in the next.

Q And you believe that if you were to murder without the observance of the omens and regulations, you would be punished both in this world and the next like other men?

Sahib Certainly, no man's family ever survives a murder it becomes extinct A Thug who murders in this way loses the children he has, and is never blessed with more

Q In the same manner as if a Thug had murdered a Thug?

[29] *Ibid*, I, p 223
[30] *Ibid*, I, pp 75–76
[31] *Ibid*, I, pp 175–76

Sahib Precisely, he cannot escape punishment

Q And when you observe the omens and rules, you neither feel a dread of punishment here nor hereafter?

Sahib Never

Q And do you never feel sympathy for the persons murdered—never pity or compunction?

Sahib Never

Q How can you murder old men and young children without some emotions of pity—calmly and deliberately as they sit with you and converse with you,—and tell you of their private affairs,—of their hopes and fears,—and of the wives and children, they are going to meet after years of absence, toil and suffering?

Sahib From the time that the omens have been favorable, we consider them as victims thrown into our hands by the deity to be killed, and that we are the mere instrument in her hands to destroy them that if we do not kill them, she will never be again propitious to us, and we and our families will be involved in misery and want

Q And you can sleep as soundly by the bodies or over the graves of those you have murdered, and eat your meals with as much appetite as ever?

Sahib Just the same, we sleep and eat just the same unless we are afraid of being discovered

Q And when you see or hear a bad omen, you think it is the order of the deity not to kill the travellers you have with you or are in pursuit of?

Sahib Yes, it is the order not to kill them, and we dare not disobey [32]

Q But you think that no man is killed by man's killing . . . that all who are strangled are strangled, in effect, by God

Nasir Certainly [33]

Q What castes are you forbidden to kill?

Iman Buksh We never kill any of the following classes.

- *Dhobies* or Washermen
- *Bharts* or Bards
- *Siks* are never killed in Bengal
- *Nanuksahees*
- *Mudaree* Fukeers
- Dancing men or boys
- Musicians by profession
- *Bhungies* or sweepers
- *Teylies*, oil vendors
- *Lohars* and *Burheys*, Blacksmiths and carpenters, when found together
- Maimed and leprous persons
- A man with a cow
- *Burhumcharies*
- *Kawrutties*, or Ganges water carriers, while they have the Ganges water with them If their pots be empty, they are not exempted.[34]

[32] *Ibid*, I, pp 116–17

[33] *Ibid*, I, p 159.

[UNITED STATES] "The professional thief is one who steals professionally This means, first, that he makes a regular business of stealing He devotes his entire working time and energy to larceny and may steal three hundred and sixty-five days a year Second, every act is carefully planned The selection of spots, securing of the property, making a getaway, disposing of the stolen property, and fixing cases in which he may be pinched (arrested) are all carefully planned Third, the professional thief has technical skills and methods which are different from those of other professional criminals Manual skill is important in some of the rackets, but the most important thing in all the rackets is the ability to manipulate people The thief depends on his approach, front, wits, and in many instances his talking ability The professional burglar or stickup man (robber with a gun), on the other hand, uses violence or threat of violence even though he may on occasion use soothing language in order to quiet people Fourth, the professional thief is generally migratory and may work in all the cities of the United States He generally uses a particular city as headquarters, and, when two professional thieves first meet, the question is always asked 'Where are you out of?'

"In addition to these four characteristics, professional thieves have many things in common They have acquaintances, congeniality, sympathy, understandings, agreements, rules, codes of behavior, and language in common

"The professional thief has nothing in common with the amateur thief or with the amateur in any other racket The professional thief will be in sympathy with the amteur's attempt to steal something but will not be interested in him, for they have no acquaintances or ideas of stealing in common He would talk with an amateur whom he might happen to meet in the can (police lockup) no longer than necessary to find out that he was an amateur He might offer advice on how to beat the rap (charge), but this would be very rare, for, in addition to the fact that the amateur means nothing in his life, there is danger in telling the intricacies of the fix [immunity] to someone who may be loquacious

"The professional thief has nothing in common with those who commit sex crimes or other emotional crimes and would not even be courteous to them if he should chance to meet them in the can

"Sympathy and congeniality with professional burglars and stickups is nearly as close as between thieves in one racket They are all thieves, and the fact that one has a different racket does not alter this feeling To professional burglars whom he knows on the street he will tender ideas and spots, not as a 10 per cent man (on a commission basis) but purely out of a spirit of congeniality He will render assistance to a professional burglar in fixing cases, securing bonds, or escaping from a jailhouse as readily as to thieves in his own rackets " [35]

[34] *Ibid*, I, pp 181–82

[35] Conwell, *The Professional Thief* (Chicago, 1937), pp 3–4.

Nature of Sanctions

We have seen that violations occur in every society. But in Chapter IV it was argued that a society adjusts through social differentiation, this necessitates effective social interaction, which in turn depends upon acts which conform to a common body of customs. Therefore violations tend to produce social maladjustment. The deviant, in particular, tends to disrupt collective action, and in one way or another he is eliminated in all societies—usually either by being confined, killed, or expelled. As for the transgressor, the group commonly constrains him to follow custom in the future by the sanctions it applies.

[UNITED STATES] "A person who, after having been three times convicted . . . of felonies or attempts to commit felonies . . . commits a felony, other than murder, first or second degree, or treason, within this state, shall be sentenced upon conviction of such fourth, or subsequent, offense to imprisonment in a state prison for an indeterminate term the minimum of which shall be not less than the maximum term provided for first offenders for the crime for which the individual has been convicted, but, in any event, the minimum term upon conviction for a felony as the fourth or subsequent, offense, shall be not less than fifteen years, and the maximum thereof shall be his natural life." [36]

For a long time the northern groups of the Arunta tribe had been in fear of the Ilpaura, who had been continually sending in threatening messages. . . . Several death, also, which had taken place amongst the Arunta, had been attributed by the medicine men to the evil magic of certain of the Ilpaura men. When the messengers and the men summoned had assembled at Alice Springs, a council of the elder men was held, at which it was determined to make a raid on the Ilpaura, and accordingly a party was organised for the purpose. Such an avenging party is called an Atninga.

When all was prepared the Atninga started away for the north, and, after travelling for several days, came upon a group of Ilpaura men, consisting of about a dozen families, near to whom they camped for two days. . . .

In the Ilpaura community were two old men, and with them matters were discussed by the elder men amongst the Arunta at a spot some little distance from the camp of the latter. After a long talk extending over two days, during which the strangers set forth their grievances and gave the Ilpaura men very clearly to understand that they were determined to exact vengeance, the two old men said, in effect, "Go no further. Our people do not wish to quarrel with your people, there are three bad men in our camp whom we Ilpaura do not like, they must be killed. Two are *Iturka* (that is, men who have married within the forbidden degrees of relationship), the

[36] New York State, *Laws*, 1936, Chap. 328, Sec. 6.

other is very quarrelsome and strong in magic and has boasted of killing your people by means of . magic Kill these men, but do not injure any others in our camp, and we will help you "

These terms were accepted by the Arunta, and it was agreed between the old men of the two parties that an attempt should be made to kill the three men on the next day Shortly after daylight a number of the Arunta . . . speared two of the condemned men from behind The third man—one of the two *Iturka*—had grown suspicious during the night, and had accordingly decamped, taking his women with him

The Ilhaura men looked on quietly while the killing took place.

This killing of *Iturka* by strange blacks belonging to other tribes has been a common practice amongst them When a case of this kind arises, the old men of the group to which the offender belongs hold a meeting to discuss the matter, and if all of them are in favour of the death of a man or woman, a neighbouring group is asked to come and carry out the sentence Sometimes it is agreed that the offending parties are to be punished in some less severe way, perhaps by cutting the man's legs or by burning the woman with a fire-stick, and then, if after this the two still continue to live together, the death penalty will be carried out.[37]

[OJIBWA] "The hunting grounds of the Indians were secured by right, a law and custom among themselves No one was allowed to hunt on another's land, without invitation or permission If any person was found trespassing on the ground of another, all his things were taken from him, except a hand full of shot, powder sufficient to serve him in going straight home, a gun, a tomahawk, and a knife, all the fur, and other things were taken from him If he were found a second time trespassing, all his things were taken away from him, except food sufficient to subsist on while going home And should he still come a third time to trespass on the same, or another man's hunting grounds, his nation, or tribe, are then informed of it, who take up his case If still he disobey, he is banished from his tribe " [38]

What is a sanction? You will recall the earlier analysis of an activity into motive, behavior, and goal. Now, an *incentive* is an additional goal that is reached as a consequence of an activity, and is either positive or negative. A *positive incentive* is some added goal that satisfies extra motives and thus encourages (facilitates) repetition of the action, a *negative incentive* is one that prevents the satisfaction of additional motives and thus discourages (inhibits) repetition of the action.

[UNITED STATES] In the one experiment tried the Courtis English Test 4B was used The subjects were the fifty members of a class in educational psychology. . .

[37] B Spencer and F J Gillen, *The Arunta*, II, pp 443–46.
[38] G Copway, *Life* (Albany, 1847), pp 19–20

The test was first given to the entire class as a group The class was then divided into two groups, without regard to how well the individual members of the class had done in the test The groups were then placed in separate rooms, and the same test given again to the separate groups Immediately prior to the second test, however, Group "*A*" was "reproved" . Group "*B*" meanwhile, was "praised"

1 The group that was praised improved the group score by seventy-nine per cent in the second test
2 The group that was reproved made a lower group score in the second test than it had made in the first test
3 In this second group those who had done well in the first test did not do so well in the second test, whereas those who had not done well in the first test improved their scores in the second test[39]

Well, *sanctions* are customary incentives (8) A *reward* is a positive sanction applied to an *achievement,* i e , an action which conforms to customary ideals to an extraordinary degree

[UNITED STATES] " . the President is authorized to present, in the name of Congress, a medal of honor only to each person who, while an officer or enlisted man of the Army, shall hereafter, in action involving actual conflict with an enemy, distinguish himself conspicuously by gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty "[40]

A *punishment* is a negative sanction applied to a *delict,* i.e , an action which goes counter to custom (9)

[CHINA] "The method by which a ruler of men prohibits and encourages is by means of rewards and penalties. Rewards follow merit and penalties follow crime "[41]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " in this life some recompense should be made for good and bad deeds, so that by means of reward and punishment in the present we may be stirred to good actions or restrained from bad ones People may also profit by the examples of others in this way They can copy what is fit and agreeable, and avoid what is not."[42]

Sanctions have three effects coercive, retaliatory, and organizational Coercively, sanctions act as a social control by rewarding those who conform and punishing those who do not Thus they reaffirm customs and constrain them to be conformists.

39 E P Gilchrist, "The extent to which praise and reproof affect a pupil's work," *School and Society,* 4 (1916), (pp 872–74) pp 872, 874

40 "An act making appropriations for the support of the Army [etc], July 9, 1918," *U S Statutes at Large,* 41 1, (pp 845–96) p 870.

41 *Shang-tzŭ,* 5 21 8a

42 P Abailard, *Ethica,* 8 (col 651c)

[AKAMBA] The *nzama* (assembly of elders) can—or, strictly speaking could, because nowadays it is forbidden by the government—condemn a thief to death, but it is most usual for him to be condemned to pay for the damage (usually double the value), and also to give the judges one goat or more, some beer, &c, in payment of costs (depending on the magnitude of the theft). Anyone who is not in a position to pay the fines, must here also have recourse to all sorts of expedients, he is often obliged to sell his daughter or sister cheaply, in this way to get together the necessary sum Formerly capital punishment seems to have been inflicted more than at the present time, when it is scarcely ever resorted to, except in the case of an incorrigible thief The thief was shot with poisoned arrows, or hung up in a tree, where he was allowed to remain "as a punishment and a warning to others" Parents used to take their children to the place and show them the end of a criminal, as a warning example to them [43]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "When thou seest what has been done to the wicked, take heed lest it be done to thee For such things were done to them, that thou mightest pass by and not follow them, and not suffer such things . when the good man sees what the wicked has suffered, let him cleanse himself from all iniquity, lest he fall into a like punishment, a like chastisement" [44]

In retaliation, it is the effects suffered by the group that are important, rather than the mere fact of violation (10) There are three kinds of evidence for this. Firstly, violations are often not sanctioned at all, or only slightly, if the affected party is not a member of the group

[NETSILIK ESKIMO] Theft is not uncommon from strangers whom they consider have a surplus of what they themselves are in need of, so that it is of course an everyday affair that they pilfer from expeditions, this sort of filching, however, is more or less looked upon as a kind of sport and is never held secret from the others in the village But nothing is ever stolen from their own countrymen, theft within the tribe being strongly condemned [45]

[WESTERN EUROPE] " 'Why do you kill me?' 'What! do you not live on the other side of the water? If you lived on this side, my friend, I should be an assassin, and it would be unjust to slay you in this manner But since you live on the other side, I am a hero, and it is just' " [46]

[RWALA BEDOUINS] if the avengers say "We will accept the blood price," the chief asks them to name their sureties of peace, or arbitrators . while the culprits name their sureties for the payment Then

[43] G Lindblom, *The Akamba,* p 159

[44] Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos,* 134 14, in *Patrologia Latina,* 36–37, tr J Tweed *et al.* (Oxford, 1847–57)

[45] K Rasmussen, *The Netsilik Eskimos,* p 200

[46] B Pascal (1623–1662), *Les pensées,* 293, in *Oeuvres,* ed L Brunschvicg and P. Boutroux (Paris, 1909–11), XII–XIV, tr W F Trotter (New York, 1941).

both parties agree on the chief before whom they will meet to settle the matter When the culprits with their tents and herds, accompanied by their sureties for payment, arrive there, they send word to the avengers .

"Here we are with our surety Make haste to come here too, we wish to pay you the blood price . . "

The avenger proper then sets forth with his surety of peace to the chief with whom the guilty party is camping, and in his tent the chief asks the avenger in the presence of all

"What dost thou ask from thy fellow tribesman?"

"I want this or that mare!"

The surety rises, brings the mare, and, handing her over to the avenger, says. "Thy fellow tribesman gives thee this mare"

The next question is "What else dost thou ask of thy fellow tribesman?"

"I ask fifty she-camels, a complete armament of a rider—that is a rifle, a saber, a dagger, a camel saddlebag, a hunting falcon, and a greyhound bitch . " If the culprits object, pleading their inability to pay so much, the chief threatens to have them escorted to the camp where they sought refuge . . . This makes the guilty party declare their willingness in these words

"We came here to agree to pay the blood price and will fetch every animal demanded "

One third of the blood price is paid by them at once, the rest as soon as possible, the avengers not being permitted to trouble them on that account

The blood price of a man . from a related tribe is one mare, fifty she-camels, and a complete rider's equipment For the blood of a woman no more than twenty-five she camels is paid, because a woman is never valued as highly as a man The compensation for a man from an alien tribe is only seven camels [17]

[UNITED STATES] . in the South the Negro's person and property are practically subject to the whim of any white person who wishes to take advantage of him or to punish him for any real or fancied wrongdoing or "insult" A white man can steal from or maltreat a Negro in almost any way without fear of reprisal, because the Negro cannot claim the protection of the police or courts, and personal vengeance on the part of the offended Negro usually results in organized retaliation in the form of bodily injury (including lynching), home burning or banishment [18]

Secondly, if the consequences are important enough a sanction may be applied against an action which, strictly speaking, is in perfect conformity with custom

[ROME] "A fraud is committed on a statute when something is done

17 A Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, pp 492–93
18 Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, I, p 530

which the statute desired should not be done, but did not actually forbid, the difference between fraud on the law and transgression of it is the same as that between speech and intention "[49]

Thirdly, the sanction applied depends upon the social value of the consequences of the act, and not on the social value of the custom which has been violated (11) This last point is not easy to understand, so I will go into a little more detail Suppose a railroad switchman accidentally pulls the wrong switch so that an oncoming train is shunted to a siding where there is another train waiting, if the oncoming train stops soon enough to prevent a collision the switchman will be reprimanded, but if the trains collide and many people are killed the switchman will be prosecuted for manslaughter and jailed But what would happen if he deliberately pulled the switch in order to cause a collision? If the trains do *not* collide he will be discharged and perhaps jailed, while if people are killed he will be prosecuted for first degree murder (12) In the former set of two cases the violations were accidental; in the latter two, deliberate Now, if sanctions operated only as social controls, the punishments in each set of examples should have been similar If intent is basic, in the first set the switchman should go equally unpunished whether there is a collision or not, while in the second set he should be punished in the same way regardless of his success or failure But this is not so. In fact, the consequences of an act are so important in determining the application of sanctions, that sanctions are used in situations where they could not possibly act coercively

[BIKOL] If a man dies, his nearest kinsmen go out to requite his death by the death of some other individual, taken at random The rule is strictly enforced For a dead man a man must be killed, for a woman a woman, and for a child a child Unless, indeed it be a friend they encounter, the first victim that offers is killed [50]

[TROBRIANDS] Recently a case came under notice in which payment was made by a man who was not actually the cause of death This man was in his canoe with three others, one of whom was a youth of about 14 years. Seeing a shark in shallow water this man drove his spear into it, the spear broke off leaving five inches or so in the shark, which plunged upward and struck the canoe, knocking the youth into the water The shark turned

[49] Ulpianus (170?–228 A D), quot Justinianus, *Digesta*, ed T Mommsen, rev P Kruger (*Corpus Juris Civilis*, 1) (Berlin, 1928, 15th ed), 1 3 30, tr C H Monro, Cambridge, 1904–09

[50] F Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen* (Berlin, 1873), p 171, tr rev L V Schwerb, Manila, 1916

quickly and seized the boy, tearing out the whole of one side from shoulder to groin He died, of course, and the owner of the canoe, the man who had speared the shark, paid the relatives just as if he himself had speared the boy [51]

It follows that to a great extent sanctions are retaliatory and applied on the basis of reciprocity Thus retaliation reaffirms the principle of reciprocity, which is the basis of social interaction [52] (13)

[OROKAIVA] . . the expression for revenge itself is an interesting one, viz, *duroga-mune,* or an "exchange of *duroga,*" the latter meaning the spirit of a man slain in fight, in contradistinction to the spirit of one who has died in any other way [53]

[WESTERN EUROPE] "The law of retaliation is an eternal ordinance of nature" [54]

Finally, the application of a sanction influences the social relations of the participants Giving a reward is an example of harmonious social interaction, and we saw in Chapter II how this increases group solidarity When the reward is given to a member of the group which is applying the sanction, it increases the solidarity of the group The individual rewarded is made to feel that his group is well disposed to him, and the group acting in unison to reward the individual strengthens its own sense of solidarity When the reward is given to an outsider, it strengthens the ties between the group applying the sanction on the one hand, and the outsider and his group on the other

[WESTERN EUROPE] "The city of London . . . bestowed upon General Eisenhower the honorary freedom of the city . . . This afternoon the King made him the first American member of the exclusive Order of Merit

[51] C G Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), p 669 n

[52] Indeed, *justice* is conformity to rights and duties, and equivalence in the application of sanctions, while *injustice* is the lack of such conformity and equivalence

[ROME] "Justice is a constant, unfailing disposition to give every one his legal due"—Ulpianus, quot Justinianus, *Digesta,* 1 1 10

[WESTERN EUROPE] "It is proper to justice . . . to direct man in his relations with others because it denotes a kind of equality, as its very name implies, indeed we are wont to say that things are adjusted when they are made equal, for equality refers to some other"—Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica,* 2 2 57 1

[53] F E Williams, *Orokaiva Society* (Papua, Anthropologist, *Reports,* 10) (London, 1930), p 170

[54] J G von Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* [1784–91], p 576, in *Werke,* ed H Meyer, et al (*Deutsche National-Literatur,* 74–77) (Stuttgart, 1889–91), IV.

"Thousands of London's citizens ... lined his triumphal route and gave their full-throated homage ...

"... General Eisenhower ... spoke briefly from a balcony ... the general told the crowds that they had helped cement the bonds between the two countries." [55]

In contrast, punishing is a kind of social opposition. Again you will recall that the solidarity of a group is proportional to the amount of opposition between it and others. Therefore, when someone within the group is punished, the act of applying the sanction produces conflict between him and the rest of the group. This will result in strengthening the solidarity of the group only if most of the group agree that the responsible one should be punished. If too many members of the group sympathize with the one being punished, application of the sanction produces opposition between those applying the sanction and those sympathizing with the responsible person. This has a disorganizing effect.

[WESTERN EUROPE] "I forget whether I have mentioned the disapproval with which the Duchesse de Guermantes had observed certain persons of her world who, subordinating everything else to the [Dreyfus] Case, excluded fashionable women from their drawing-rooms and admitted others who were not fashionable, because they were for or against the fresh trial, and had then been criticised in her turn by those same ladies, as lukewarm, unsound in her views, and guilty of placing social distinctions above the national interests." [56]

When an outsider is punished, however, the solidarity of the group administering the punishment is strengthened by the fact that it is usually united in its opposition to the outsider.

The retaliatory and organizational aspects of sanctions are so important that a group which is maladjusted and disorganized can achieve some measure of temporary adjustment and reorganization by interpreting its condition as the consequence of an injury, and then punishing the ones held responsible for that injury. (14)

[WESTERN EUROPE] "Many were in doubt about the cause of this vast mortality [resulting from the bubonic plague epidemic of 1348]. In some places they believed that the Jews had poisoned the world. And so they

[55] *New York Times*, June 13, 1945, pp. 1, 3.

[56] M. Proust, *La prisonnière*, II, p. 44, in *A la recherche du temps perdu* (Paris, 1913–28), VI, tr. C. K. Scott-Moncrieff and F. A. Blossom (New York, n. d.); *vide Le coté de Guermantes*, *ibid.*, III–IV.

killed them. In other places, the maimed poor and they expelled them. In others, the nobles and so they hesitated to travel. Finally it reached such a point, that they kept guards in the cities and towns, and they allowed no one to enter who was not well known. And if they found powders or ointments on any one, fearing them to be poisonous drafts, they made *them swallow them*." [57]

[UNITED STATES] In the early days of the republic, the struggle between the conservative, wealthy Federalists, and the liberal, lower class Democrats resulted in the passing of the Alien and Sedition Laws which were intended to suppress the liberals who in many cases were of foreign birth. From 1825 to 1860 the total immigration was 4,870,085 of whom 71.7 per cent were Irish and German; this influx of foreigners, couples with the pre-Civil War conflicts, resulted in the establishment of the anti-Catholic American (Know Nothing) Party, with its slogan, "Americans must rule America." In the South, the reconstruction period after the Civil War gave rise to anti-Negro activities. The increased economic competition resulting from the depression of 1875 to 1879 has an influence upon the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, for 280,438 Chinese had immigrated to the United States from 1854 to 1882. The depression of 1893, plus a total immigration of 8,718,143 from 1878 to 1897, of whom about half were from Ireland, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, was a factor in the organization of the anti-Catholic American Protective Association. A total of 13,688,804 people immigrated to the United States from 1899 to 1914, of whom 65.2 per cent were from Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy. The pre-war depression of 1914 to 1915 was instrumental in the birth of a number of nativistic movements which were inhibited by the war, only to become rejuvenated by the economic and related disorders of 1919 to 1922. Partly as a result of these circumstances, the immigration laws of 1921 and 1924 were passed, the Ku Klux Klan was revived, nativistic periodicals such as the *American Standard* appeared, radicalism was called alien and civil liberties were repressed, and anti-Negro riots occurred.

It was during the twenties too, that anti-Semitism developed on a large scale in the United States, for, though previously the Jews had been numerically insignificant, 1,485,641 had come into the country from 1899 to 1914. The Ku Klux Klan was anti-Semitic, articles against the Jews appeared in Henry Ford's *Dearborn Independent* and were reprinted by the hundreds of thousands, the *Protocols of the Meetings of the Zionist Men of Wisdom* was published, anti-Communist Russian emigrés in the United States convinced many that Communism was a Jewish plot, and discrimination openly occurred in institutions of higher learning. The international depression of 1929, which inaugurated a new era of disorganization in western civilization, caused a recrudescence of social conflict. Under the inspiration of German National Socialism's world-wide propaganda, this conflict was focussed on anti-Semitism; in the United States anti-Semitic nativistic

[57] Guy de Chauliac, *Chirurgia magna* [1363], 2.2.5 (fol. 21, verso, col. b), in *Ars Chirurgica* (Venice, 1546), fols. [viii r]—97 v.

movements again arose, and discrimination, both social and economic, returned [58]

In conclusion, it may be noted that sanctions are so important to a society that the custom of sanctioning acts is itself supported by sanctions

[CARIBOU ESKIMO] In the event of murder, blood vengeance is a sacred duty [59]

[UNITED STATES] A man who does not retaliate when abused is called "coward" or "yellow"

Historical References

(1) " the reverence of antiquity is so great, as that it giveth strength enough unto a law to cause it to be of itself obeyed, without the authority of any Magistrat at all joyned unto it"—J Bodin, *Les six livres de la république* [1576] (n p , 1608), 4.3 (p 575), tr R Knolles (London, 1606)

(2) " the crimes perpetrated by the professional criminals are, so to speak, *habitual* ones, whereas those perpetrated occasionally by the other classes of society are *accidental* crimes, arising from the pressure or concomitance of a variety of circumstances crime . . is an effect with which the shape of the head and the form of the features appear (so far as our observation goes) to have no connection whatever—indeed it seems to us, in the majority of instances, to be the accident of parentage and organization . we say the great mass of crime in this country is committed by those who have been bred and born to the business, and who make a regular trade of it—living as systematically by robbing and cheating as others do by commerce or the exercise of intellectual or manual labour" —H Mayhew, *The Criminal Prisons of London* [1856] (London, 1862), pp. 87, 413

(3) "Do we not learn from general experience, that the vices of society are in proportion to the number of individuals which compose it?"—G T F Raynal, *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissemens et du commerce dans les deux Indes* [1771] (Paris, 1820, new ed), I, p 201, tr J O Justamond (London, 1783)

(4) T More, *Utopia* [1516], ed J H Lupton (Oxford, 1895), pp 44–58

(5) " extensive careers of delinquency may be founded on mental conflicts"—W Healy, *Mental Conflicts and Misconduct* (Boston, 1917), p 323

(6) "Conduct . . . is . the sort of behavior which may be regarded as distinctively and exclusively human, namely that which is self conscious

[58] J S Slotkin, *Jewish Intermarriage in Chicago* (MS, University of Chicago Library, 1940, Ph D diss.), pp 24–27 Sources are given in the original

[59] K Birket-Smith, *The Caribou Eskimo*, I, p 265

and personal"—R E Park, *The Principles of Human Behavior* (*Studies in Social Science*, 6) (Chicago, 1915), p 8

(7) "There is no Station of Life, where Pride, Emulation, and the Love of Glory may not be displayed. A young Pick-pocket, that makes a Jest of his Angry Prosecutor, and dexterously wheedles the old Justice into an Opinion of his Innocence, is envied by his Equals and admired by all the Fraternity Rogues have the same Passions to gratify as other Men, and value themselves on their Honour and Faithfulness to one another, their Courage, Intrepidity, and other manly Virtues, as well as People of better Professions, and in daring Enterprizes, the Resolution of a Robber may be as much supported by his Pride, as that of an honest Soldier, who fights for his Country"—B Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees*, I, p 275

(8) "The evil which will probably be incurred in case a command be disobeyed or (to use an equivalent expression) in case a duty be broken, is frequently called a *sanction*, or an *enforcement of obedience* Or (varying the phrase) the command or duty is said to be *sanctioned* or *enforced* by the chance of incurring the evil . For a sanction properly so called is an evil annexed to a command"—J Austin, *Lectures on Jurisprudence* [1832], ed R Campbell (London, 1873, 4th ed), I, pp 91–92, 189

(9) "Now punishment in general means an evil of suffering which is inflicted because of an evil of action"—H. Grotius, *De jure belli ac pacis*, 2 20 1.1.

(10) "We punish facts rather than faults Injury to the soul we do not regard as so much a matter for punishment as injury to others Our object is to avoid public mischief, rather than to correct personal mistakes The Lord said to Peter 'If thy brother sin against thee, correct him between thyself and him.' (Matt xviii, 15) 'Sin against thee' Is the meaning here that we ought to correct and punish injuries done to us and not those done to others, as though 'against thee' meant 'not against another'? By no means The phrase 'if he sin against thee' means that he acts publicly so as to corrupt you by his example For if he sins against himself only, his sin, being hidden, involves in guilt merely the man himself The sin does not, by the sinner's bad example, induce others to indiscretion Although the evil action has no imitators, or even none who recognize it as wrong, nevertheless, in so far as it is a public act it must, in human society, be chastised more than private guilt, because it can occasion greater mischief, and can be more destructive, by the example it sets, than the hidden failing Everything which is likely to lead to common loss or to public harm must be punished by a greater requital Where a sin involves more serious injury the penalty must therefore be heavier The greater the social stumbling-block, the more stringent must be the social correction, even though the original guilt be relatively light Suppose, for example, that someone has, by evil intercourse, corrupted a woman in a church The people hear of the incident But they are not roused so much by the violation of a woman, the true temple of God, as by the desecration of the material temple, the church This is the case even though, admittedly, a wall is of less consequence than a woman, and it is more grievous to harm a human being than a place Again, the setting fire to houses we punish

more severely than fornication But with God the latter incurs a far greater sentence

"The punishment of public guilt is not so much a debt paid to justice as the exercise of economy We consult the common interest, as has been said by checking social mischief Frequently we punish minor misdeeds with major penalties In doing so, we do not, in a spirit of pure justice ponder what guilt preceded, but, by shrewd foresight, we estimate the damage which may ensue if the deed be lightly dealt with We reserve, therefore, sins of the soul for the divine judgment But the effect of these sins, about which we have to determine, we follow up, by our own judgment, employing a certain economy, that is, the rule of prudence referred to above, rather than the precept of equity"—P Abailard, *Ethica*, 7 (col 649)

(11) " the world judges by the event, and not by the design"—A. Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* [1759] (London, 1853), p 152

"Resentment seems best to account for the punishment of crimes If a person fires a pistol down a street, though he do no harm, public utility requires that he should be punished, but such crimes are by the laws of every country more slightly punished than if some mischief had ensued The reason is plain Resentment never rises to any great pitch unless some injury be actually done, some things that are in themselves criminal are not punished unless some bad consequence follow A man meets with little resentment for riding an unruly horse in the market-place, but if he kill anybody, resentment is very high For the same reason, deodands, though inanimate objects, are accounted execrable In many cases the resentment falls upon the very member of the body which perpetrated the action Resentment is on the whole a very indiscriminating principle, and pays little attention to the disposition of the mind"—Smith, *Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms* [1763], ed E Cannan (Oxford, 1896), pp 152–53

(12) " irresponsibility is accorded with greater difficulty as the horror of the crime is more intense"—P Fauconnet, *La responsabilité* (Paris, 1920), p 288 Published by Presses Universitaires de France, Paris

(13) "That action must appear to deserve reward, which appears to be the proper and approved object of gratitude, as, on the other hand, that action must appear to deserve punishment, which appears to be the proper and approved object of resentment

"To reward is to recompence to remunerate, to return good for good received To punish, too, is to recompence, to remunerate, though in a different manner, it is to return evil for evil"—Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p 94

(14) "The need of repression can manifest itself in the absence of crime It is sufficient for a society to be furious for it to strike Put by disturbing events into a state analogous to that which normally determines crime, its anger easily takes the form of sanction"—Fauconnet, *La responsabilité*, pp 288–89

AUTHOR INDEX

SUBJECT INDEX